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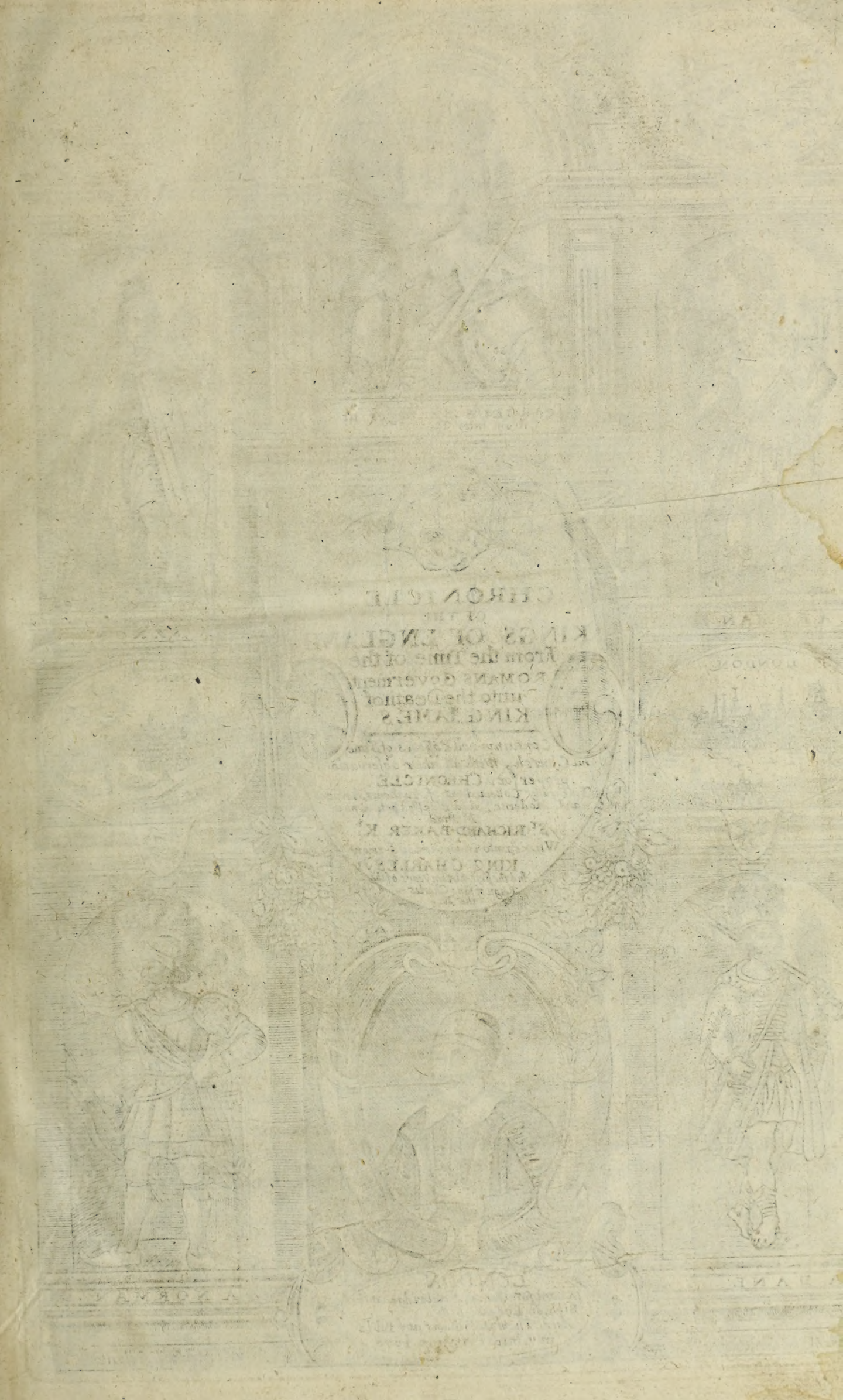

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND From the Time of the ROMANS Goverment unto the Death of KING IAMES

Containing all Passages of State and Church, With all other observations proper for a CHRONICLE.
Faithfully Collected out of Authours Ancient and Moderne; and digested into a new Method
by Sr. RICHARD BAKER Kt.
Where vnto is now added ye reigne of KING CHARLES yt I.
And the first thirteen year's of the Reign of King Charles the II.

LONDON
Printed for George Sawbridge, at the Bible, on Ludgate hill.
And Thomas Williams at ye Bible in Little Brittaine. 1670

W. Marshall Sculpsit.

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By Sir *RICHARD BAKER* Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,

The Reign of King CHARLES the First,

AND

The first Thirteen years of His Sacred MAJESTY,

King CHARLES the Second,

That now REIGNETH.

In which are many Material *AFFAIRS* of *STATE* never before Published; and likewise the most Remarkable Occurrences relating to His MAJESTIES most Happy and Wonderful *RESTAURATION*, by the Prudent Conduct, under GOD, of *GEORGE* late Duke of *ALBEMARLE*, *Captain General* of all His *Majesties ARMIES*;

As they were Extracted out of His *Excellencies* own *Papers*, and the *Journals and Memorials* of those imploy'd in the most Important and Secret *Transactions* of that time.

All which Additions are revised in this Fifth Impression, and freed from many Errors and Mistakes of the former Editions.

LONDON,

Printed for *George Sawbridge* at the Bible on *Ludgate-hill*, and *Thomas Williams* at the Bible in *Little-Britain* without *Aldersgate*, M. DC. LXX.

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By Sir RICHARD BAKER Knight.

R 3 A 8 R

TO THE

Moſt Auguſt and moſt Serene Majeſty

OF

CHARLES II.

KING of *Great Britain, France* and *Ireland.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

OUR Majeſties kind acceptance *of this* CHRONICLE *when firſt publiſhed by Sir* Richard Baker, *encourages me to preſent it to Your* gracious Protection, *as it is now by me* Continued *to Your Majeſties* Coronation; *containing much of the* Hiſtory *of Your Majeſties* own Life; *a Life, which gives to the World the moſt* Excellent Example *any Age hath produced of* True *and* Magnanimous Fortitude *and* Clemency; *and ſpeaks* You *as much a* Monarch *by* Nature *as* Inheritance. *Your Majeſties* indulgent kindneſs *to all* Your People, *makes me not deſpair to obtain* Your Pardon *for the* Miſtakes, *which perhaps through* Ignorance, *I may have committed*: *For there never was any* Hiſtory *filled with* more various *and* wonderful Tranſactions *than theſe* Late Times *have brought forth*: *My chiefeſt deſign both in this, and all other my endeavours, is to have the* honour *of being eſteemed,*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majeſties moſt Dutiful,

and moſt Obedient Subject,

Edward Phillips.

The Epiſtle to the Reader.

I R. Richard Baker *who writ, and publiſhed this Hiſtory, to the beginning of the Reign of King* Charles *the firſt, affirmed,* That it was collected with ſo great care and diligence, that if all other of our Chronicles ſhould be loſt, this only would be ſufficient to inform Poſterity of all Paſſages memorable or worthy to be known; *and if ſo much might be ſaid of what he did, I preſume, nothing that hath been ſince added to it, and publiſhed, has impaired the credit and worth thereof.*

The many Impreſſions that have been made and ſold of the Book both before, and after the Addition, are a ſufficient teſtimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World; How neceſſary this preſent Continuation is (which alone might have made a Competent Hiſtory) will beſt appear by the peruſal thereof; and in that part which deſcribes the Tranſactions of the Duke of Albemarle, *there is not only ſo exact an Accompt as is no where elſe to be found, but alſo many ſecret paſſages of particular remark, which could never have been known, but from his Excellencies own Papers, and ſeveral other private Collections of Perſons active with him in that Service, which I had the permiſſion to make uſe of; wherein I have been ſo faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech, or Diſcourſe in Publick Conferences, which are not exactly ſet down as they were written, or ſpoke, ſave only, that of ſuch Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the moſt pertinent parts are only retained.*

The wonderful Reſtauration of his Majeſty, which is the Subject of that part of the Continuation; is one of the moſt extraordinary actions, that has been ever mentioned in Story, both for the Generoſity *of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly, nothing was ever enterprized with greater generoſity and courage, then with* * *Nine thouſand Six hundred Foot, and Fourteen hundred Horſe and Dragoons* (and thoſe long train'd up in an averſion to Kingly Government) *to preſerve the whole Kingdom of* Scotland *in* Engliſh *hands, and to Invade* England, *at a time when the Governing Power was in thoſe that were irreconcileable to his Majeſties Perſon, and Government, ſupported by Thirty Thouſand experienced and victorious Souldiers in* England, *of the ſame affections (beſides what were at their devotion in* Ireland, *and* Dunkirk) *and a Militia of Trained Bands in all Counties, to a greater number than thoſe in pay, all of choſen men, of the like Principles: and this at a time, when by the defeat of Sir* George Booth, *his Majeſties greateſt hopes were fruſtrated, and moſt of the Nobility and Gentry which were engaged with him, were diſarmed, and their Eſtates confiſcated, and ready to be divided amongſt the enemies of Royalty, to alter with the Riches, the Intereſt of the Kingdom; and when they were about to Enact, and many of the Legiſlators themſelves taken, an* *Oath of abjuration of his Majeſties Perſon and Family: But then his ſecreſte in the conduct of this great Affair is very remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his intentions, to gain the confidence of thoſe Jealous Maſters whoſe Authority he pretended to obey;*

* See *pag.* 685. where the numbers of his Forces are mentioned.

* Page 700.

obey; for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miscarried; and notwithstanding his greatest subtilty, many objected (thinking thereby to weaken his credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design.

His most prudent contrivances were often disappointed, but by his wisdom and dexterity as often retrived; one of his greatest difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Souldiers to his purposes, to which the opinion they had of his Conduct and courage, did much contribute, and when that was effected, he the easier modelled the rest.

* See pag. 731. towards the end.

It is evident that he acquainted but one * *person with his Design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone without correspondence to manage so hazardous an undertaking; for he was to compass his ends by several and different means, which could not without great address be prepared and disposed thereunto. And how necessary this Correspondence was, is apparent by many Transitions, but by none more,* Then in the lucky * contrivance of getting the Army out of *London*, and the quartering his Souldiers in their places, and dispersing the rest; *whereby the Parliament, City, and Kingdom became at his Reverence, and without which his Majesties Restauration could never have been effected in this way.*

* See p. 701, 702, & 703.

The consideration of these things leads me unto so great a labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot easily desist from detaining the Reader too long from the perusal of the matter, which induces me to it: I shall therefore conclude this Epistle with that commendation of this Renowned Generals undertaking, which a Reverend and pious Prelate most justly delivered in a late * *Sermon, That it was* A Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Oppression, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchased unto himself, Honour without Envie, Greatness with Safety, and (which is the best reward of Vertue in this World) a perpetual satisfaction and complacency in himself, for having so nobly performed his duty.

* Bishop of *Winchester* in the Sermon he preach'd at the Coronation, when he was Bishop of *Worcester*, pag. 29. & 30.

E. Phillips.

A CATALOGUE OF WRITERS, Both *ANTIENT* and *MODERN*, Out of whom This CHRONICLE Hath been COLLECTED.

1 GIldas Britannicus, *surnamed the Wise, was the first Writer of our* Englisſh *Nation; who amongſt other his Works writ a Treatiſe,* De Excidio Britanniæ: *He was born in the year* 493. *and died in the year* 580.

2 Nennius, *a Monk of* Bangor, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and lived about the year* 620.

3 *Venerable* Bede, *a* Saxon, *and a Prieſt, writ the Eccleſiaſtical Story of the* Engliſh *Nation from the coming in of* Julius Cæſar, *to the year* 733. *about which time he died.*

4 Ethelwardus, *a Writer next to* Bede *the moſt ancient, writ a general Chronicle from the Creation to the end of King* Edgar.

5 Radulphus de Diceto, *who lived about the year* 685.

6 Segebert, *King of the Eaſt-Angles, writ an Inſtitution of Laws, in his latter days became a Monk, and was ſlain by* Penda *King of the* Mercians, *in the year* 652.

7 Cymbertus, *Biſhop of* Linſey, *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *writ the Annals of that Country, and lived about the year* 730.

8 Daniel Wentalus, *a Biſhop, writ the Hiſtory of his Province: and the Acts of the South* Saxons, *and died in the year* 746.

9 Aſſerius Menevenſis, *born in* Pembrokeſhire, *Biſhop of* Salisbury, *writ the Story of* Britain, *and the Acts of King* Alphred, *and lived about the year* 890.

10 Alphredus, *the great King of the* Angles, *fourth Son of King* Ethelwolph, *writ, beſides many other Works, a Collection of Chronicles, and died at* Winchester *in the year* 901.

11 Osbertus, *a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life of Archbiſhop* Dunſtan, *and other Works: and lived about the year* 1020.

12 Culmanus Anglicus, *writ a Chronicle and a Catalogue of the* Engliſh *Kings, and lived about the Year* 1040. *in the time of King* Harald *the Firſt.*

13 Gulielmus Gemeticenſis, *a* Norman *and a Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of* Normandy, *to* William *the Firſt, to whom he dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of King* Henry *the Firſt, in the year* 1135. *at which time he lived.*

14 Marianus Scotus, *a Monk, writ Annals from the beginning of the World to his own time, and died in the year* 1086.

15 Alphredus, *a Prieſt of* Beverley *writ a Hiſtory from the firſt Original of the* Britains *to his own times, and lived about the year* 1087. *in the time of* William *the Firſt.*

16 Veremundus *a* Spaniard, *and a Prieſt, but who lived much in* Scotland, *writ the Antiquities of the* Scotiſh *Nation; and lived about the year* 1090.

17 Lucianus, *a Monk, and an* Engliſh *Writer, and lived in the firſt times of the* Normans.

18 Ingulphus, *Abbot of* Croyland, *writ from the year* 664. *to the year* 1066. *and lived in the time of* William *the Firſt, whoſe Secretary he had been.*

19 Turgotus, *an* Engliſhman, *firſt Dean of* Durham, *and afterwards Biſhop of St.* Andrews *in* Scotland, *writ a Hiſtory of the Kings of* Scotland, *alſo Chronicles of* Durham, *Annals of his own time, and the Life of King* Malcolm, *and lived in the year* 1098. *in the time of King* William *the Second.*

20 Gulielmus Pictavienſis, *writ a Treatiſe of the Life of* William *the Firſt.*

21 Gualterus Mappæus, *writ a Book* De Nugis Curialium, *and lived about the Conquerors time.*

22 William *of* Malmesbury, *a Benedictine Monk,*

Monk, writ a Hiſtory of the Engliſh *Nation from the firſt coming of the Saxons into* Britain, *to his own time, which Work he Dedicated to* Robert *Duke of* Gloceſter, *baſe Son of King* Henry *the Firſt, and lived to the firſt year of King* Henry *the Second.*

23 Florentius Bravonius, *a Monk of* Worceſter, *compiled a Chronicle from the Creation, to the year* 1118. *in which year he died; his Work was continued by another Monk to the year* 1163.

24 Eadmerus, *a Monk of* Canterbury, *writ the lives of* William *the Firſt,* William *the Second, and King* Henry *the Firſt, in whoſe time he lived.*

25 Raradocus *born in* Wales, *writ the Acts of the* Britain *Kings, from* Cadwalladar *to his own time, and lived in the time of King* Stephen.

26 Gervaſius Dorobernenſis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the year* 1120

27 Johannes Fiberius *commonly called* De Bever, *writ ſhort Annals of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the year* 1110 *in the time of King* Henry *the Firſt.*

28 Henry, *Archdeacon of* Huntington, *writ a Hiſtory of the Kings of* England, *to the reign of King* Stephen, *in whoſe time he lived.*

29 Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Biſhop of* Aſaph, *writ a Hiſtory of the* Britains, *and was the firſt that makes mention of* Brute, *and of* Merlines *Propheſies, for which he is much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the year* 1150. *in the time of King* Stephen.

30 William *of* Newborough, *born at the beginning of King* Stephens *Reign, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and bitterly inveighs againſt* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *as a Deviſer of Fables.*

31 Sylveſter Gyraldus, *born in* Wales, *and thereof called* Cambrenſis, *after long travel abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King* Henry *the Second; and after was ſent Tutor to his Son* John *into* Ireland; *he writ the Hiſtory of that Nation very exquiſitely; alſo an* Itinerarium *of* Wales *and* Britain; *the Life of* Henry *the Second; the Acts of King* John, *and a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the year* 1190. *in the times of King* Richard *the Firſt, and King* John.

32 John *of* Hagulſtad, *a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in* Durham, *writ the moſt memorable things from the ninth year of King* Henry *the Second, to the firſt year of* Richard *the Firſt, in whoſe time he lived, about the year* 1190.

33 Roger Hoveden, *a Prieſt of* Oxford, *writ the Annals of the Kings of* England, *and the memorable paſſages under the* Romans, Picts, Saxons, Danes, *and* Normans; *he lived in the time of King* Richard *the Firſt, and died in the time of King* John.

34 Johannes Tilberienſis, *a ſecular Prieſt, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived in the time of King* Richard *the Firſt.*

35 Richardus Canonicus, *travelled with King* Richard *the Firſt into* Paleſtine; *and writ of his Journey and Acts there.*

36 Aluredus Rivallenſis, *or* de Rivallis, *a Ciſtercian Monk, in the Dioceſs of* York, *writ the Life of* Edward *King of* England, *and* David *King of* Scots, *and died in the year* 1166.

37 Simon Dunelmenſis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, from the death of Venerable* Bede, *to the year* 1164. *and lived in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

38 John de Oxenford, *firſt Dean of* Salisbury, *and after Biſhop of* Norwich, *writ the Britiſh Hiſtory, and continued it to his own time; wherein he agreeth much with* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *and lived about the year* 1174. *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

39 Johannes Sarisburienſis, *writ an excellent Book* De Nugis Curialium; *and lived about the year* 1182. *in the time of King* Henry *the Second.*

40 Gulielmus Parvus, *a Canon regular in the Province of* York, *writ an Hiſtory of the* Norman *Kings; and lived about the year* 1216. *in the time of King* John.

41 Johannes Campobellus, *a Scotchman, writ the Hiſtory of the* Scots, *from the firſt Original of the Nation to his own time; and lived in the year* 1260.

42 John Breton *an* Engliſhman, *Biſhop of* Hereford, *writ a Book* De Juribus Anglicanis, *and lived in the year* 1270. *in the time of King* Henry *the Third.*

43 Thomas Wyke, *an* Engliſhman, *a Canon Regular of* Oſney *near* Oxford, *writ a ſhort Hiſtory, from the coming in of* William *the Firſt to his own time, and lived in the year* 1290. *in the time of King* Edward *the Firſt.*

44 Thomas Langford, *an* Engliſhman, *a Dominican Frier of* Chelmsford *in* Eſſex, *writ an Univerſal Chronicle, from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the year* 1320. *in the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

45 Radulphus de Rizeto, *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Chronicle of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the year* 1210. *in the time of King* John.

46 Robertus Montenſis, *a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the year* 1112. *to the year* 1210. *at which time he lived.*

47 Johannes Brugenſis, *an* Engliſhman, *a Benedictine Monk, writ Annals of the* Engliſh *Nation.*

48 Thomas Spottey, *an* Engliſhman, *a Benedictine Frier of* Canterbury, *writ the Chronicles of* Canterbury, *and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Second.*

49 Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis, *called* Florilegus, *for collecting* Flores Hiſtoriarum, *chiefly of* Britain, *containing from the beginning of the world to the year* 1307. *about which time he lived.*

50 Ranulphus Higden, *a Benedictine Monk of* Cheſter, *writ a Book which he called* Polychronicon, *containing from the beginning of the World to the ſixteenth year of King* Edward *the Third, in whoſe time he lived.*

51 Matthew Paris, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ a Hiſtory, chiefly Eccleſiaſtical, of the* Engliſh *Nation, from* William *the Firſt, to the laſt year of* Henry *the Third, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

52 William Pachenton, *an* Engliſhman, *writ a Hiſtory of the* Engliſh *Nation, and lived about the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

53 Bartho-

53 Bartholmeus Anglicus *a Franciscan Frier, writ a Book intituled* De Proprietatibus rerum, *and a Chronicle of the* Scots, *and lived in the year* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

54 Nicholas Triver, *born in* Norfolk, *of a worshipful Family, became a Dominican Frier, writ many excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy; also Annals of the* English *Kings, from King* Stephen, *to King* Edward *the Second, and lived in the year* 1307. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

55 Alexander Essebiensis *Prior of the Monastery of Regular Canons, writ divers learned Works; amongst other, an Epitome of the* British *History; and lived in the year* 1360. *in the time of King* Edward *the Third.*

56 John Froyssart *born in the Low Countries, writ a Chronicle in the* French *Tongue, containing seventy four years; namely, beginning with King* Edward *the Third, and ending with King* Henry *the Fourth, in whose time he lived; whose Chronicle, Sir* John Bourchier *Knight, translated into* English, *and* John Sleyden *a* French-man *hath lately contracted into an Epitome.*

57 Thomas de la Moore, *born in* Glocestershire, *in the time of King* Edward *the First, by whom, as having Twenty pounds land, holden by Knights Service, he was made a Knight; and afterwards being very inward with King* Edward *the Second, writ a History of his life and death.*

58 Thomas Rodbourn *an* Englishman, *and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the year* 1412. *in the time of King* Henry *the Fourth.*

59 John Trevisa *born in* Glocestershire, *a Priest, translated* Polychronicon *into* English, *adding to it an Eighth book, intituled,* De Memorabilibus eorum temporum, *containing from the year* 1342. *to the year* 1460. *He writ also of the Acts of King* Arthur, *and Descriptions both of* Britain *and* Ireland, *and lived in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

60 John Harding *a Gentleman of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in Verse, of the Kings of* England, *to the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth; wherein he alleadgeth many Records, which he had got in* Scotland, *that testifie the* Scottish *Kings submissions to the Kings of* England; *he lived in the year* 1448. *in the time of King* Henry *the Sixth.*

61 John Capgrave, *born in* Kent, *an Hermit Frier, writ many learned works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the* English *Saints, and lived in the year* 1464. *in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

62 John Lydgate *Monk of St.* Edmundsbury *in* Suffolk, *writ divers works in Verse, and some in Prose: as the Lives of King* Edward, *and King* Ethelstan, *of the round Table of King* Arthur, *and lived in the year* 1470. *in the time of King* Edward *the Fourth.*

63 John Weathamstead *Abbot of St.* Albans, *in his work of* English *Affairs accuseth* Geoffry *of* Monmouth, *of meer Fabulousness, and lived about the year* 1440.

64 Gulielmus Elphinston *a* Scotchman, *Bishop of* Aberdene, *writ the Antiquities of* Scotland, *and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the year* 1480. *in the time of* James *the Third, King of* Scotland.

65 George Buchanan *a* Scotchman, *writ the story of* Scotland *from* Fergusius, *to Queen* Mary, *in whose time he lived.*

66 William Caxton *an* Englishman, *writ a Chronicle to the three and twentieth year of King* Edward *the Fourth, which he calls,* Fructus Temporum: *also a Description of* Britain, *the life of St.* Edward, *and the History of King* Arthur, *and lived in the year* 1484.

67 Thomas Wallingham *born in* Norfolk, *a Benedictine Monk of St.* Albans, *writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the year* 1273. *and continued to the year* 1423. *The other beginning at the coming in of the* Normans, *and continued to the beginning of King* Henry *the Sixth, to whom he dedicateth his Work.*

68 Robert Fabian *a Sheriff of* London, *writ a Concordance of Histories, from* Brute *the first King of the* Britains, *to the last year of King* Henry *the Second; and another work from King* Richard *the first, to King* Henry *the Seventh, in whose time he lived.*

69 *Sir* Thomas Moor *born in* London, *Lord Chancellour of* England, *besides many other learned Works, writ the Life of King* Richard *the Third; and died for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King* Henry *the Eighth, in the year* 1535.

70 Hector Boetius *a* Scotchman, *writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of* Scotland, *also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the year* 1526. *in the time of* James *the Fifth, King of* Sotland.

71 Polydor Virgil *an* Italian, *but made here in* England *Archdeacon of* Wells, *amongst other his learned Works, writ the History of* England *from its first beginning, to the thirtieth year of King* Henry *the Eighth, to whom he Dedicated his Work.*

72 Edward Hall *a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls, The Union of the two Roses, the Red and the White, containing from the beginnig of King* Henry *the Fourth, to the last year of King* Henry *the Eighth, and died in the year* 1547.

73 John Leland *a* Londoner, *amongst divers other works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of* Britain, *and of the Famous men and Bishops in it, and lived in the year* 1546. *in the time of King* Henry *the Eighth.*

74 John Rogers, *first a Papist, and afterward a Protestant, amongst other his learned Works, writ a History from the beginning of the World; and lived most in* Germany *in the year* 1548. *in the time of King* Edward *the Sixth.*

75 Philip Commines *a Knight of* Flanders, *writ the Lives of* Lewis, *and* Charles *the Eighth, Kings of* France, *wherein he handles many passages between them and the Kings of* England *their Contemporaries.*

Of the Modern, These:

76 Richard Grafton *a Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World, to the beginning of the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *in whose time he lived.*

77 Raphael Holingshed *a Minister, writ a large Chronicle from the Conquest to the year* 1577.

and

and was continued by others, to the year 1586.

78 *Doctor* Goodwin *Bishop of* Hereford, *writ the Lives of King* Henry *the Eighth, King* Edward *the Sixth, and Queen* Mary, *and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

79 *Doctor* Heyward *writ the History of the first Kings,* William *the Conquerour,* William Rufus, *and* Henry *the First; also the Reign of King* Henry *the Fourth, and* Edward *the Sixth, and lived to the time of King* James.

80 Samuel Daniel *writ a Chronicle of the Kings of* England; *to the end of King* Edward *the Third, and is continued by* John Truſſel *to the beginning of King* Henry *the Seventh.*

81 *Sir* Francis Bacon *Viſcount St.* Albans, *hath written an History of the Reign of King* Henry *the Seventh, in a moſt elegant ſtyle, and lived in the time of King* James.

82 John Fox *writ three large Volumes of the Acts and Monuments of the Church; particularly treating of the* Engliſh *Martyrs in the Reigns of King* Henry *the Eighth, and Queen* Mary, *and lived in the time of Queen* Elizabeth.

83 Thomas Cowper *Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *writ Chronicle-notes of all Nations, eſpecially of* England, *from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the time of Qu.* Elizabeth.

84 William Camden *King at Arms, writ the Life of Qu.* Elizabeth *and a Deſcription of* Britain, *and lived in the time of King* James.

85 William Martin *Eſq; writ the Reigns of the Kings of* England, *from* William *the First, to the end of King* Henry *the Eighth; to which was afterwards added the Reigns of King* Edward *the Sixth, Queen* Mary, *and Queen* Elizabeth.

86 Francis Biondi *an* Italian *Gentleman, and of the Privy Chamber to King* Charles *the First, hath written in the* Italian *Tongue, the Civil Wars between the two Houſes of* Lancaſter *and* York, *from King* Richard *the Second, to King* Henry *the Seventh; Tranſlated elegantly into* Engliſh *by* Henry *Earl of* Monmouth.

87 Henry Iſaacſon *a* Londoner, *hath written a Chronology of all Kingdoms, from the beginning of the World to the year* 1630. *being the fifth year of King* Charles *the First his Reign.*

88 Nicholas Harpſefield *Archdeacon of* Canterbury, *hath written a Chronicle of all the Biſhops of* England, *to which* Edmund Campian *the Jeſuite, made an Addition.*

89 John Stow *Citizen of* London, *writ a Chronicle from* Brute *to the end of Queen* Elizabeth, *and is continued to this preſent time, being the* 18 *year of King* Charles *the First, by* Edward Howes *a* Londoner.

90 John Speed *a* Londoner, *writ the Story of* Britain, *from the firſt beginning to the year* 1605. *being the ſecond year of King* James.

91 William Abington *Eſq; hath written the Reign of King* Edward *the Fourth in a very fine ſtyle, and is yet living.*

92 Thomas Fuller *Batchelour of Divinity, and Prebendary of* Sarum, *hath written the Holy War in very fine Language, wherein he relates the Acts of our Kings of* England *in the* Holy Land.

93 Andre du Cheſne *a* Frenchman, *Geographer to the King of* France, *hath written the Hiſtory of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *from their firſt beginning, to the ſeventeenth year of King* Charles *the First,* 1641.

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.

THE

Beginning, Continuance, and Ending

OF THE

REIGNS

OF THE

KINGS

OF

ENGLAND

To this Year 1669.

After the time of the *ROMANS* Government.

1. KIng *Vortigern* a *Britain*.
2. King *Vortimer* his Son a *Britain*, reigned 4 years. Then depoſed.
3. King *Aurelius Ambroſius*, a *Roman*, reigned 32 years.
4. King *Uter*, began his Reign *An. Chriſti* 497, and reigned 18 years.
5. King *Arthur* his Son, reigned 26 years.
6. King *Conſtantine* his Coſin, reigned 3 years.
7. King *Aurelius Conanus*, Nephew to King *Arthur*.
8. King *Vortiporus* reigned 4 years.
9. King *Malgo Conanus* reigned 6 years.
10. King *Careticus* reigned 3 years.
11. King *Cadwan* reigned 22 years.
12. King *Cadwallo* his Son, reigned 48 years.
13. King *Cadwalladar* his Son, the laſt of The *Britiſh* Kings, who died at *Rome* in the year 689, after he had reigned 3 years. After which, *Britain* was a Colony of the *Saxons*; who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: But the *Saxons* before the death of King *Cadwalladar* took *Kent* from the *Britiſh* Kings, and had it in their poſſeſſion: Which Kingdom of *Kent* began by *Hengiſt* the *Saxon* in the year 455, in the Reign of King *Aurelius Ambroſius*, before mentioned, and laſted 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of *Kent*: The laſt of which *Kentiſh* Kings was overcome by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, who made *Kent* a

Province to his Kingdom in the year 827. The ſecond Kingdom was of the South-*Saxons*, began by *Ella* in 488, in the Reign of the ſame *Britiſh* King *Aurelius Ambroſius*, containing *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113 years during the Reigns of five Kings only; the laſt of which Kings was overcome by *Ine* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, and ſo became a Province to that Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons* in the year 601. The third Kingdom was of the Weſt-*Saxons*, which began by *Ceraic* in 519, in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Arthur*, containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings; the laſt of whom *Egbert* became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the Eaſt-*Saxons*, begun by *Erchenwin* in the year 527, containing *Eſſex* and *Middleſex*, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings; the laſt of which Kings, *Egbert*, King of the Weſt-*Saxons*, ſubdued, and ſo made the Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Saxons* to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland*, began by *Ella* and *Ida* in the year 547, containing *York-ſhire*, *Durham*, *Lancaſhire*, *Weſtmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the laſt of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of *Egbert* King of the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, began by *Crida* in the year 522, containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Warwickſhire*, *Leiceſter*, *Northampton*, *Derbyſhire*, *Oxfordſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Shropſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which they were ſubdued by the Weſt-*Saxons*. The ſeventh Kingdom was of the *Eaſt-Angles*, began by *Uffa* in 575, containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeſhire*, and the *Iſle of Ely*, and continued 353 years, during the Reigns of Fifteen Kings, and at laſt was ſubject to the Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons*: But this Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles* was enjoyed by the *Danes* fifty years before the Weſt-*Saxons* had it; ſo the Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles* continued diſtinct from the reſt of the Nation in the whole 403 years: So it appears that after King *Vortigerne* the firſt of the *Britain* Kings in the year 455, had called in the *Saxons* out of *Germany* to aſſiſt him in defending the Kingdom againſt the Invaſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, every *Britain* King who ſucceeded him, loſt ſome part or other of it to the *Saxons*; till at laſt in the year 689, *Cadwallader* the laſt *Britain* King loſt all at his death; and then the *Saxon* Kings ſtriving amongſt themſelves for Sovereignty, they ſtill gained one upon another, till at laſt in the year 818, *Egbert*, or ſome under him, reduced them all under his ſubjection, who then cauſed all the South of the Iſland to be called *England*; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Succeſſors, till the *Danes* in the year 1017, made the great interruption.

14. King *Egbert* began his Reign in 818, reigned 18 years, at whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to infeſt *England*; he was buried at *Wincheſter*.
15. King *Ethelwolph* his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned 21 years.
16. King *Ethelbald* his Son, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, then an Epiſcopal See.
17. King *Ethelbert* his Brother, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at the ſame place.
18. King *Ethelred* his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at *Winborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.
19. King *Alfred* his Brother, reigned 27 years, who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, and began the foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford* in the year 895, and is accounted the Founder of the Town of *Shaftesbury* in *Dorſetſhire*; and was buried in St. *Peters* in *Wincheſter*, but removed afterward.
20. King *Edward* the Firſt, called *Edward* the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901; reigned 24 years, and was buried in the new Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*, which his Father and himſelf wholly finiſhed.
21. King *Athelſtan* his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 924, reigned 15 years, who was Knighted by his Grandfather King *Alfred* with his own hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a Purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into the *Saxon* Tongue, then

then the Mother Tongue of *England*. He was buried at *Malmsbury* in *Wiltſhire* in the year 940, having never been married.

22. King *Edmund* the Firſt, his Brother, began his Reign in 939, reigned 5 years and 7 months: he was buried at *Glaſtenbury* in *Somerſetſhire*.

23. King *Edred*, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew *Edwin*, ſon to King *Edmund*, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in uſe; which King *Edred* died and was buried in the old Minſter without the City of *Wincheſter*, when his ſaid Nephew was but 14 years old, who notwithſtanding, upon his death, was crowned King by the name of King *Edwin*. Which

24. King *Edwin*, his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned 4 years, and was buried in the new Abby of *Hyde* at *Wincheſter*.

25. King *Edgar*, his Brother, began his Reign at 16 years of Age in 959, reigned 16 years, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*.

26. King *Edward* the Second, his Son, called *Edward* the Martyr, began his Reign, being but 12 years of age, in 979, reigned 37 years and 6 months; and was buried at *Wincheſter*, afterwards removed to *Shaftsbury* in *Dorſetſhire*.

27. King *Ethelred*, his half-brother, began his Reign at 12 years old in 982, reigned 34 years and was buried in St. *Pauls* Church in *London*.

28. King *Edmund* the ſecond, his Son, called *Edmund Ironſide*, began his Reign in 1016, reigned 7 months, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*.

29. King *Canutus* a *Dane*, began his Reign in 1017, reigned 19 years, and was buried in the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*.

30. King *Harold* the firſt, his Son, ſurnamed *Harefoot*, began his Reign in 1036, reigned 4 years and 7 months, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, afterwards thrown into the *Thames*, and then afterwards buried in St. *Clement Danes* Church at *Temple-Bar*, having never been married.

31. King *Hardiknute*, his half brother, the third and laſt of the *Daniſh* Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned 2 years; which *Danes* had afflicted the Kingdom for the ſpace of 240 years, though in Regal Government but only 26: he was buried at *Wincheſter*, having never likewiſe been married.

32. King *Edward* the third, ſurnamed the *Confeſſor*, half Brother by the Mother to the laſt King, King *Hardiknute*, began his Reign in 1042, reigned 23 years and 6 months; he was the firſt King that cured the *Kings-evil*, built the *Abby* Church of *Weſtminſter*, and St. *Margarets* Church there: he was buried at *Weſtminſter*, who died in the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*.

33. King *Harold* the ſecond, began his Reign in 1065, reigned 9 months, and was buried in *Waltham* Abby.

34. King *William* the firſt, a *Norman*, began his Reign in 1066, reigned 20 years and 10 months; and was buried in *Caen* in *Normandy*, whoſe bones after in 1562, were removed out of his Tomb, and ſome of them afterward brought into *England*.

35. King *William* the ſecond, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned 12 years and 10 months; he died *Aug.* 2. 1099, and was buried in St. *Swithen* in *Wincheſter*, having never been married.

36. King *Henry* the firſt, his Brother, began his Reign in 1099, reigned 35 years; he died *Decemb.* 1. 1134. and was buried at *Reading* as to part of his body, the other part at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where he died.

37. King *Stephen*, his Siſters Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned 19 years and 10 months, he died at *Dover Octob.* 25. 1154. and was buried at *Feverſham* Abby.

38. King *Henry* the ſecond, his Kinſman, ſurnamed *Plantagenet*, the firſt King of that name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned 35 years; he died in *Normandy*, and was there buried at *Founteverard*.

39. King *Richard* the firſt, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned 9 years and 8 months; he died *April* 6. 1199 and buried as to part of his body at *Founteverard* by his Father, and the other part at two other places.

40. King *John*, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned 17 years and 6 months; he died *Octob.* 19. 1216. and was buried, as to part of his body, at *Worceſter*, and the other at *Croxton* Abby.

41. King *Henry* the Third, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned 56 years: he died *November* 16. 1272. and was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

42. King *Edward* the Fourth, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Firſt, being the firſt King *Edward* of the *Norman* Line, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months: he died *July* 7. 1307. and was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

43. King *Edward* the Fift, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Second, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned 18 years: he was forced to Reſign, and then ſomething more than half a year after, murthered in 1327. and was buried at *Glouceſter* in the Monaſtery of St. *Peters.*

44. King *Edward* the Sixth, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Third, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died *June* 21. 1377. aged 63 years, and was buried in *Weſtminſter* Church; who created *Edward* his eldeſt Son Duke of *Cornwal Anno Chriſti* 1337, being the firſt Duke that ever was created in *England.*

45. King *Richard* the Second, his Grandſon, his Sons Son, began his Reign in 1377, reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to Reſign, and then ſhortly after murthered in 1399 aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the Fryers Preachers at *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*, but after the remains of his body were removed to *Weſtminſter*; who created *Robert de Vere* Earl of *Oxford* Marquis of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, being the firſt Marquis that ever was created by a King of *England.*

46. King *Henry* the Fourth his Coſin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months, he died *March* 20. 1413, aged 46 years, and was buried at *Canterbury.*

47. King *Henry* the Fifth, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died *Aug.* 31. 1422. aged 38 years, he was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

48. King *Henry* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 days, then removed *March* 4. 1460. from the Government; after which, more than 11 years, *viz. May* 21. 1472. he was murthered in the Tower of *London* by *Richard* Duke of *Glouceſter*, afterwards King *Richard* the Third; he was buried at *Cherſey* Abby, but afterwards removed to *Windſor*, aged at his death 52 years, or thereabouts; who created the firſt Vicount that ever was created in *England.*

49. King *Edward* the Seventh, otherwiſe called *Edward* the Fourth his Coſin, began his Reign in 1460, aged 19 years, reigned 22 years and one month; he died *April* 9. 1483. aged 41 years, and was buried at *Windſor.*

50. King *Edward* the Fifth, his eldeſt Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks; then removed *Jan.* 18. 1483. ſhortly after which he was murthered.

51. King *Richard* the Third, his Unkle, the laſt of the Family of *Plantaginet*, began his Reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 2 months; ſlain at the Battel at *Boſworth Auguſt* 22. 1485. aged 37 years; and was buried at *Leiceſter* in the *Gray-Friers* Church, but afterwards all or the moſt part of the Remains of his body carried none knows whither: he died without Iſſue.

52. King *Henry* the Seventh, his Kinſman, of the ſurname of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began his Reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 months, he died at *Richmond April* 22. 1509. aged 52 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

53. King *Henry* the eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned 37 years 9 months and 6 days; he died *Jan.* 28. 1546, aged 55 years, and was buried at *Windſor.*

54. King *Edward* the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 months, and 9 days; he died *July* 6. 1553. aged 15 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

55. Queen *Mary*, his eldeſt Siſter of the half bloud, began her Reign in 1553, reigned 5 years, 4 months, and 11 days; ſhe died *Novemb.* 17. 1558. aged 43 years, and was buried at *Weſtminſter.*

56. Queen

56. Queen *Elizabeth*, her only Sister of the half bloud, the last of the Family of *Ap Thomas ap Theodore*, began her Reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years, 4 months, and 7 days; she died *March* 24. 1602. aged 69 years, 6 months, and 7 days, and was buried at *Westminster*.
57. King *James* her Cosin, the first of the Family of *Stuart*, and King of *Scotland*, began his Reign in 1602, reigned 22 years and 3 days; he died *March* 27. 1625. at *Theobalds*, aged 58 years, and was buried at *Westminster*; who in the year 1611. the ninth year of his Reign erected the Degree of Baronet of *England*, in that year creating Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in *Suffolk* Knight, and others unto the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of *England*..
58. King *Charles* the first, Christened by the name of *Charles-James*, his only Son surviving, the second of the Family of *Stuart*, began his Reign in 1625, reigned 23 years, 10 months, and 3 days; he died *Jan.* 30. 1648. aged 48 years, 2 months, and 11 days, and was buried at *Windsor*.
59. King *Charles* the Second, Christned by the name of *Charles-Frederick*, his eldest Son surviving, Reigns now in this present year 1670.

THE

THE

KING'S Pedigree

In a direct Line from

King EGBERT.

Egbert King of *England.*

|

King *Ethelwolph.*

|

King *Alfred.*

|

Edward the First, called *Edward* the Elder.

|

King *Edgar.*

|

King *Ethelred.*

|

Edmund the Second, called *Edmund Ironside.*

|

Edward call *Edward* the *Outlaw*, a private person, though son and heir to the last King.

|

Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown.

|

Margaret the Wife of *Malcolme* King of *Scotland.*

|

Mathilda the Wife of *Henry* the First, King of *England.*

|

Maud Empress of *Germany*, the Wife of *Geoffery Plantagenet* Earl of *Anjou.*

|

Henry the Second.

|

King *John.*

|

Henry the Third.

|

Edward the First, *alias* the Fourth of that Name.

|

Edward the Second, *alias* the Fifth of that Name.

|

Edward the Third, *alias* the Sixth of that Name.

|

Lyonel Duke of *Clarence*, Third Son died in the life time of his Father, but his Issue were afterwards true heirs to the Crown.

Philippa

The King's Pedigree from King Egbert.

Philippa his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*.

Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*.

Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of *Richard Plantaginet* Earl of *Cambridge*.

Richard Plantaginet Duke of *York*.

Edward the Fourth, *alias* the Seventh of that Name.

Elizabeth his eldeſt Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of *Henry ap Thomas ap Theodore*, called *Henry* the Seventh King of *England*.

Margaret their eldeſt Daughter, the Wife of *James Stuart*, called *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*; the Iſſue of which *Margaret* were and are now true Heirs to the Crown.

James the Fifth King of *Scotland*.

Mary Queen of *Scots*, the Wife of *Henry Stuart*, Duke of *Albanie*, and Earl of *Roſſan*, but before his marrying the Queen he was called Lord *Darnely*, as being the eldeſt Son of *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*.

James King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

King *Charles* the Firſt.

King *Charles* the Second, now Reigning.

A CATALOGUE OF THE NOBILITY, AND OF THE Archbishops, Bishops, Barons, Privie Counsellors, Judges, and Baronets of *ENGLAND*.

DUKES.

6 THE most High, Potent, and Noble Prince, *James Stuart*, Duke of *York* and *Albany*, and Earl of *Ulster*, Knight of the Garter, the King's only Brother survivant, and Privie Counsellor, created Duke by his Father King *Charles* the First, *Jan.*27. 1643. 18 *Car.*1.

5 The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince, *Rupert*, Duke of *Cumberland*, Earl of *Holderness*, Knight of the Garter, and Privie Counsellor, Nephew to the late King *Charles* the First, and only Brother survivant unto *Charles Gustavus* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, created Duke by his Unkle King *Charles* the First, *Jan.*24. 1643. 18 *Car.*1.

1 The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl of *Arundel*, *Surry*, and *Norfolk*, Baron *Howard*, *Fitz Allen*, *Matravers*, *Mawbray*, *Seagrave*, *Bruse*, and *Clan*; the Earldom of *Arundel* belongs to whomsoever is seized in fee of the Castle of *Arundel*: Baron *John Howard* his Ancestor created Duke of *Norfolk* by K. *Richard* the Third, *July* 4. 1483. 1 *Rich.*3. whose Ancestor, Sir *John Howard* Knight, was created a Baron in 1461. by K. *Edw.* and afterwards by *Rich.* the Third, was created Duke *June* 28. 1483. and Knight of the Garter, and was kill'd at *Bosworth* Field, *Aug.*22. 1485. in the defence of *Richard* the Third.

2 *William de St. Maure*, alias *Seamour* Duke of *Somerset*, Marquis and Earl of *Hartford*, Vicount *Beauchampe* and Baron *Seamour*: Earl *Edward* of *Hartford* his Ancestor created Duke by King *Edward*, *Feb.*17. 1546. 1 *Edw.* who had been created Earl *Octob.*18. 1537. by *Henry* the Eighth, 29 *Hen.*8. Earl *William* his Great-Grandson was created Marquis by *Charles* the First, *June* 3. 1641. 17 *Car.*1.

3 *George Villiers* Duke, Marquis and Earl of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Coventry*, Vicount *Villiers* and Baron of *Whaddon*, and Knight of the Garter, and Privie Counsellor: Marquis *George* of *Buckingham* his Father created Duke by King *James*, 21 *Jac.* 1623. who was created Vicount and Baron *Aug.*24. 1616. 14 *Jac.*

4 *Charles Stuart* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Earl of *March* and *Lichfield*, Baron of *Leighton*, *Bromnold*, *Stuart* of *Newbry*, *Darnly*, *Mertiven*, and *St. Andrews*, and Knight of the Garter: Duke *James* of *Lenox* his Unkle created Duke of *Richmond* by the late King *Charles* the First, *Aug.* 8. 1641. 16 *Car.* 1. whose Father was created Earl of *March*, and Baron of *Leighton*, 17 *Jac.* 1619.

7 *George Monk* Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchampe*, and *Teyes*, and Knight of the Garter, Lord General of all the Kings Land Forces, and Privie Counsellor: Created Duke *July* 7. 1660. by King *Charles* the Second.

8 *James Scot* Duke of *Munmouth*, Earl of *Doncaster*, and Baron of *Kendal*, and Knight of the Garter: Created Duke by King *Charles* the Second in 1663.

9 *William Cavendish*, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Newcastle*, Earl of *Ogle*, Vicount *Mansfield*, Baron *Ogle*, *Bertram*, and *Bolsomer*, Knight of the Garter, and Knight of the *Bath*, created Marquis *Octob.*27. 1643. and Duke and Earl of *Ogle* in 1664.

created Vicount *Mansfield* 1620. 18 *Jac.* and Earl of *Newcastle*, and Baron *Bolsomer* 1627. 3 *Car.* I.

Dukes in all 9.

The Kings Son, Brother, Unkle, and Nephew have precedency of all other Dukes, as appears by an Act of Parliament made 31 *Hen.* 8. Chap. 10. for the placing of the Lords in Parliament, and other Assemblies and Conferences of Councils; which King's Son, Brother, Unkle, and Nephew are the only Princes of the Royal Bloud of *England*, which priviledge ends with them, and descends not to their Posterity: wherefore the first Duke of *England*, according to antiquity, is the Duke of *Norfolk*.

MARQUIS's.

1 THe most Noble and Potent Prince, the Right Honourable *John Pawlet*, Marquis of *Winchester*, Earl of *Wiltshire*, and Baron *St. John* of *Basing*, whose Fathers Great-Grand-Father Earl *William* of *Wiltshire*, was by King *Edward* 1551. created Marquis of *Winchester* in the fifth year of his Reign, created Baron *St. John* of *Basing* 30 *Hen.* 8. Earl of *Wiltshire* by King *Edward* in the third year of his Reign 1549.

2 *Henry Somerset*, Marquis and Earl of *Worcester*, Earl of *Glamorgan*, Baron *Herbert* of *Chepstow*, *Ragland*, and *Gower*: Earl *Henry* of *Worcester* created Marquis by King *Charles* the First, 18 *Car.* I. died in 1646. Marquis *Edward* his Son died in 1667. unto whom succeeded the now Marquis *Hen.* his Son, created Baron *Herbert*, 15. *H.* 7.

3 *Henry Peirrepoint* Marquis *Dorchester*, Earl of *Kingstone upon Hull*, Vicount *Newark upon Trent*, and Baron *Peirrepoint* of *Holme-Peirrepoint*; created Marquis *March* 25. 1645. 20 *Car.* I. *Robert* his Father was created Vicount and Baron by *Charles* the First, in the year of his Reign.

The Title of *Noble and Potent Prince* is given to Marquises in the Stals of Knights of the Garter at *Windsor*: and the other Titles given to the other Degrees of the Nobility and Peerage are allowed to them in the Stals of Knights of the Garter at *Windsor*.

Marquis's in all 3.

EARLS.

1 THe most Noble and Potent, the Right Honourable, *Awbery de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Baron *Bulbeck*, *Sandford*, and *Badlesmeer*, and Knight of the Garter; whose Ancestor *Awbery* was created Earl by *H.* 2.

2 *Josline Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, Baron *Percy* of *Alnwick*, *Lucy*, *Poynings*, *Fitz-Pain*, and *Bryan*, whose Ancestor *Henry* Baron *Percy* of *Alnwick* was at the Coronation of *Richard* the Second, 1377. created Earl of *Northumberland*.

3 *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Baron *Talbot*, *Strange* of *Blackmere*, *Gifford* of *Brimsfield*, *Furneval*, *Verdon*, and *Lovetoft*; whose Ancestor *John* Baron *Talbot* was created Earl of *Shrewsbury*, 20 *Hen.* 6.

4 *Anthony Gray* Earl of *Kent*, Baron *Gray*, *Hastings*, and *Valence*; whose Ancestor *Edward Gray* Baron of *Ruthin* was created Earl by King *Edward* in the year 1465.

5 *Charles Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Baron *Stanley*, *Strange* of *Knocking* and *Mohan*; whose Ancestor *Thomas* Baron *Stanley* was created Earl 1 *Hen.* 7. 1485.

6 *John Manners* Earl of *Rutland*, Baron *Ross* of *Hamlake*, *Trusbut*, and *Belvoyr*; whose Ancestor *Thomas Manners* Baron *Rosse* was created Earl 17 *Hen.* 8. 1526.

7 *Theophilus Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon*, Baron *Hastings*, *Hungerford*, *Molins*, and *Moeles*; whose Ancestor, *George* Baron *Hastings*, was created Earl 21 *Henry* 8. 1530.

Thomas Wriothesley Earl of *Southampton*, Baron *Wriothesley* of *Titchfield*; whose Great-Grand-Father Baron *Thomas Wriothesley* of *Titchfield*, was created Earl *Feb.* 17. 1546. 1 *Edw.* died without Issue Male on *Thursday May* 16. 1667. by whose death those Titles of Earl and Baron were extinguished.

8 *William Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, Baron *Russel* of *Tavestock*, and Baron *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*, and Knight of the *Bath*; whose Grand-fathers Great Grand-father *John* Baron *Russel* of *Tavestock*, was created Earl 1551. 5 *Edw.*

9 *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Mountgomery*, Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe*, *Roſſe* of *Kendal*, *Marmion*, St. *Quintain*, *Fitz-hugh*, and *Shurland*, whoſe Fathers Great-Grand-Father *William* Baron *Herbert* of *Cardiffe* was created Earl of *Pembroke* in 1551. 5 *Edw.*

10 *Edward Fines*, otherwiſe *Tankerville*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Baron *Clinton*, and Knight, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Grand-Father's Great-Grand-Father *Edward* Baron *Clinton* was created Earl *May* 4. 1572. 14 *Eliz.*

11 *Charles Howard* Earl of *Nottingham*, and Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*, whoſe Father was created Earl 1599. 41 *Eliz.*

12 *James Howard* Earl of *Suffolk*, and Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, whoſe Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron *Howard* of *Walden* was created Earl in *July* 1603. 1 *Jac.*

13 *Richard Sackvile* Earl of *Dorſet*, and Lord *Buckhurſt*, whoſe Great-Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron of *Buckhurſt* was created Earl in 1605. 3 *Jac.*

14 *James Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, Vicount *Cranborne*, and Baron *Cecil* of *Eſſendon*, whoſe Great-Grand-Father *Robert* Vicount *Cranborne* was created Earl 4 *May* 1605. 3 *Jac.*

15 *John Cecil* Earl of *Exeter*, and Baron of *Burleigh*, whoſe Great-Grand-Father *Thomas* Baron of *Burleigh* was created Earl 4 *May* 1605. 3 *Jac.*

16 *John Egerton* Earl of *Bridgwater*, Vicount *Brackley*, and Lord *Elſemere*, whoſe Father *John* Vicount *Brackley* was created Earl 17 *May* 1617. 15 *Jac.*

17 *Robert Sidney* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Vicount *Liſle*, and Baron *Sidney* of *Penſhurſt* whoſe Father *Robert* Vicount *Liſle* was created Earl *Aug.* 2. 1618 : 6 *Jac.*

18 *James Compton* Earl of *Northampton*, and Baron *Compton* of *Compton*, whoſe Grand-Father *William* Baron *Compton* was created Earl in 1618. 16 *Jac.*

19 *Charles Rich* Earl of *Warwick*, and Baron *Rich* of *Leeze*, whoſe Grand-Father *Robert* Baron *Rich* was created Earl in 1618. 16 *Jac.*

20 *William Cavendiſh* Earl of *Devonſhire*, and Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick*, whoſe Grand-Father *William* Baron *Cavendiſh* of *Hardwick* was created Earl in *Auguſt* 1618. 16 *Jac.*

James Hay Earl of *Carlile*, Vicount *Doncaſter*, and Baron *Hay* of *Sauley*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Father *James* Vicount *Doncaſter*, was created Earl *Septemb.* 13. 1622. 20 *Jac.* which *James*, the ſecond Earl of *Carlile*, died in 1660, without Iſſue Male, whereupon all his Titles were *extinct*.

21 *Baſil Fielding* Earl of *Denbigh*, Vicount *Fielding*, and Baron of *Newenham-Padox*, and St. *Liz*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Father *William* Vicount *Fielding* was created Earl by King *James*, 20 *Jac.* 1622.

22 *George Digby* Earl of *Briſtol*, and Baron *Digby* of *Shirborne*, whoſe Father *John* Baron *Digby* was created Earl *Septemb.* 15. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

23 *Lionel Cranfield* Earl of *Middleſex*, and Lord *Cranfield* of *Cranfield*, whoſe Father *Lionel* Baron *Cranfield* was ſo created in 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Charles Villiers Earl of *Angleſey*, and Baron of *Daventry*, he died in 1660. without Iſſue Male, *Chriſtopher* his Father was ſo created, 21 *Jac.* 1623.

24 *Robert Rich* Earl of *Holland*, and Baron *Kenſington* of *Kenſington*, whoſe Father *Henry* Baron *Kenſington* was created Earl 1624. 22 *Jac.*

25 *Gilbert Holles* Earl of *Clare*, and Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton*; *John* Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* and Knight his Grand Father was ſo created, *Nov.* 2. 1624. 22 *Jac.* and died in 1637. in the ſeventieth year of his Age; Earl *John* his eldeſt Son died on *Tueſday Jan.* 2. 1665. unto whom ſucceeded the now Earl *Gilbert* his only Son.

26 *Oliver St. John* Earl of *Bullingbroke*, and Lord *St. John* of *Bletſoe*, whoſe Grand-Father *Oliver* Baron *St. John* of *Bletſoe*, was ſo created, 1624. 22 *Jac.*

27 *Charles Fane* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, Lord *le de Spencer* and *Burgwaſh*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Grand Father *Francis Fane* Knight of the *Bath*, was created Earl in 1624. 22 *Jac.* Earl *Mildmay* his Son died in 1665, or 1666. unto whom ſucceeded the now Earl *Charles* his eldeſt Son.

28 *Edward Mountague* Earl of *Mancheſter*, Vicount *Mandeville*, and Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Father *Henry* Vicount *Mandeville* was created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. ſome days before the Coronation.

29 *Charles Howard* Earl of *Barkſhire*, Vicount *Andover*, Baron *Howard* of *Charleton*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Father Vicount *Thomas* of *Andover* was

created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.*1. at the ſame time, who died in 1669.

Thomas Wentworth Earl of *Cleveland*, and Baron *Wentworth* of *Nettleſtead*, created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. at the ſame time; died *March* 26. 1667. without Iſſue Male, whereby that Earldom was extinguiſhed.

30 *John Sheffeild* Earl of *Mulgrave*, and Lord *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick*; whoſe great Grand-Father *Edmund* Baron *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick* was created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1. at the ſame time.

Henry Cary Earl of *Munmouth*, and Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, died without Iſſue Male in 1661. *Extinct*: *Robert* his Father Baron *Cary* of *Leppington* was created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.*1. at the ſame time.

31 *William Ley* Earl of *Marleburgh*, and Baron *Ley* of *Ley*; whoſe Father, *James* Baron *Ley* of *Ley*, was created Earl at the ſame time.

32 *Nicholas Knowls* Earl of *Banbury*, Vicount *Wallingford*, and Lord *Knowls* of *Greys*; whoſe Father *William* Vicount *Wallingford* was created Earl in 1625. 1 *Car.* 1.

33 *Thomas Savage* Earl of *Rivers*, Vicount *Colcheſter* and *Rock-Savage*, and Lord *Darcy* of *Chich*; whoſe Grand-mothers Father *Thomas Darcy* Vicount *Colcheſter*, was created Earl in 1626. 2 *Car.*1.

34 *Robert Bartu* Earl of *Lyndſey*, Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; whoſe Grand-Father *Robert* Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, was created Earl in 1626. 2 *Car.*1. Earl *Mountague* his Son died in 1666. unto whom ſucceeded the now Earl *Robert*, the ſecond Earl of that name, his eldeſt Son.

35 *John Carey* Earl of *Dover*, Vicount *Rochford*, and Baron *Hunſden*, and Knight of the *Bath*, whoſe Father Vicount *Henry* of *Rochford* was created Earl in 1627. 3 *Car.*1. and died in 1666.

36 *Henry Mordant* Earl of *Peterburgh*, and Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey*; whoſe Father *John* Baron *Mordant* of *Turvey* was created Earl 3 *Car.* 1.

37 *Henry Grey* Earl of *Stanford*, and Baron *Grey* of *Grooby*, created Earl in 1627. 3 *Car.*1.

38 *Heneadge Finch* Earl of *Winchelſey*, Vicount *Maidſtone*, Baron *Fitz-herbert* of *Eſtwell*; whoſe Grand-mother *Elizabeth Heneadge Finch*, Vicounteſs *Maidſtone*, was created Counteſs in 1628. 4 *Car.*1.

39 *Charles Dormere* Earl of *Carnarvon*, Vicount *Aſcot*, Baron *Dormere* of *Wing*, and Baronet; whoſe Father Baron *Robert Dormere* of *Wing* was created Earl and Vicount 4 *Car.*1.

40 *Blunt* Earl of *Newport*, Baron *Mountjoy* of *Thurveſton*, and Baron *Mountjoy* of *Mountjoy's-Fort* in *Ireland*, whoſe Father Baron *Mountjoy* was created Earl 4 *Car.*1. and died in 1665, or 1666.

41 *Philip Stanhope* Earl of *Cheſterfield*, and Baron *Stanhope* of *Shelford*; whoſe Grandfather Baron *Philip Stanhope* of *Shelford* was created *Earl*, 4 *Car.*1.

42 *Nicholas Tufton* Earl of *Thanet*, and Baron *Tufton* of *Tufton*; whoſe Grandfather Baron *Nicholas Tufton* of *Tufton*, was created Earl 4 *Car.* 1. Earl *John* his Son died in 1664. unto whom ſucceeded the now Earl *Nicholas* his Son.

Ulick Burgh Earl of St. *Albans*, Vicount *Tunbridge*, and Baron of *Somerhill*, Marquis and Earl of *Clanrickard*, Vicount *Galloway*, and Baron of *Dunkelly*, and *Imaney* in *Ireland*, he died in *Octob.* 1657. without Iſſue Male, *Extinct*, whoſe Father *Richard* Vicount *Tunbridge* and Earl of *Clanrickard* in *Ireland* was created Earl of St. *Albans* 4 *Car.*1.

43 *Thomas Weſton* Earl of *Portland*, and Baron *Weſton* of *Neyland*; whoſe Father *Richard* Baron *Weſton* was created Earl 8 *Car.* 1. Earl *Jerome* his eldeſt Son who died in or about 1663. Earl *Charles* his only Son, who died in 1665. unto whom ſucceeded his Unkle the now Earl *Thomas*.

44 *William Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, Vicount *Wentworth*, Baron *Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe-Newmarch* of *Overſley* and *Raby*, Baronet and Knight; whoſe Father *Thomas* Vicount *Wentworth* was created Earl in 1639. 15 *Car.*1.

45 *Robert Spencer* Earl of *Sunderland*, and Baron *Spencer* of *Wormlington*; whoſe Father *Henry* Baron *Spencer* of *Wormlington* was created Earl *June* 8. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

46 *James Savill* Earl of *Suſſex*, and Baron *Savill* of *Pontefract*, and Vicount *Savill* in *Ireland*; whoſe Father *Thomas* Baron *Savill* of *Pontefract*, was created Earl *Car.*1.

Patrick Ruthen Earl of *Branchford* and *Forth*, and Baron *Ruthen* of *Etrick* in *Scotland*. *Extinct*. created Earl *Car.*1.

Francis

Francis Leigh Earl of *Chichester*, Baron *Dunſmore*, and Baronet: *Extinct.* created Earl 19 *Car.* 1.

47 *Charles Goring* Earl of *Norwich*, and Baron *Goring* of *Hurſt Peirrepoint*, whoſe Father *George* Baron *Goring* of *Hurſt Peirrepoint* was created Earl 21 *Car.* 1. and died in *January* 1662.

48 *Nicholas Leake* Earl of *Scarſedale*, Lord *Daincourt*, and Baronet; whoſe Father *Francis* Baron *Daincourt* was created Earl *Nov.* 15. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.

49 *Henry Wilmot* Earl of *Rocheſter*, Baron *Wilmot* of *Adderbury*, and Vicount *Wilmot* of *Athlone* in *Ireland*, created Earl *Car.* 2.

50 *Henry Germaine* Earl of St. *Albans*, and Baron *Germaine* of St. *Edmonds-bury*, created Earl *Car.* 2.

51 *Edward Mountague* Earl of *Sandwich*, Vicount *Mountague* of *Hinchinbrook*, Baron *Mountague*, and *Mountague* of St. *Neotes*, Knight and Knight of the Garter, created Earl *July* 12. 1660. *Car.* 2.

Elizabeth Counteſs of *Gilford* in *England*, and Vicounteſs of *Kynelmeky* in *Ireland*, created Counteſs during her life, *July* 14. 1660. *Car.* 2. dead.

52 *James Butler* Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony*, Knight and Knight of the Garter, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of *Ormond*, Earl of *Oſſory*, Vicount *Thurles*, and Baron of *Arcklo* in *Ireland*, created Earl of *Brecknock* July 20. 1660. *Car.* 2.

53 *Edward Hyde* Earl of *Clarendon*, Vicount *Cornbury*, and Baron *Hyde* of *Hindon*, Knight, created Earl on Saturday *April* 20. 1661. three days before the Coronation of the King.

54 *Arthur Capel* Earl of *Eſſex*, Vicount *Maldon*, and Baron *Capel* of *Hadham*; created Earl the ſame day.

55 *Robert Brudnel* Earl of *Cardigan*, Baron *Brudnel* of *Stouton*, Baronet and Knight, whoſe Father Baron *Thomas Brudnel* was created Earl the ſame day, died in 1663.

56 *Arthur Anneſly* Earl of *Angleſey*, and Baron *Anneſly* of *Newport Pannel* in *England*, Vicount *Valentia*, and Baron *Mount-Norris* of *Mount-Norris* in *Ireland*, and Baronet of *Ireland*, created Earl the ſame day.

57 *John Greenvile* Earl of *Bath*, Vicount *Greenvile* of *Lanſdown*, Baron *Greenvile* of *Kilthampton* and *Beddiford*, created Earl the ſame day.

58 *Charles Howard* Earl of *Carlile*, Vicount *Howard* of *Morpeth* and Baron *Dacres* of *Gilſland*, created Earl the ſame day.

59 *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Aylesbury* in *England*, and Earl of *Elgin* in *Scotland*, created Earl of *Aylesbury* in 1664, or 1665.

60 *William Craven* Earl of *Craven*, Vicount *Craven* of *Uffington*, and Baron *Craven* of *Hampſtead-Marſhal* and Knight, created Earl and Vicount in 1664, or 1665. and created Baron, *March* 18. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1.

61 *Richard Boyle* Earl *Burlinton* of *Burlington* alias *Bridlington*, and Baron *Clifford* of *Lansborow* in *England*, and Earl of *Corke*, and Vicount *Dungarvan* in *Ireland*, created Earl *Burlington* in 1664, or 1665. and created Baron *Clifford*, *Nov.* 4. 1664.

VICOUNTS.

1 THe moſt Noble and Potent *Leiceſter Devoreux* Vicount *Hereford.*

2 *Francis Brown* Vicount *Mountacute*, 1 Q. *Mary.*

3 *Robert Villiers* Vicount *Purbeck*, and Baron of *Stook-Poges*; whoſe Father *John* was created Vicount 17 *Jac.*

4 *James Fyennes* Vicount and Baron *Say* and *Seale*; whoſe Father Baron *William Say* and *Seal* was created Vicount 22 *Jac.*

5 *Edward Conway*, Vicount *Conway* in *England*, and *Kilultaph* in *Ireland*, and Baron *Conway* of *Ragley* in *England*, 3 *Car.* 1.

6 *Baptiſt Noel* Vicount *Camden*, Baron *Noel* of *Redington* and *Elmington*, 4 *Car.* 1.

7 *William Howard* Vicount and Baron of *Stafford*, 16 *Car.* 1. 1640. and Knight of the *Bath.*

8 *Thomas Bellacis* Vicount *Falconbridge* of *Henknowle*, Baron *Falconbridge* of *Taren* and Baronet, whoſe Grandfather Baron *Thomas Falconbridge* was created Vicount.

9 *John Mordant* Vicount *Mordant* of *Aviland.*

Archbiſhops and Biſhops.

1 *Gilbert Shelden* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, conſecrated Biſhop of *London Octob.* 28. 1660. tranſlated to *Canterbury Aug.* 31. 1663.
2 *Richard Sterne* Archbiſhop of *York*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Carlile*, *Decem.* 2. 1660. tranſlated to *York* in 1664.
3 *Humphrey Hinchman* Biſhop of *London*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Octob.* 28. 1660. tranſlated to *London* in 1663.
4 *John Couzens* Biſhop of *Durham*, conſecrated *Decemb.* 2. 1660.
5 *George Morley* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Octob.* 28. 1660. tranſlated to *Wincheſter* in 1662.
6 *William Pierce* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, conſecrated in 1632. the antienteſt Biſhop of *England*, both for age and conſecration.
Matthew Wren Biſhop of *Ely*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Hereford* in 1634. tranſlated to *Norwich* in 1635. and tranſlated to *Ely* in 1638. died in 1667.
7 *Robert Skinner* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Briſtol* in 1636. tranſlated to *Oxford* in 1640. then tranſlated to *Worceſter* in 1663.
William Roberts Biſhop of *Bangor*, conſecrated in 1637. died in 1667.
John Warner Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, conſecrated in the ſame year, died in 1666.
Henry King Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, conſecrated in 1641. died in 1669.
George Griffeth Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, conſecrated *Octob.* 28. 1660. died in 1666.
8 *William Lucey* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, conſecrated *Decemb.* 2. 1660.
9 *Benjamin Laney* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Peterborough* the ſame time, tranſlated to *Lincoln* in 1663. tranſlated unto *Ely* in 1667.
Hugh Floyd Biſhop of *Landaffe*, conſecrated the ſame time, died in 1667.
10 *Gilbert Ironſide* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, conſecrated *Jan.* 13. 1660.
11 *Edward Raynolds* Biſhop of *Norwich*, conſecrated the ſame time.
12 *William Nicholſon* Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, conſecrated the ſame time.
13 *John Hacket* Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, conſecrated in 1661.
14 *Herbert Croft* Biſhop of *Hereford*, conſecrated in the ſame year.
George Hall Biſhop of *Cheſter*, conſecrated in 1662. died in 1668.
15 *Seth Ward* Biſhop of *Exeter*, conſecrated in the ſame year, tranſlated unto *Saliſbury* in 1667.
John Erles Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, conſecrated Biſhop of *Worceſter* in the ſame year, tranſlated to *Saliſbury* in 1663, died in 1665.
16 *Joſeph Henſhaw* Biſhop of *Peterborough*, conſecrated in 1663.
William Paul Biſhop of *Oxford*, conſecrated in the ſame year, died in 1665.
17 *Edward Rainbow* Biſhop of *Carlile*, conſecrated in 1664.
18 *Walter Blanford* Biſhop of *Oxford*, conſecrated in 1665.
19 *John Dolben* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, conſecrated in 1666.
20 *William Fuller* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, conſecrated Biſhop of in *Ireland*, tranſlated unto *Lincoln* in 1667.
21 *Anthony Sparrow* Biſhop of *Exeter*, conſecrated in 1667.
22 *Henry Glemham* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, conſecrated in 1667.
23 *Robert Morgan* Biſhop of *Bangor*, conſecrated in 1667.
24 *Davies* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, conſecrated in 1667.
25 *John Wilkins* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, conſecrated in 1668.
The Biſhoprick of *Chicheſter* is not yet diſpoſed of.

BARONS.

1 THe moſt noble *Nevil*, Baron of *Abergavenny*, created by King *Harold* the ſecond; whoſoever is ſeized of *Abergavenny* Caſtle, is Baron of *Abergavenny*.
2 *James Tuchet* Baron *Audley* of *Highley*, and Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*.
3 *Charles Weſt* Baron *Delaware*.
4 *George Barkley*, otherwiſe *Fitz-harding*, Baron *Barkley* of *Barkley*.
5 *Thomas Parker* Baron *Morley* and *Mounteagle*.
6 *Thomas Leonard* Baron *Dacre*.
7 *Charles Longeville* Baron *Grey* of *Ruthen*, who died and left a Daughter heireſs to the Title.

8 *Coniers Darcy* Baron *Darcy* and *Coniers*.
9 *Edward Sutton* Baron *Dudley*, which Title of Baron *Dudley* belongs to whomſoever is ſeized in fee of *Dudley* Caſtle, 20 *Hen.6.*
10 *William Sturton* Baron *Sturton* of *Sturton*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 30 *May*, 26 *H.6.*
11 *Henry Sands* Baron *Sands* of the *Vine*, 15 *Hen.*8.
12 *Edward Vaux* Baron of *Haroden*, *Hen.*8.
13 *Thomas Windzor*, alias *Hickman*, Baron *Windzor* of *Bradenham*, 21 *Hen.*8.
14 *Wingfield Cromwel* Baron *Cromwell* of *Oakham* and *Eſſex*, Vicount *Lecaile*, and Earl of *Arglaſs* in *Ireland*, whoſe Anceſter was Earl of *Eſſex* in *England*, created Baron 31 *Hen.* 8.
15 *George Eure* Baron *Eure*, 35 *Hen.*8.
16 *Philip Wharton*, Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton*, the ſame year.
17 *William Willoughby* Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham*, 1 *Edw.*
18 *William Paget* Baron *Paget* of *Beaudeſert*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 5 *Edw.*
19 *Dudley North* Baron *North* of *Carthage*, and Knight of the *Bath.* 1 *Mary.*
20 *William Bruges* Baron *Chandois* of *Sudley*, the ſame year.
21 *James Barſne* Baron *Norris* of *Ricot*, *Eliz.*
22 *William Petre* Baron *Petre* of *Writtle*, 13 *May*, 1603. 1 *Jac.*
23 *Dutton Gerrard* Baron *Gerrard* of *Gerrards Bromley*, 21 *July* in the ſame year.
24 *Charles Stanhope* Baron *Stanhope* of *Harrington*, 4 *May* 1605. 3 *Jac.* Sir *John Stanhope* Knight his Father was ſo created.
25 *Henry Arundel* Baron *Arundel* of *Wardour*, and an Earl of the Empire, at the ſame time.
26 *Chriſtopher Roper* Baron *Tenham* of *Tenham*, 9 *July* 1616. 14 *Jac.*
27 *Robert Greville* Baron *Brook* of *Beauchamp's Court*, 29 *Jan.*1620. 18 *Jac.*
28 *Edward Mountague* Baron *Mountague* of *Boughton*, 29 *June* 1621. 19 *Jac.*
29 *William Grey* Baron *Grey* of *Warke*, and Baronet, 11 *Feb.* 1623, 21 *Jac.*
30 *John Roberts* Baron *Roberts* of *Truro* and Baronet; Sir *Richard* his Father Knight and Baronet, created Baron *Jan.*26. 1624. 22 *Jac.*
31 *John Lovelace* Baron *Lovelace* of *Hurley*, Sir *Richard* his Father Knight, created Baron 31 *May* 1627. 3 *Car.*1.
32 *John Pawlet* Baron *Pawlet* of *Hinton-- St. George* and Knight: *John* his Father afterwards Knighted, was created Baron 23 *June* 1627. 3 *Car.*1.
33 *William Maynard* Baron *Maynard* of *Eſtains* and Baronet, and Baron *Maynard* of *Wicklow* in *Ireland*, 14 *Mar.* 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.
34 *George Coventry* Baron *Coventry* of *Alsborough*: Sir *Thomas Coventry* Knight, his Grand-Father was ſo created 10 *April* 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.
35 *Charles Mohun* Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton*, and Baronet, *John* his Grand-Father, in the life time of Sir *Reginald* his Father, Baronet, was created Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton* 15 *April* 1628. 4 *Car.*1.
36 *Edward Howard* Baron *Howard* of *Eſcrick*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 19 *April* 1628. 4 *Car.*1.
37 *John Botteler* Baron *Botteler* of *Bramfield*, Baronet and Knight, 10 *July* 1628. 4 *Car.*1.
38 *William Herbert* Baron *Powys* of *Powys*, and Knight of the *Bath*, 2 *April* 1629. 5 *Car.*1.
39 *Edward Herbert* Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, and Baron *Herbert* of *Caſtle-Iſland* in *Ireland*: 7 *May* 1629. 5 *Car.*1. created Baron *Herbert* of *Cherbury*.
John Finch Baron *Finch* of *Fordwitch* and Knight, created 7 *April* 1640. 16 *Car.* 1. *Extinct* in 1660.
40 *Francis Seymour* Baron *Seymour* of *Trowbridge*, 19 *Feb.*1640. 16 *Car.*1. Sir *Francis* his Grand Father Knight was ſo created.
41 *Francis Newport* Baron *Newport* of *High-Areal*, 14 *Octob.* 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. his Father Sir *Richard*, Knight, then created.
John Craven Baron *Craven* of *Ryton*, 21 *Mar.* 1642. 18 *Car.* 1. *Extinct.*
42 *Richard Vaughan* Baron *Vaughan* of *Emlin*, and Earl of *Carbury* in *Ireland*, created Baron *Octob.*25. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.
43 *Smith* Baron *Carington* of *Worton*, and Vicount *Carington* of *Barefore* in *Ireland*, Sir *Charles* his Father, Knight, created Baron *Oct.*31. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.
Henry Percy Baron *Percy* of *Anwick*, *Extinct*, which *Henry* Baron *Percy* was Son and Brother

Brother unto *Henry* and *Algernoon* Earls of *Northumberland*, *June* 28. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1.

44 *William Widdington* Baron *Widdington* of *Blawkney Nov.*10. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

45 *Thomas Leigh* Baron *Leigh* of *Stonely*, and Baronet, *July* 1. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

46 *Chriſtopher Hatton* Baron *Hatton* of *Kirbe*, and Knight of the *Bath*, *July* 29. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

Ralph Hopton Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton*, and Knight of the *Bath*: *Extinct.* Septemb.4. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

Henry Haſtings Baron *Lougborough* of *Loughborough*, Octob.23.1643. 19 *Car.*1. died in 1666. *Extinct.*

47 *Richard Biron* Baron *Biron* of *Rochdale*, and Knight: Sir *John Biron* Knight of the *Bath*, his Brother, was created Baron, *Octob.*24.1643. 19 *Car.*1.

48 *Humble Ward* Baron *Ward* of *Berningham*, and Knight, *Mar.*23. 1643. 19 *Car.*1.

49 *Thomas Culpepper* Baron *Culpepper* of *Thoreſway*; Sir *John* his Father, Knight, ſo created, *Octob.*21. 1644. 20 *Car.*1.

50 *Aſtley* Baron *Aſtley* of *Reading*; Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, Knight, his Grand-Father ſo created *Nov.*4. 1644. 20 *Car.*1.

John Brook Baron *Cobham*, and Knight: *Extinct.*

51 *John Lucas* Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*, and Knight, *Jan.*3. 1644. 20 *Car.*1.

52 *John Bellaſis* Baron *Bellaſis* of *Worlaby*, *Jan.*27. 1644. 20 *Car.*1.

53 *Edward Watſon* Baron *Rockingham*, and Baronet: Sir *Lewis* his Father Knight and Baronet, was created Baron *Jan.* 29. 1644. 20 *Car.*1.

54 *John Reed* Baron *Reed*: A Dutchman, *March* 24. 1644. 20 *Car.*1. died in 1669.

Robert Cholmundeley Baron *Cholmundeley* of *Witch-Malbanck*, and Earl of *Lemſter*, and Vicount *Cholmundeley* of *Kellis* in *Ireland*, created Baron *Septemb.* 1. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1. *Extinct.*

55 *Charles Gerrard* Baron *Gerrard* of *Brandon*, *Novemb.*8. 1645. 21 *Car.*1.

56 *Sutton* Baron *Lexington* of *Aram*; *Robert* his Father ſo created, *Nov.*21. 1645. 21 *Car.*1.

57 *Charles Kirkhoven* Baron *Wutton* of *Wutton*, *Car.*2.

58 *Marmaduke Langdale* Baron *Langdale* of *Holme.*

59 *Charles Crofts* Baron *Crofts.*

60 *John Barkley* Baron *Barkley* of *Stratton*, and Knight.

61 *Denzell Holles* Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild*: Privy Counſellor to the King, and Lord High Steward of the Honours, Mannors, and Revenue unto the Queen, who was Embaſſadour Extraordinary in *France* in 1663, 1664, 1665, and 1666. and afterwards Embaſſadour and Plenipotentiary at *Breda* in 1667. who was the Second Son, only Brother ſurvivant, and Unkle unto *John*, *John*, and *Gilbert*, Earls of *Clare*, who was created Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild* on *Saturday April* 20. 1661. three days before the King's Coronation.

62 *Charles Cornwallis* Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye*, Knight and Baronet, and Knight of the *Bath*: whoſe Father Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet, was created Baron the ſame day.

63 *George Booth* Baron *De-la-more* of *Dunham-Maſſey*, and Baronet, created Baron the ſame day.

64 *Horatio Townſend* Baron *Townſend* of *Lynne-Regis*, and Baronet, created Baron the ſame day.

65 *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper* Baron *Aſhley* of *Winborne*, *St. Giles*, and Baronet, and Privie Counſellor to the King: created Baron the ſame day.

66 *John Crew* Baron *Crew* of *Stene*, created Baron the ſame day.

67 *Lucas* Baroneſs *Lucas* of *Writle*, the Wife of *Anthony Grey* Earl of *Kent*, and the only Daughter and Heir apparent of *John* Baron *Lucas* of *Shenfield*: created Baroneſs in or about *April*, 1663.

68 *Henry Bennet* Baron *Arlington* of *Arlington* alias *Harlington*, and Knight, Privie Counſellor unto the King, and one of the Secretaries of State, created Baron in 1664.

69 *John Freſhville* Baron *Freſhville* of *Staveley*, created Baron in the ſame year.

70 *Richard Arundel* Baron *Arundel* of *Trerife*, created Baron in the ſame year.

71 *Thomas Butler* Baron *Butler* of *Moreparke* called by Writ unto Parliament, *Sep.*18. 1666. eldeſt Son of *James* Earl of *Breckneck* in *England*, and Duke of *Ormond* in

in *Ireland*, which *Thomas Butler* was not called unto Parliament by his Father's Baronry.

72 *Henry Howard* Baron *Howard* of *Caſtle-Riſing*, 27 *March* 1669.

73 *Benjamin Mildmay* Baron *Fitz-Walter* ſummoned by Writ unto Parl. *Feb.* 14. 1669

Privie Counſellors.

James Duke of *York*, the King's only Brother ſurvivant.
Rupert Duke of *Cumberland*, Nephew unto the late King, and a Prince of the *German* Empire.
Gilbert Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Knight and Baronet, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.
John Lord *Roberts* Lord Privie Seal.
George Duke of *Buckingham*, Maſter of the Horſe unto the King.
George Duke of *Albemarle*, Lord General of the Land Forces.
James Duke of *Ormond*, Lord Steward of the King's Houſhold.
Henry Marquis of *Dorcheſter*.
Thomas Earl of *Oſſory*, Eldeſt Son unto the Duke of *Ormond*.
Robert Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*.
Edward Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold.
Robert Earl of *Leiceſter*.
Henry Earl of St. *Albans*.
Edward Earl of *Sandwich*.
Arthur Earl of *Angleſey*.
Charles Earl of *Carlile*.
John Earl of *Lauderdale*, High Commiſſioner in *Scotland*.
John Earl of *Middleton*.
Richard Earl of *Carbury*, Preſident of *Wales*.
Humphrey Biſhop of *London*.
Henry Baron *Arlington* the Senior, Principal Secretary of State.
Francis Baron *Newport*, Controller of the King's Houſhold.
Chriſtopher Baron *Hatton*.
John Baron *Berkley*.
Denzel Baron *Holles*, High Steward of the Queens Revenue.
Anthony Baron *Aſhley*, Chancellor, and under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer.
Sir *Thomas Clifford* Knight, Treaſurer of the King's Houſhold.
Sir *George Carteret* Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold.
Sir *John Trevor* Knight, Principal Secretary of State.
Sir *William Morice* Knight.
Sir *John Duncombe* Knight. In all 32.

JUDGES.

Sir *Orlando Bridgeman* Knight and Baronet, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, and Privie Counſellor.
Sir *John Keeling* Knight, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench.
Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* Baronet, Maſter of the Rolls in Chancery.
Sir *John Vaughan* Knight, Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.
Sir *Matthew Hale* Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.
Sir *Thomas Twiſden* Knight and Baronet,
Sir *William Morton* Knight,
Rainsford,
} Juſtices of the King's Bench.
Sir *Thomas Tirrell* Knight,
John Archer,
Sir *William Wilde* Baronet,
} Juſtices of the Common Pleas.
Sir *Chriſtopher Turner* Knight, Baron of the Exchequer.
Two places of Barons of the Exchequer vacant.

Principal Secretaries of State.

Henry Bennet Baron *Arlington* of *Arlington* alias *Harlington*, and Knight.
Sir *John Trevor* Knight, the Younger.

BARONETS.

1 SIR *Nicholas Bacon* of *Redgrave* in *Suffolk*, *May* 22. 1611. 9 *Jac. Primus Baronettorum Angliæ*; at that time created unto the Dignity and Degree of a Baronet of *England*.

2 Sir *Richard Molineux* of *Sefton* in *Lancaſter*, Baronet and Knight, and Vicount *Molineux* of *Mariburgh* in *Ireland*; created to the dignity and Degree of a Baronet of *England* the ſame day.

3 Sir *Thomas Maunſel* of *Morgan* in *Glamorgan*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

4 Sir *George Shirley* of *Staunton* in *Leiceſter*, the ſame day. Sir *Charles*. Sir *Robert*. Sir *Seymour*. Sir Sir *Robert*.

5 Sir *John Stradling* of *St. Donates* in *Glamorgan*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

6 Sir *Francis Leak* of *Sutton* in *Derby*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*. Afterwards Earl of *Scarſedale*.

7 Sir *Thomas Pelham* of *Laughton* in *Suſſex*: *ut ſupra*. Sir *John*.

8 Sir *Richard Houghton* of *Houghton-Tower* in *Lancaſter*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*. Sir *Gilbert*.

9 Sir *Henry Hobart* of *Intwood* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*. Sir *Miles*. Sir *John*.

10 Sir *George Booth* of *Dunham-Maſſie* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*. Sir *George* afterwards Baron *Delamore* of *Dunham-Maſſie*.

Sir *John Peyton* of *Iſelham* in *Cambridge*, Baronet and Knight: *teſte ut ſupra*. Extinct.

11 Sir *Lionel Tolmatch* of *Helmingham* in *Suffolk*: *ut ſupra*. Sir *Lionel*, died in 1668.

12 Sir *Gervaſe Clifton* of *Clifton* in *Nottingham*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*. who died in 1666. leaving his eldeſt ſon Sir *Gervaſe* to ſucceed.

13 Sir *Thomas Gerard* of *Brin* in *Lancaſter*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*.

14 Sir *Walter Aſton* of *Tixhall* in *Stafford*, Baronet and Knight: *ut ſupra*: and Baron *Aſton* of *Forfar* in *Scotland*.

Sir *Philip Knevet* of *Bucknam* in *Suffolk*, the ſame day. Extinct.

15 Sir *John St. John* of *Ledlard Tergoze* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day. Sir *John*, Sir *Walter*.

16 Sir *John Shelly* of *Michelgrove* in *Suſſex*: the ſame day.

17 Sir *John Savage* of *Rock-Savage* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 29. in that year his Grand-ſon *John* Vicount *Rock-Savage*, was afterwards Earl of *Rivers*.

18 Sir *Francis Barrington* of *Barrington-hall* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight. Sir *Thomas*, Sir *John*: *ut ſupra*.

Sir *Henry Berkley* of *Wymondham* in *Leiceſter*. *ut ſupra*. Extinct.

19 Sir *William Wentworth* of *Wentworth-Woodhouſe* in *York*: *ut ſupra*. Sir *Thomas* afterwards Earl of *Strafford*.

20 Sir *Richard Muſgrave* of *Hartley-Caſtle* in *Weſtmerland*, Baronet and Knight: *teſte ut ſupra*.

21 Sir *Edward Seymour* of *Bury-Caſtle* in *Devon*, *teſte ut ſupra*.

22 Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Eaſtwell* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight: *teſte ut ſupra*. Sir *Thomas* afterwards Earl of *Winchelſea*.

23 Sir *Anthony Cope* of *Hanwell* in *Oxford*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

24 Sir *Thomas Munſon* of *Carlton* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day. Sir *John*, Knight of the *Bath*.

25 Sir *George Griſley* of *Draketon* in *Derby*, the ſame day.

26 Sir *Paul Tracy* of *Stanway* in *Glouceſter*, the ſame day.

27 Sir *John Wentworth* of *Coſfield* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

28 Sir *Henry Bellaſis* of *Newborough* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *teſte ut ſupra*: Sir *Thomas*, afterwards Vicount *Falconbridge* of *Henknowle*.

Sir *William Conſtable* of *Flambrough* in *York*, Extinct, the ſame day

29 Sir *Thomas Leigh* of *Stoneleigh*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day; and afterwards Baron *Leigh* of *Stoneleigh*.

30 Sir *Edward Noel* of *Brook* in *Rutland*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day; Sir *Edward*, afterwards Vicount *Camden*.

31 Sir *Robert Cotten* of *Connington* in *Huntington*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day; Sir *Thomas*, Sir *John*.

Sir *Robert Cholmundeley* of *Cholmundeley* in *Cheſter*, afterwards Earl of *Lemſter* in *Ireland*, *teſte ut ſupra*: Extinct in 1659.

32 Sir *John Molineux* of *Teverſhalt* in *Nottingham*, the ſame day.

33 Sir *Francis Wortley* of *Wortley* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

34 Sir *George Savil*, the elder, of *Thorne hill* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

35 Sir *William Kneviton* of *Mircaſton* in *Derby*, the ſame day.

36 Sir *Philip Woodhouſe* of *Wilber-hall* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

37 Sir *William Pope* of *Wilcot* in *Oxford*, Baronet and Knight; afterwards Earl of *Downe* in *Ireland*, the ſame day.

38 Sir *James Harrington* of *Ridlington* in *Rutland*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day: Sir *Edward*, Sir *James*.

Sir *Henry Savile* of *Metheley* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day. Extinct.

Sir *Henry Willoughby* of *Riſley* in *Derby*, the ſame day. Extinct.

Sir *Lewis Treſham* of *Ruſkton* in *Northampton*, the ſame day. Extinct.

39 Sir *Thomas Brudnel* of *Dean* in *Northampton*, afterwards Earl of *Cardegan*.

Sir *George St. Paul* of *Snarsford* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day. Extinct.

40 Sir *Philip*

40 Sir *Philip Tirwhit* of *Stainfield* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

Sir *Roger Dalliſon* of *Loughton* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight. Extinct.

41 Sir *Edward Car* of *Sleford* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, died in 1619. Sir *Robert*, died in 1667. Sir *Robert*.

42 Sir *Edward Huſſey* of *Hennington* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight.

43 Sir *Le-Strange Mordant* of *Maſſingham-parva* in *Norfolk*.

44 Sir *Thomas Bendiſh* of *Steeple-bamſteed* in *Eſſex*.

45 Sir *John Win* of *Gwidder* in *Carnarvon*, Baronet and Knight.

46 Sir *William Throckmorton* of *Tortworth* in *Glouceſter*, Baronet and Knight.

47 Sir *Richard Worſley* of *Appledeorcomb* in *Southampton* Baronet and Knight: Sir *Henry*.

48 Sir *Richard Fleetwood* of *Cakewiſh* in *Staffordſ*.

49 Sir *William Spenſer* of *Yardington* in *Oxford*: Sir *William*, Sir *Thomas*.

50 Sir *John Tufton* of *Hothfield* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight; Sir *Nicholas*, afterwards Earl of *Thanet*.

51 Sir *Samuel Peyton* of *Knowlton* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *Thomas*.

Sir *Charles Morriſon* of *Caſhioburſ* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight. Extinct.

52 Sir *Henry Baker* of *Siſſinghurſt* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight.

53 Sir *Roger Appleton* of *Southampſteed* in *Eſſex*, the ſame day.

54 Sir *William Sidney* of *Ailsford* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight; Sir *William*, Sir *Charles*.

55 Sir *Will. Twiſden* of *Eaſt-Peckham* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *Roger*.

56 Sir *Edward Hales* of *Woodchurch* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight.

57 Sir *William Menins* of *Walwarſher* in *Kent*.

58 Sir *Thomas Mildmay* of *Mulſham* in *Eſſex*.

59 Sir *William Maynard* of *Enſton-parva* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron *Maynard* of *Eſtaines*.

60 Sir *Henry Lee* of *Quarrendon* in *Buckingham*.

61 Sir *John Portman* of *Orchard* in *Somerſet*, Baronet and Knight, *Nov.* 25. 1612. 10 *Jac.* Sir *Henry*. Sir *John*. Sir *Hugh*. Sir *William*. Sir *William*, Knight, and Knight of the *Bath*.

62 Sir *Nicholas Sanderſon* of *Saxby* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight, afterward Vicount of *Caſtletown* in *Ireland*; *teſte ut ſupra*.

63 Sir *Miles Sands* of *Wimbleton*, in the Iſle of *Ely*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

64 Sir *William Ghoſtwick* of *Willington* in *Bedford*, the ſame day.

Sir *Thomas Puckering* of *Weſton* in *Hertford*. Extinct.

65 Sir *William Wray* of *Glentworth* in *Lincoln*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *John*.

66 Sir *William Aileffe* of *Braxted-magna* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight.

67 Sir *Marmaduke Wivel* of *Conſtable-Burton* in *York*, Baronet and Knight.

68 Sir *John Peſhall* of *Horſley* in *Stafford*: Sir *John*.

69 Sir *Francis Eaglefield* of *Wotton-Baſſet* in *Wilts*.

70 Sir *Thomas Ridgway* of *Torre* in *Devon*, Baronet and Knight; afterwards Earl of *London Derry* in *Ireland*.

71 Sir *William Eſſex* of *Bewcot* in *Berks*: Sir *Thomas*.

72 Sir *Edward Gorges* of *Langford* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron *Gorges* of *Dunalk* in *Ireland*.

73 Sir *Edward D' Eureux* of *Caſtle-Bramwitch* in *Warwick*. Sir *Walter*, afterwards Vicount *Hereford*.

74 Sir *Reginalt Mohun* of *Buckonnock* in *Cornwall*: *John* his Son in his Fathers life time was created Baron *Mohun* of *Oakhampton*.

75 Sir *Harbottle Grimſton* of *Bradfield* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *Harbottle*.

76 Sir *Thomas Holt* of *Aſton juxta Birmingham* in *Warwick*, Baronet and Knight.

77 Sir *Robert Naper-Sandy* of *Lewton how* in *Bedford*, Baronet and Knight, *Septemb.* 21. 1612. 10 *Jac.* Sir *Robert* his ſon ſurrendred that Patent in to King *Charles* the Second, to the intent to take new Letters Patents of that Dignity unto himſelf, with a Remainder unto his Sons *John* and *Alexander* in tail Male, but he dying ſoon after, King *Charles* the Second granted that Dignity unto the ſaid *John Napier* alias *Sandy*, with Remainder unto *Alexander* his Brother, with Remainder unto the Heirs Males of Sir *Robert* his Grandfather, with precedency before all Baronets made ſince that, *Sept.* 21. 1612. 10 *Jac.* which new Letters Patents are dated *Mar.* 4. 1660.

Sir *Paul Bayning* of *Bently-parva* in *Eſſex*, after Vicount *Bayning*; Extinct.

78 Sir *Thomas Temple* of *Stow* in *Buckingham*, Baronet and Knight; Sir *Peter*, Sir *Richard*.

79 Sir *Thomas Peneſtone* of *Leigh* in *Suſſex*.

80 Sir *Thomas Blackſton* of *Blackſton* in *Durham*, *May* 27. 1615. 13 *Jac.*

81 Sir *Robert Dormer* of *Wing*, Baronet and Knight, afterward Baron *Dormer* of *Wing*: created Baronet, *June* 10. 1615. 13 *Jac.* His Son the Lord *Dormer* afterwards Earl of *Carnarvon*.

82 Sir *Rowland Egerton* of *Egerton* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight, *April* 5. 1617. 15 *Jac.*

83 Sir *Roger Townſhend* of *Rainham* in *Norfolk*; Sir *Roger*, Sir *Horace*: afterwards Baron *Townſhend* of *Lynne-Regis*, created Baronet *Apr.* 16.

84 Sir *Simon Clarke* of *Salford* in *Warwick*, *May* 1. 1617. 15 *Jac.*

Sir *Edward Fitton* of *Houſeworth* in *Cheſter*, *Octob.* 2. 1617. 15 *Jac.* Extinct.

85 Sir *Richard Lucy* of *Broxborn* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight, died in *April*, 1667. Sir *Kingsmill* created *March* 11. 1617.

86 Sir *Matthew Bointon* of *Bramſton* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 25. 1618.

87 Sir *Thomas Littleton* of *Franckley* in *Worceſter*, *July* 25. 1618. 16 *Jac.*

Sir *Francis Leigh* of *Newnham* in *Warwick*, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Earl of *Chicheſter*: Extinct. created Baronet *December* 24.

88 Sir *Thomas Burder* of *Bramcot in Warwick*, *Feb.*25.1618. 16 *Jac.*

89 Sir *George Morton* of *St. Andrew's Milborn* in *Dorſet*, *March* 1. 1618. 16 *Jac.* died in 1661. Sir *John.*

Sir *William Harvey* Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron *Harvey* of *Kidbrook* in *England*, and Baron *Harvey* of *Roſſe* in *Ireland*; created Baronet *May* 31. 1619. 17 *Jac.* Extinct.

90 Sir *Thomas Mackworth* of *Normanton in Rutland*, *June* 4. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

91 Sir *William Gray* Baronet and Knight, afterward Baron *Gray* of *Warke*, created Baronet, *June* 19 1619. 17 *Jac.*

92 Sir *William Villiers* of *Brooksby* in *Leiceſter*. Sir *George*. *June* 19. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

93 Sir *James Ley* of *Weſtbury* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, afterward Earl of *Marleborough*, created Baronet, *July* 20. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

94 Sir *William Hicks* of *Barreſton* in *Glouceſter*, *July* 21. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

95 Sir *Thomas Beaumont* of *Coleorton* in *Leiceſter*, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Vicount *Beaumont* of *Swords* in *Ireland*, created Baronet, *Septemb.* 17. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

96 Sir *Henry Salisbury* of *Leweny* in *Denbigh*, *Novemb* 10. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

97 Sir *Eraſmus Driden* of *Canon-Aſhby* in *Northampton*. Sir *John*, *Novemb.* 16. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

98 Sir *William Armine* Baronet and Knight: Sir *William*, Sir *Michael*. died in the year 1668. created Baronet *Nov.*28.1619. 17 *Jac.*

Sir *William Bamburgh* of *Hauſon* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *Dec.* 1. 1619. 17 *Jac.* Extinct.

99 Sir *Edward Hartop* of *Freathby* in *Leiceſter*, *Decemb.*3. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

100 Sir *John Mill* of *Commons-Court* in *Suſſex*, *Decemb.* 31. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

101 Sir *Francis Radcliff* of *Darentwater* in *Cumberland*, *Jan.*31. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

102 Sir *David Foulis* of *Ingleby* in *York*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *David* created Baronet *Feb.*6. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

103 Sir *Tho. Philips* of *Barrington* in *Somerſet*, *Feb.*16. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

104 Sir *Claudius Foſter* of *Bambrough-Caſtle* in *Northumberland*, Baronet and Knight: *Mar.* 7. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

105 Sir *Anthony Cheſter* of *Chickley* in *Buckingham*, *Mar* 23. 1619. 17 *Jac.*

106 Sir *Samuel Trion* of *Lair-Marney* in *Eſſex*, Baronet and Knight, *March* 28. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

107 Sir *Adam Newton* of *Charlton* in *Kent*. *Apil* 2. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

108 Sir *John Bottiler* of *Hatfield-wood-hell* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Baron *Bottiler* of *Brampfield*, created Baronet, *April* 12. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

109 Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* of *Harrow-ſuper-montem* in *Middleſex*, *April* 13. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

110 Sir *Humphrey Lee* of *Langley* in *Salop*, *May* 3. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

111 Sir *Richard Berney* of *Park-hall* in *Redham* in *Norfolk*. *May* 5. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

112 Sir *Humphrey Foſter* of *Aldermaſton* in *Berks*, *May* 20. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *Thomas Bigs* of *Lenchwick* in *Worceſter*, Extinct. *May* 26. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

113 Sir *Henry Bellingham* of *Helſington* in *Weſtmerland*, *May* 30. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

114 Sir *William Yelverton* of *Reugham* in *Norfolk*, *May* 31. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

115 Sir *John Scudamore* of *Home-lacy* in *Hereford*, after Vicount *Scudamore* of *Sligo* in *Ireland*, *June* 1. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

116 Sir *Thomas Gore* of *Stitnam* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 2. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

117 Sir *John Packington* of *Alesbury* in *Buckingham*, *June* 22. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

118 Sir *Ralph Aſhton* of *Lever* in *Lancaſter*, *June* 28. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *Baptiſt Hicks* of *Cambden* in *Glouceſter*, Baronet and Knight, and afterwards Vicount *Cambden*: Extinct. created Baronet *July* 1. 1620.

119 Sir *Thomas Roberts* of *Glaſtenbury* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 3. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

120 Sir *John Hanmer* of *Hanmer* in *Flint*, *July* 8.

121 Sir *Edward Osborn* of *Kerton* in *York*: Sir *Thomas*, *July* 13. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

122 Sir *Henry Felton* of *Plaiford* in *Suffolk*, *July* 20. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *William Chaloner* of *Gisborough* in *York*: Extinct. *July* 20. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

Sir *Edward Fryer* of *Water-Eaton* in *Oxford*, *July* 8. 1620. 18 *Jac.* Extinct.

123 Sir *Thomas Biſhop* of *Parham* in *Suſſex* Baronet and Knight: Sir *Edward*, *July* 24.

124 Sir *Francis Vincent* of *Stock-daw Barton* in *Surrey*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 26. 1620.

Sir *Henry Clare* of *Ormsby* in *Norfolk*: Extinct. *Feb.*27. 1620. 18 *Jac.*

125 Sir *Benjamin Tichbourn* of *Tichbourn* in *Southampton*, Baronet and Knight, *Mar.*8.

126 Sir *Richard Wilbraham* of *Woodhey* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 5. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

127 Sir *Thomas Delves* of *Duddington* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 8. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

129 Sir *Lewis Watſon* of *Rockingham-Caſtle* in *Northampton*, Baronet and Knight, and afterward Baron *Rockingham* of *Rockingham*, *July* 23.

130 Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, *June* 29. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

131 Sir *Richard Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*, Baronet and Knight, and after Baron *Roberts* of *Truro*, created Baronet, *July* 3. 1621.

132 Sir *John Rivers* of *Chafford* in *Kent*: Sir *John*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *John*, *July* 19. 1621.

133 Sir *Henry Jernegan* of *Coſſey* in *Norfolk*, *Octob.*16. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

134 Sir *Thomas Darnel* of *Heiling* in *Lincoln*, *Sept.*6. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

135 Sir *Iſaac Sidley* of *Great-Chartre* in *Kent*, Baronet

Baronet and Knight, *Sept.* 14. 1621.

136 Sir *Robert Brown* of *Walcot* in *Northampton:* Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, *Sept.* 21. 1621.

137 Sir *John Hornet* of *Headley-hall* in *York*, *Octob.* 11.

Sir *Nicholas Hide* of *Albury* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight, *Nov.* 8. 1621. Extinct.

138 Sir *John Philips* of *Picton* in *Pembroke*, *Nov.* 9. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

139 Sir *John Stepney* of *Pentergaſt* in *Pembroke*, Baronet and Knight, *Nov.* 24. 1621.

140 Sir *Baldwin Wake* of *Clevedon* in *Somerſet*, *Decemb.* 5. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

141 Sir *William Maſham* of *High-laver* in *Eſſex*: Sir *William*, *Decemb.* 20. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

142 Sir *John Colebrand* of *Betham in Suſſex*, *Decemb.* 21. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

143 Sir *John Hetham* of *Scarborough* in *York*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *John*, *Jan.* 4. 1621.

144 Sir *Francis Mauſel* of *Muddleſcomb* in *Caermarthen*, *Jan.* 14. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

Sir *Edward Powel* of *Penkelley* in *Hereford*, Extinct, created Baronet *Jan.* 18.

145 Sir *John Garret* of *Lamer* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *John*, *Feb.* 16. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

146 Sir *Richard Gravener* of *Eaton* in *Cheſter*, Baronet and Knight, *Feb.* 23. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

Sir *Henry Mody* of *Gareſdon* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, *March* 11. 1621. 19 *Jac.* Extinct.

147 Sir *John Baker* of *Grimſton-hall* in *Trimley* in *Suffolk*, *March* 17. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

148 Sir *William Button* of *Alcon* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *William*, *March* 18. 1621. 19 *Jac.*

149 Sir *John Gage* of *Forl* in *Suſſex*: Sir *Thomas*, *March* 26. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

150 Sir *William Goring* of *Burton* in *Suſſex*, *May* 14. 1622.

Sir *Peter Courten* of *Aldington* in *Worceſter*, *May* 18. 1622. 20 *Jac.* Extinct.

151 Sir *Richard Norton* of *Rotherfield* in *Southampton*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 23. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

152 Sir *John Leventhorpe* of *Shingle-hall* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 30. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Capel Bedel* of *Hamerton* in *Huntington*, *June* 3. 1622. 20 *Jac.* Extinct.

153 Sir *John Darel* of *Weſt-woodkey* in *Berks*, *June* 13. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

154 Sir *William Williams* of *Veynold* in *Caernarvon*, *June* 15. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

155 Sir *Francis Aſhby* of *Hartfield* in *Middleſex*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 18. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Anthony Aſhley* of St. *Giles-Winborn* in *Dorſet*, Baronet and Knight: Extinct. *July* 3. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

156 Sir *John Couper* of *Rockbourn* in *Southampton*, Baronet, and afterwards Knighted: Sir *Anthony-Aſhley* his eldeſt Son, afterwards Baron *Aſhley* of *Wimborn-St. Giles*, alias *St. Giles-Wimborn*, created Baronet *July* 4. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

157 Sir *Edmund Prideaux* of *Netherton* in *Devon*: Sir *Peter*, *July* 17. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

158 Sir *Thomas Haſterig* of *Noſely* in *Leiceſter*, Baronet and Knight: Sir *Arthur*, Sir *Thomas*, *July* 21. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

159 Sir *Thomas Burton* of *Sockerſtone* in *Leiceſter*, Baronet and Kt. *July* 22. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Francis Foliamb* of *Walton* in *Derby*, *July* 24. 1622. 20 *Jac.* Extinct.

160 Sir *Edward Yate* of *Buckland* in *Berks*, *July* 30. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

161 Sir *George Chudley* of *Aſhton* in *Devon*, *Aug.* 1. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

162. Sir *William Meredith* of *Stanſly* in *Denbigh*, *Aug.* 13. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

163 Sir *Francis Drake* of *Buckland* in *Devon*, *Aug.* 2. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

164 Sir *Hugh Middleton* of *Ruthin* in *Denbigh*, *Octob.* 22. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Gifford Thornhurſt* of *Ague-court* in *Kent*, *Nov.* 12. 1622. 20 *Jac.* Extinct.

165 Sir *Percy Herbert* of *Redcaſtle* in *Mountgomery*, *Nov.* 16. 1622.

166 Sir *Robert Fiſher* of *Packington* in *Warwick*, Baronet and Knight, *Decem.* 7. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

167 Sir *Hardolph Waſhneys* of *Headon* in *Nottingham. Decem.* 18. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Henry Shipwith* of *Preſtwould* in *Leiceſter*, Baronet and Knight, *Decem.* 20. 1622. 20 *Jac.* Extinct.

168 Sir *Thomas Harris* of *Boreatton* in *Salop*, *Decem.* 22. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

169 Sir *Nicholas Tempeſt* of *Stella* in *Durham*, *Decemb.* 23. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Francis Cottington*, afterwards Baron *Cottington*: Extinct. *Feb.* 16. 1622. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *Thomas Harris* of *Tong-Caſtle* in *Salop*, Baronet and Serjeant at Law: Extinct. *April* 12. 1623, 21 *Jac.*

170 Sir *Edward Barkham* of *Southacre* in *Norfolk*, *June* 28. 1623. 20 *Jac.*

Sir *John Corbet* of *Prowſton* in *Norfolk*, *July* 4. 1623. Extinct.

171 Sir *Thomas Playters* of *Sotterley* in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight; Sir *William*, Sir *Lionel*, *Aug.* 10. 1623.

172 Sir *John Aſtfield*, of *Nether hall* in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 27. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1.

173 Sir *Henry Harper* of *Calk* in *Derby*, *Sept.* 8.

174 Sir *Edw. Seabright* of *Besford* in *Worceſter*, *Decem.* 20. 1626.

175 Sir *John Beaumont* of *Gracedieu* in *Leiceſter*, *Jan.* 29. 1626.

176 Sir *Edward Dering* of *Surenden-Dering* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, *Feb.* 1. 1626. Sr *Edward.*

Sir *George Kemp* of *Pentlone* in *Eſſex*. *Feb.* 5. Ext.

177 Sir *William Brereton* of *Hanford* in *Cheſter*, *March* 10. 1626.

Sir *Patricius Curwen* of *Workington* in *Cumberland*, *March* 12. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1. Extinct.

178 Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Witley* in *Worceſter*, the ſame day.

179 Sir *John Spencer* of *Offley* in *Hereford*, *March* 4. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1.

180 Sir *Giles Eſcourt* of *Newton* in *Wilts*, Baronet and Knight, *Mar.* 17. 1626. 2 *Car.* 1.

Sir *Thomas Ailsbury*, *April* 19. 1627. one of the Maſters of Requeſts. Extinct.

181 Sir *Thomas Style* of *Wateringbury* in *Kent*, *April* 21. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

182 Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* of *Brome* in *Suffolk*, *May* 4. 1627. Engliſh Baron.

183 Sir *Drue Drury* of in *Norfolk*, *May* 7.

184 Sir *William Skerington* of *Fiſhwick* in *Staf. May* 8. Iriſh Vicount.

Sir *Robert Crane* of *Chilton* in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 11. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1. Extinct.

185 Sir *Anthony Wingfield* of *Goodwins* in *Suffolk*, *May* 17.

186 Sir *William Culpepper* of *Preſton-hall* in *Kent*, the ſame day.

187 Sir *Giles Bridges* of *Wilton* in *Hereford* the ſame day.

188 Sir *John Kirle* of *Much-Marle* in *Hereford* the ſame day.

Sir *Humphrey Styles* of *Pickham* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 20. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1. Extinct.

189 Sir *Hen. Moore* of *Falley* in *Berks*, *May* 21.

190 Sir *Thomas Heal* of *Fleet* in *Devon*, *May* 28.

Sir *John Charlton* of *Holcum* in *Oxford*, the ſame day. Extinct.

Sir *Thomas Maples* of *Stow* in *Huntington*, *May* 30. Extinct.

191 Sir *John Iſham* of *Lamport* in *Northampton*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.

192 Sir *Henry Bagot* of *Blithfield* in *Stafford*, the ſame day.

193 Sir *Lewis Pollard* of *King's-Nimph* in *Devon*, *May* 31.

194 Sir *Francis Mannock* of *Giffords-hall* in *Stoak* near *Neyland* in *Suffolk*, *June* 1. 1627.

Sir *Henry Griffeth* of *Agnes-Burton* in *York*, *June* 7. 1627. Extinct.

195 Sir *Lodowick Dyer* of *Staughton* in *Huntington*, *June* 8.

196 Sir *Hugh Stewkley* of *Hinton* in *Southampton*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 9. 1627.

197 Sir *Edward Stanley* of *Biggerſtaff* in *Lanc. June* 26.

198 Sir *Edward Littleton* of *Pileton-hall* in *Staff. June* 28.

199 Sir *Ambroſe Brown* of *Betſworth-Caſtle* in *Surrey*, *July* 7. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1. Sir *Adam.*

200 Sir *Sackvile Crow* of *Lanherne* in *Carmarthen*, *July* 8.

201 Sir *Michael Liveſey* of *Eaſt-Church* in *Sheppey* in *Kent*, *July* 11. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

Sir *Simon Bennet* of *Benhampton* in *Bucks. July* 17. Extinct.

202 Sir *Thomas Fiſher* of *St. Giles* in *Middleſex*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 19. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

203 Sir *Thomas Boyer* of *Lengthorn* in *Suſſex*, *July* 23. Sir *Henry.*

204 Sir *Buts Bacon* of *Milden-hall* in *Suffolk*, *July* 29.

205 Sir *John Corbet* of *Stoak* in *Salop*, *Sept.* 19. 1627.

206 Sir *Edward Tirrel* of *Thornton* in *Buckingham*, Baronet and Kt. *Oct.* 31. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1. which Patent was afterwards ſurrendred by the ſaid Sir *Edw. Tirrel*, who thereupon by a new Patent dated *Feb.* 19. 1638. 14 *Car.* 1. had the Title of a Baronet of *England* granted unto himſelf with the remainder unto the Heirs of *Toby Tirrel*, one of his Sons, and for default of ſuch Iſſue, on *Francis Tirrel*, another of his Sons, and the Heirs Males of the of the body of the ſaid *Francis*, and to have precedency from the Date of his former Patent, dated as before-mentioned, *Octob.* 31. 1627. 3 *Car.* 1.

Sir *Baſil Dixwel* of *Terlingham* in *Kent. Feb.* 18. Extinct.

Sir *Richard Young*, Baronet and Knight, *Mar.* 10. Extinct.

Sir *William Pennyman* of *Mask* in *York*, *May* 6. 1628. Extinct.

207 Sir *Will. Stonehouſe* of *Radley* in *Berks. May* 7

Sir *Thomas Fowler* of *Iſlington* in *Middleſex*, Baronet and Knight, *May* 21. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. Extinct.

208 Sir *John Fenwick* of *Fenwick* in *Northumberland*, Bar. and Knight, *June* 9. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

209 Sir *Will. Wray* of *Trebitch* in *Cornwall*, Bar. and Knight, *June* 30. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

210 Sir *John Trelawney* of *Trelawney* in *Cornwal*, *July* 1.

211 Sir *John Conniers* of *Horden* in *Durham*, *July* 14.

212 Sir *John Bolls* of *Scampton* in *Lincoln*, *July* 24. 1628.

213 Sir *Thomas Aſton* of *Aſton* in *Cheſter*, *July* 25. 1628.

214 Sir *Kenelm Jenoure* of *Much-Dunmore* in *Eſſex*, *July* 30. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

215 Sir *John Price* of *New-Town* in *Mountgomery*, Baronet and Kt. *Aug.* 15. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

Sir *Richard Beaumont* of *Whitley* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *Aug.* 19. 1628. 4 *Car* 1. Extinct.

216 Sir *William Wiſeman* of *Canfield-hall* in *Eſſex*, *Aug.* 29. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

217 Sir *Thomas Nightingale* of *Newport-Pond* in *Eſſex*, *Sept.* 1. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

Sir *John Jaques*, *Sept.* 2. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. Extinct.

218 Sir *Robert Dillington* of *Knighton* in the Iſle of *Wight*, *Sept.* 6. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. Sir *Robert* his Grand-Son.

219 Sir *Francis Pile* of *Compton* in *Berks. Sept.* 12. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1. Sir *Francis* his eldeſt Son, who died without Iſſue Male in 1648. Sir *Seymour* his next Brother ſucceeded.

220 Sir *John Pole* of *Shur* in *Devon*, the ſame day. Sir *Courtney* his Son.

221 Sir *William Lewis* of *Langors* in *Brecknock*, *Septem.* 14.

222 Sir *William Culpepper* of *Wakehurſt* in *Suſſex*, *Sept.* 20.

Sir *Pet. Van-loor* of *Tylehurſt* in *Berks. Oct.* 3. Ext.

223 Sir *John Lawrence* of *Iver* in *Buckingham*, Baronet and Knight, *Octob.* 9. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

224 Sir *Thomas Vavaſor* of *Haſlewood* in *York*, *Octob.* 24.

225 Sir *Robert Wolſeley* of *Wolſeley* in *Stafford*, *Nov.* 24. Sir *Charles.*

226 Sir *Rice Rudd* of *Aberglany* in *Carmarthen*, *Decemb.* 8.

227 Sir *Richard Wiſeman* of *Thunderſley* in *Eſſex*, *Decemb.* 18.

228 Sir *Henry Ferrers* of *Skillingthorp* in *Lincoln*, *Decemb.* 19.

229 Sir *John Anderſon* of *St. Ives* in *Huntington*, *Jan.* 3.

230 Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Chippingham* in *Cambridge*, Baronet and Kt. *Jan.* 19. 1628. 4 *Car.* 1.

231 Sir *Richard Everard* of *Much-Walkam* in *Eſſex*, *Jan.* 29. 1629. 4 *Car.* 1.

232 Sir *Thomas Powel* of *Barkenhead* in *Cheſter*, *Jan.* 21.

233 Sir *William Luckin* of *Waltham* in *Eſſex*, *Mar.* 2. Sir *Capel* a Knight.

234 Sir *Richard Graham* of *Eſk* in *Cumberland*, *March* 29.

Sir *George Tuiſleton* of *Barkley* in *York*, *April* 2. 1629. Extinct.

Sir *William*

Sir *William Acton* of *London*, *May* 30. 1629. Ext.
235 Sir *Nicholas Le-Strange* of *Hunſtanton* in *Norfolk*, *June* 1. 1629. 5 *Car.* 1.
236 Sir *John Holland* of *Quindenham* in *Norfolk*, *June* 15. 1629. 5 *Car.* 1.
Sir *Edw. Allein* of *Hatfield* in *Eſſex*, *June* 24. Ext.
237 Sir *Richard Earl* of *Craglethorp* in *Lincoln*, *July* 2. 1629.
238 Sir *Robert Ducy* Alderman of *London*, Sir *Richard*: Sir *William* afterward Knight of the *Bath*, created Baronet *Nov.* 28. 1629.
Sir *Richard Greenvile* of *Kilkhampton*, Baronet and Knight, *April* 9. 1630. Extinct.
239 Sir *Charles Vavaſor* of *Killingthorpe* in *Lincoln* Knight, *June* 22. 1631. 7 *Car.* 1. with a clauſe of precedency between Sir *Thomas Mounſon* of *Carleton* in *Lincoln* Baronet, and Sir *George Greſeley* of *Drakelow* in *Derby* Bar.
Sir *Edward Moſeley* of *Rowleſtone* in *Stafford*, *July* 20. 1640. Extinct.
240 Sir *Martin Lomley* of *Great-Bradford* in *Eſſex*, Baronet; afterwards Knighted: *Jan.* 8. 1640. Sir *Martin.*
241 Sir *William Dalſton* Baronet, and afterwards Knighted; only Son and then Heir apparent of Sir *George Dalſton* of *Dalſton* in *Cumberland*, Knight, *Feb.* 15. 1640.
242 Sir *Henry Fletcher* of *Hatton* in *Cumberland*, *Feb.* 19. 1640. Sir *George.*
243 Sir *Nicholas Cole* of *Brancepeth* in *Durham*, *March* 4 1640.
244 Sir *Edmund Pye* of *Leckhamſted* in *Buckingham*, Baronet, afterwards Knighted, *April* 23. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
245 Sir *Simon Every* of *Eggington* in *Derby*, Baronet, and afterwards Knighted, *May* 26.
246 Sir *William Langley* of *Higham-Golein* in *Bedford*, *May* 29. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
247 Sir *Will. Paſton* of *Oxnead* in *Norf.* *June* 8.
248 Sir *James Stonehouſe* of *Amerdan-hall* in *Eſſex*, *June* 11. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
249 Sir *John Palgrave* of *Norwood-Barningham* in *Norfolk*, Bar. and after Knighted, *June* 24.
250 Sir *Gerard Napier* of *Midlemarſh-hall* in *Dorſet*, Baronet, and after Knighted, *June* 25.
251 Sir *Thomas Whitmore* of *Appley* in *Salop*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 28. 1641.
252 Sir *John Maney* of *Lynton* in *Kent*, *June* 29.
253 Sir *Tho. Cave* the younger, of *Stanford* in *Northampton*, Baronet and Knight, *June* 30.
254 Sir *Chriſtopher Yelverton* of *Eaſton-Mandvit* in *Norf.* Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.
255 Sir *William Bottiler* of *Teſton* in *Kent*, Baronet, and after Knighted, *July* 3. 1641.
256 Sir *Thomas Hatton* of *Longſtanton* in *Cambridge*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 5. 1641.
257 Sir *Tho. Abdy* of *Fexhal* in *Eſſex*, Baronet, and after Knighted, *July* 7. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
258 Sir *John Bampfield*, eldeſt ſon of *John Bampfield* of *Poltimore* in *Devon*; which Sir *John* died in 1650. leaving his Title to his ſon Sir *Copleſton*, created Baronet *July* 14. 1641.
259 Sir *John Cotten* of *Landwade* in *Cambridge*, the ſame day.
260 Sir *Simmons D' Ewes* of *Stowhall* in *Suffolk*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 15. Sir *Willoughby.*
261 Sir *Henry-Frederick Thyn* of *Cauſe-Caſtle* in *Salop*, the ſame day.
262 Sir *John Burgoyn* of *Sutton* in *Bedford*, the ſame day.
263 Sir *John Northcote* of *Hain* in *Devon*, *Jul.* 16.
Sir *William Drake* of *Sherdelowes* in *Buckingham*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 17. Extinct.
264 *Tho. Rous* of *Rouſlench* in *Worceſter*, *July* 23.
265 Sir *Ralph Hare* of *Stow-Bardolf* in *Norfolk*, the ſame day.
266 Sir *John Norwich* of *Brompton* in *Northampton* Baronet and Knight, *July* 24. 1641.
267 Sir *John Brownlow* of *Belton* in *Lincoln*, *July* 26
268 Sir *Will. Brownlow* of *Humby* in *Lincoln*, *July* 27. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1. died in 1666. leaving his eldeſt ſon Sir *Richard* to ſucceed, who died in *July* 1668. leaving his eldeſt ſon Sir *John* to ſucceed.
269 Sir *John Sidenham* of *Brimpton* in *Somerſet*, *July* 28.
270 Sir *Henry Prat* of *Coleſhal* in *Berks*, the ſame day.
271 Sir *Francis Nichols* of *Hardwick* in *Northampton*, the ſame day.
272 Sir *William Strickland* of *Bointon* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *July* 30. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
273 Sir *Thomas Woldrich* of *Dudmaſton* in *Salop*, Baronet and Knight, *Aug.* 4. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
274 Sir *Thomas Maleverer* of *Allerton Maleverer* in *York*, the ſame day.
275 Sir *William Boughton* of *Lawford-parva* in *Warwick*, the ſame day.
276 Sir *John Chicheſter* of *Rawleigh* in *Devon*, the ſame day.
277 Sir *Norton Knatchbal* of *Merſhamhach* in *Kent*, the ſame day.
Sir *Hugh Wyndham* of *Pildſden-Court* in *Dorſet*, Baronet, and after Knighted, Extinct, the ſame day.
278 Sir *Richard Carew* of *Antony* in *Cornwall*, *Aug.* 9. Sir *Alexander* died *Decemb.* 23. 1644.
279 Sir *William Caſtleton* of St. *Edmunds-bury* in *Norfolk*, the ſame day.
280 Sir *Richard Price* of *Gogerthan* in *Cardigan*, the ſame day.
281 Sir *Hugh Cholmley* of *Whitby* in *York*, *Aug.* 10. Sir *William* who died in 1663. Sir *Hugh.*
282 Sir *William Spring* of *Packenham* in *Suffolk*, *Aug.* 11. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
283 Sir *Thomas Trevor* of *Endfield* in *Middleſex*, the ſame day.
284 Sir *John Curſon* of *Kedliſton* in *Derby*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, the ſame day.
285 Sir *Hugh Owen* of *Orelton* in *Pembroke*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.
286 Sir *Morton Brigs* of *Haughton* in *Salop*, *Aug.* 12. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
287 Sir *Henry Hayman* of *Somerfield* in *Kent*, the ſame day. Sir *Peter.*
288 Sir *Thomas Sanford* of *Hougil-Caſtle* in *Weſtmerland*, the ſame day.
289 Sir *Francis Rhodes* of *Balbrough* in *Derby*, Baronet and Knight. *Aug.* 14. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
290 Sir *Richard Sprignel* of *Coppenthorp* in *York*, the ſame day.
291 Sir *John Pots* of *Mannington* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.
292 Sir *John Goderick* of *Ribſton* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.
293 Sir *Robert Bindlos* of *Barwick* in *Lancaſter*, *Aug.* 16. 1641. 17 *Car.* 1.
294 Sir *William Walter* of *Sarſdem* in *Oxford*, the ſame day.

295 Sir *Thomas*

295 Sir *Thomas Lawley* of *St. Powel* in *Salop*, the ſame day. Sir *Francis.*
296 Sir *William Farmer* of *Eſton-Neſton* in *Northampton*, *Sept.* 6. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
297 Sir *John Davy* of *Creedy* in *Devon. Sept.* 9. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
298 Sir *Thomas Pettus* of *Rackheath* in *Norfolk*, *Sept.* 23. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
299 Sir *Will. Andrews* of *Denton* in *Northamp. Decemb.* 11. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
300 Sir *John Meaux*, the ſame day. Sir *William.*
301 Sir *Richard Gurney*, Lord Mayor of *London*, Baronet and Knight, *Dec.* 14. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
302 Sir *Thomas Willis* of *Fenditton* in *Cambridge*, *Decem.* 15. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
303 Sir *Francis Armitage* of *Kirkles* in *York*, the ſame day.
304 Sir *Richard Halford* of *Wiſlow* in *Leiceſter*, *Decemb.* 18. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
305 Sir *Humphrey Tufton* of *Mote* in *Kent*, Baronet and Knight, *Decemb.* 24. Sir *John.*
306 Sir *Edward Coke* of *Langford* in *Derby*, *Dec.* 30. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
Sir *Iſaac Aſtley* of *Melton-Conſtable* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Kt. *Jan.* 21. 1641. 17 *Car.* I. Ext.
Sir *David Cunningham*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, the ſame day. Extinct.
307 Sir *John Raney* of *Wrotham* in *Kent*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, *Jan.* 22. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
Sir *Rivet Eldred* of *Great Saxham* in *Suffolk*, *Jan.* 29. 1641. 17 *Car.* I. Extinct.
308 Sir *John Gell* of *Hopton* in *Derby*, the ſame day
309 Sir *Vincent Corbet* of *Morton-Corbet* in *Salop*, Baronet and Knight, the ſame day.
310 Sir *John Wray* of *Woodſome* in *York*, Baronet and Knight, *Feb.* 4. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
311 Sir *Thomas Throllop* of *Caſewick* in *Lincoln*, *Feb.* 5. 1641. 17 *Car.* I. Sir *William.*
312 Sir *Edward Thomas* of *Michael's-Town* in *Glamorgan*, *March* 3. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
313 Sir *William Cowper* of *Ratling-Court* in *Kent*, Baronet of *England* and *Scotland*, *March* 4. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
Sir *Denor Strut* of *Little-Wotley* in *Eſſex*, *Mar.* 5. 1641. 17 *Car.* I. Extinct.
314 Sir *William S. Quinting* of *Harpan in York*, *March* 8. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
315 Sir *Robert Kemp* of *Giſſing* in *Norfolk*, Baronet and Knight, *Mar.* 14. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
316 Sir *John Read* of *Brocket-hall* in *Hertford*, Baronet and Kt. *Mar.* 16. 1641. 17 *Car.* I.
Sir *James Ennion* of *Flower* in *Northampton. April* 9. 1642. 18 *Car.* I. Extinct.
Sir *Edmund Williams* of *Marlhurl* in *Dorſet*, *April* 19. 1642. Extinct.
Sir *John Williams* of *Minſter-Court* in *Kent*, *April* 22. 1642. Extinct.
317 Sir *George Winter* of *Huddington* in *Worceſter*, Baronet and Kt. *Apr.* 29. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
318 Sir *John Burlace* of *Bockmer* in *Buckingham*, *May* 4. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
Sir *Hen. Knowlis* of *Grove-place* in *Southampton*, *May* 6. 1642. Extinct.
319 Sir *John Hamilton* of *London*, *May* 11. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
320 Sir *Edward Morgan* of *Lenternam* in *Monmouth*, *May* 12. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
321 Sir *Nicholas Kemeys* of *Kevenmably* in *Glamorgan*, *May* 13. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
322 Sir *Trevor Williams* of *Llangilby* in *Monmouth.*
323 Sir *John Ariſly* of *Tribergh* in *York.*
324 Sir *Poynings Moor* of *Loſeley* in *Surrey.* Sir *William.*
325 Sir *Chriſtopher Dawny* of *Conick* in *York.*
326 Sir *William Inglesby* of *Ripley* in *York.*
327 Sir *Thomas Hampſon* of *Toplow* in *Buckingham*: Sir *Thomas.*
328 Sir *Thomas Williamſon* of *Eaſt-Markham* in *Nottingham.*
329 Sir *William Denny* of *Gillingham* in *Norfolk.*
330 Sir *Richard Hardreſs* of *Hardreſs* in *Kent.*
331 Sir *Chriſtoph. Lowther* of *Whithave* in *Cumb.*
332 Sir *Thomas Aſton* of *Odhil* in *Bedford.*
333 Sir *Edward Corbet* of *Leyton* in *Montgomery.*
Sir *George Middleton* of *Leighton* in *Lancaſt.* Ext.
334 Sir *Edward Pailer* of *Thoraldby* in *York.*
335 Sir *William Widdrington* of *Widdrington* in *Northumberland*; after Baron *Widdrington.*
336 Sir *Mat. Walkenburgh* of *Middle-Ing* in *York.*
337 Sir *Philip Conſtable* of *Everingham* in *York.*
338 Sir *Edw. Widdrington* of *Cartington* in *Northumberland.*
339 Sir *Stephen Leonard* of *Weſt-Wiccombe* in *Kent*, *Aug.* 15. 1642. 18 *Car.* I.
340 Sir *Robert Markham* of *Sedgbrook* in *Linc.*
341 Sir *Philip Hungate* of *Saxton* in *York.*
342 Sir *William Therrold* of *Marſton* in *Linc.*
343 Sir *Walter Rudſtone* of *Hoiſton* in *York.*
344 Sir *Ralph Blackſtone* of *Gibſide* in *Durham.*
345 Sir *Walter Wrotesley* of *Wrotesley* in *Stafford.*
346 Sir *Robert Throckmorton* of *Coughton* in *War.*
347 Sir *William Halton* of *Sanford* in *Eſſex.*
348 Sir *Brocket Spencer* of *Offley* in *Hartford.*
349 Sir *Edw. Golding* of *Colſton Baſſet* in *Nottin.*
350 Sir *William Smith* of *Crantock* in *Cornwall.*
351 Sir *Henry Herne* of *Wingfeild* in *Berks.*
352 Sir *Walter Blunt* of *Sodington* in *Worceſt.*
353 Sir *Adam Littleton* of *Stoke-Milburgh* in *Sa.*
354 Sir *Thomas Haggerſton* of *Haggerſton* in *Northumberland.*
355 Sir *Tho. Liddel* of *Ravenſholme Caſtle* in *Dur.*
Sir *Richard Laudy* of *Exeter.* Extinct.
356 Sir *Thomas Chamberlain* of *Wickham* in *Oxf.*
357 Sir *Henry Hunloke* of *Wingarworth* in *Derby.*
358 Sir *Thomas Bad* of *Camet-Oyſels* in *Hants.*
Sir *Richard Crane* of *Woodring* in *Norf.* Extinct.
359 Sir *Samuel D' Anvers.*
Sir *William Vaveſor.* Extinct.
360 Sir *Edward Walgrave* of *Hevercaſtle* in *Kent*
361 Sir *Henry Jones* of *Abermarles* in *Carn.*
362 Sir *John Pate* of *Syſonby* in *Leiceſter.*
363 Sir *Willoughby Hickman* of *Gainsborough* in *Lincoln.*
364 Sir *John Battiler* of *Bramfeild* in *Hertf.*
365 Sir *Edward Acton* of *Aldenham* in *Salop.*
366 Sir *Francis Hawley* of *Buckland* in *Somerſet.* after Baron *Hawley* in *Ireland.*
367 Sir *John Preſton* of *Furneſs* in *Lancaſt.*
368 Sir *Thomas Preſtrick* of *Holme* in *Lancaſt.*
369 Sir *Robert Terrold* of *Hawley* in *Lincoln.*
Sir *Gervaſe Lucas* of *Fenton* in *Lincoln.* Extinct.
370 Sir *Henry Bard*, afterward Vicount of *Bellemont* in *Ireland.*
371 Sir *Henry Williams* of *Guernevet* in *Brec.*
372 Sir *William Vancolſter* of *Amſterdam.*
373 Sir *William de Boreel* of *Amſterdam.*
374 Sir *Thomas Bland* of *Kippax-Park* in *York. Aug.* 30. 1642.

375 Sir *George*

375 Sir *George Carteret* of *Meteſehes* in *Jerſey*, *May* 9. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.
376 Sir *Edward Charleton* of *Heſleyſide* in *Northumberland*, *March* 6. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.
377 Sir *Thomas Windebank* of *Haynes* in *Wilts*, *Nov.* 25. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.
378 Sir *Benjamin Wright* of *Dennington* in *Suffolk*, *Feb.* 7. 1645. 21 *Car.* 1.
379 Sir *Richard Willis*, *June* 11. 1646. 22 *Car.* 1.
380 Sir *John Bale* of *Carleton Curley* in *Leiceſter*, *Nov.* 9. 1643. 19. *Car.* 1.
381 Sir *Brian O Nele* in *Ireland*, *Nov.* 13. 1643. 19 *Car.* 1.
382 Sir *Richard Vivian* of *Trelowren* in *Cornwal*, *Feb.* 12. 1644. 20 *Car.* 1.
383 Sir *Thomas Beaumont* of *Staughton-Grange* in *Leiceſter*, *Car.* 2.
384 Sir *Henry Wright* of *Dagenhams* in *Eſſex*, *June* 9. 1660. died in 1663. Sir *Henry*.
385 Sir *Griffith Williams* of *Reachin* in *Carnarvon*, *Car.* 2.
386 Sir *Francis Holles* of *Wynterborn St. Martyn* in *Dorſet*, *June* 27. 1660. afterwards Knighted, whoſe Father the Honourable *Denzel Holles* Eſq; Privy Counſellor to the King, was afterwards on Saturday *April* 20. 1661. created Baron *Holles* of *Ifeild*.
387 Sir *Henry Maſingberde* of *Bratoft-hall* in *Lincoln*, *Car.* 2.
388 Sir *William Wyndham* of *Orchard-Windham* in *Somerſet*, *Car.* 2.
389 Sir *Robert Hales* of *Beakesborn* in *Kent*. *Car* 2
390 Sir *Richard Brown* of *Deptford* in *Kent*, by Patent dated at St. *Germans* in *France*, *Sept.* 1. 1649.
391 Sir *Henry de Vic* of *Garnſey*, by Patent dated at the ſame place, *Sept.* 3. 1649.
392 Sir *Richard Forſter* of *Stokeſley* in *York*, by Patent dated at the ſame place, *Sep.* 18. 1649.
393 Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, *Sept.* 2. 1650. died Embaſſador in *Spain* in 1666. Sir *Richard*.
394 Sir *William Curtius*, *April* 2. 1652.
395 Sir *Arthur Slingsby* in *Kent*, by Patent dated at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, *Octob.* 19. 1657.
396 Sir *Tho. Orby*, by Patent dated at *Bruxells* in *Brabant* in 1658.
397 Sir *Thomas Bond*, by Patent dated at the ſame place, in the ſame year.
398 Sir *Arthur Marigny Carpentier* a *Frenchman*, by Patent dated at the ſame place in *Aug.* 1658.
399 Sir *Anthony de Merces*, a *Frenchman*, by Patent dated in 1660. Extinct.
400 Sir *John Evelyn*, by Patent dated at the *Hague* in *Holland*, *May* $\frac{12}{22}$. 1660.
401 Sir *Gualter de Raed* in *Holland* by Patent dated *May* $\frac{20}{30}$. 1660.
402 Sir *Orlando Bridgman* Knight, then Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, afterwards Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, *Car.* 2.
403 Sir *Geoffery Palmer* Knight, Atturney General to the King, *Car.* 2.
404 Sir *Heneage Finch* of *Raveſton* alias *Ranſton* in *Bucks*, Knight; Sollicitor General to the King.
405 Sir *John Langham* of *Cottesbrook* in *Northampton*, Knight.
406 Sir *Humphrey Winch* of *Hannes* in *Bedford*.
407 Sir *Robert Abdye* of *Albans* in *Eſſex*.
408 Sir *Tho. Draper* of *Sunninghill-Park* in *Berks*.
409 Sir *John Abdye* of *Moores* in *Eſſex*, Kt. Ext.
410 Sir *Jonathan Keate* of *Le-Hoo* in *Hertford*.
411 Sir *Hugh Speake* of *Hatelbury* in *Wilts*.
Sir *Nicholas Gold* of *London*, died without Iſſue in 1663. Extinct.
412 Sir *Tho. Adams* of *London*, Kt. Sir *William*.
413 Sir *Richard Atkins* of *Clapham* in *Surrey*.
414 Sir *Thomas Allen* of *London*.
415 Sir *Henry North* of *Milden-hall* in *Suffolk*.
416 Sir *William Wiſeman* of *Riven-hall* in *Eſſex*, *Knight*.
417 Sir *Thomas Cullum* of *Hatted* in *Suffolk*.
418 Sir *Thomas Darcy* of *St. Cleenes-hall* in *Eſſex*.
419 Sir *George-Grubham How* of *Cole-barwick* in *Wilts*.
420 Sir *John Cutts* of *Childerley* in *Cambridge*.
421 Sir *William Humble* of *London*.
422 Sir *Solomon Swayle* of *Swayle-hall* in *York*.
423 Sir *Gervaſe Elwayes* of *Stoak juxta Clare* in *Suffolk*.
424 Sir *Robert Cordell* of *Melford-hall* in *Suffolk*.
425 Sir *John Robinſon* of *London* Knight.
426 Sir *Henry Stapilton* of *Milford* in *York*.
427 Sir *Jacob Aſtley* of *Hill-Morton* in *Warwick*.
428 Sir *Rob. Hyldyard* of *Patrington* in *York*, Kt.
429 Sir *Will. Bowyard* of *Denham* in *Bucks*, Kt.
430 Sir *John Shuckburgh* of *Shuckburgh* in *War.*
431 Sir *William Wray* of *Askley* in *Lincoln*, died in 1669.
432 Sir *Nicholas Steward* of *Harley-Mawdit* in *Southampton*.
433 Sir *George Warburton* of *Hartley* in *Cheſter*.
434 Sir *Oliver St. John* of *Woodford* in *Northamp.*
435 Sir *Ralph Delavale* of *Seaton* in *Northumb.*
436 Sir *Andrew Henley* of *Henley* in *Somerſet*.
437 Sir *Thomas Ellis* of *Wyham* in *Lincoln*.
438 Sir *John Covert* of *Slaugham* in *Suſſex*, Kt.
439 Sir *Maurice Berkley* of *Browton* in *Somerſet*, afterwards Vicount *Fitz-Harding* in *Ireland*.
440 Sir *Peter Lear* of *London*.
441 Sir *Henry Hudſon* of *Melton-Mowbray* in *Leiceſter*.
442 Sir *Tho. Herbert* of *Turineturne* in *Monm.*
443 Sir *Thomas Middleton* of *Chirke* in *Denbigh*.
444 Sir *Verney Noel* of *Kirkby* in *Leiceſter*, *July* 6. 1660.
445 Sir *George Buſwel* of *Clipton* alias *Clepton* in *Norfolk*, *July* 7. 1660.
446 Sir *Robert Auſten* of *Berley* in *Kent*.
447 Sir *William Boothby* of *Broadlo Aſh* in *Derby*, Knight.
448 Sir *Wolſtan de Market* of *Boſworth* in *Leic.*
449 Sir *John Clark* of *Noel-Weſton* in *Oxford*.
450 Sir *John Warner* of *Parham* in *York*.
451 Sir *John Bright* of *Bradſworth* in *York*.
452 Sir *Job Harby* of *Aldenham* in *Hertford*, Knight. Sir *Eraſmus*.
453 Sir *Samuel Morland* alias *Marley* of *Southamſtead-Bonneſter* in *Berks*, Knight.
454 Sir *Tho. Hewet* of *Pithbury* in *Hertford*, Kt.
455 Sir *Edward Honywood* of *Evington* in *Kent*, Knight.
456 Sir *Baſil Dixwell* of *Broom-houſe* in *Kent*.
457 Sir *Richard Browne* of *London*, died in 1669.
458 Sir *Henry Vernon* of *Hodnet* in *Salop*.
459 Sir *John Awbrew* of *Nontreſhed* in *Glamorgan*
460 Sir *William Thomas* of *Fowington* in *Eſſex*.
461 Sir *Tho. Slater* of *Cambridge*, *July* 25. 1660.
462 Sir *Henry Conway* of *Botriſhen* in *Flint*, the ſame day.

463 Sir *Henry*

463 Sir *Hen. Green* of *Sonpford* in *Eſſex*, *July* 26. 1660.
464 Sir *John Stapely* of *Patcham* in *Suſſex*, *July* 28. 1660.
465 Sir *Metcalfe Robinſon* of *Newby* in *York*, *July* 30. 1660.
466 Sir *Marmaduke Greſham* of *Limpfield* in *Surrey*.
467 Sr *William Dudley* of *Clapton* in *Northampton*, Aug. 1. 1660.
468 Sir *Hugh Smithford* of *Stannick* alias *Stanwick* in *York*.
469 Sir *Roger Moſtin* of *Moſtin* in *Flint*, Knight.
470 Sir *Will. Willoughby* of *Willoughby* in *Nottingh.*
471 Sir *Anthony Oldfield* of *Spalding* in *Lincoln.*
472 Sir *Peter Leiceſter* of *Tabley* in *Cheſter.*
473 Sir *William Weeler* of *Weſtminſter*, Knight. Sir *Charles.*
474 Sir *Thomas Smith* of *Hetherton* in *Cheſter.*
475 Sir *Thomas Lee* of *Hartwel* in *Bucks.*
476 Sir *John Newton* of *Barſcourt* in *Glouceſter.*
477 Sir *John Rous* of *Henham* in *Suffolk.*
478 Sir *John Hales* of *Coventry* in *Warwick.*
479 Sir *John Drake* of *Aſh* in *Devon*, died in *July* 1669. Sir *John.*
480 Sir *Oliver St. John* of *Carrick-Dromrick* in *Leyfrim* in *Ireland* Knight, *Sept.* 5. 1660.
481 Sir *John Bowyer* of *Knipeſley* in *Stafford*, Kt.
482 Sir *William Wild* of *London*, Knight, Recorder of *London.*
483 Sir *Joſeph Aſh* of *Tittinham* in *Middleſex.*
484 Sir *John How* of *Compton* in *Glouceſter.*
485 Sir *John Swinborn* of *Chapheaton* in *Northumberland*, *Sept.* 26. 1660.
486 Sir *John Trot* of *Leverſtoke* in *Southampton*, *Octob.* 11. 1660.
487 Sir *Humphrey Miller* of *Oxen-hall* in *Kent*, *Octob.* 13. 1660.
488 Sir *John Lewis* of *Ledſton* in *York*, Knight.
489 Sir *John Beal* of *Maideſtone* in *Kent.*
490 Sir *Rich. Franklin* of *Moore-Park* in *Hertf.*
491 Sir *William Ruſſel* of *Langhorne* in *Carmarthen*, *Nov.* 8. 1660.
492 Sir *William Backhouſe.*
493 Sir *Thomas Boothbey* of *Fridayhill* in *Chinkford* in *Eſſex.*
494 Sir *John Cutler* of *London*, Knight.
495 Sir *Giles Mottet* of *Leige*, *Nov.* 16. 1660.
496 Sir *Henry Gifford* of *Burſtall* in *Leiceſter*, *Nov.* 21. 1660.
497 Sir *Thomas Foot* of *London*, Knight.
498 Sir *Thomas Mainwaring* of *Over-Prorer* in *Cheſter.*
499 Sir *Thomas Bennet* of *Baberham* in *Cambr.*
500 Sir *John Wroth* of *Blonden-hall* in *Kent.*
501 Sir *John Win* of *Neſtal* in *York*, *Dec.* 3. 1660.
502 Sir *Humphrey Monnox* of *Wootton* in *Bedf.*
503 Sir *Heneage Featherſton* of *Blackeſware* in *Hartford.*
Sir *John Peyton* of *Doddington* in the Iſle of *Ely*, *Decemb.* 10. 1660. died a Batchelor the ſame month: Extinct.
504 Sir *John Fagge* of *Wiſton* in *Suſſex*, *Dec.* 11.
505 Sir *Edmund Anderſon* of *Broughton* in *Lincoln*, the ſame day.
506 Sir *Matthew Herbert* of *Bromfield* in *Salop.*
507 Sir *Edward Ward* of *Baxey* in *Norfolk.*
508 Sir *William Killigrew* of *Arwinnick* in *Cornwall*, *Decemb.* 22. 1660.
509 Sir *John Keyt* of *Elrington* in *Glouceſter*, the ſame day.
510 Sir *John Buck* of *Hanby-Grange* in *Lincoln*, the ſame day.
511 Sir *William Frankland* of *Thickleby* in *York.*
512 Sir *Richard Stidolph* of *Norberry* in *Surry.*
513 Sir *William Gardner* of *London.*
514 Sir *William Juxon* of *Albous* in *Suſſex.*
515 Sir *John Legard* of *Gorton* in *York.*
516 Sir *George Marwood* of *Little-Buby* in *York.*
517 Sir *John Jackſon* of *Hickleton* in *York.*
518 Sir *Henry Pickering* of *Waddon* in *Cambridge*, *Jan.* 2. 1660.
519 Sir *Hen. Beddingfield* of *Oxeborough* in *Norfolk*, the ſame day.
520 Sir *Walter Plummer* of the *Inner Temple London.*
Sir *Herbert Springet* of *Broyle* in *Suſſex*: Extinct.
521 Sir *William Powel* alias *Hinſon* of *Peggethley* in *Hereford.*
522 Sir *Robert Newton* of *London.*
523 Sir *Nicholas Stonghton* of *Stonghton* in *Sur.*
524 Sir *William Rokeby* of *Seyars* in *York.*
525 Sir *Walter Ernley* of *New-Salisbury* in *Wilts*, *Feb.* 2. 1660.
526 Sir *John Husband* of *Ipſley* in *Warwick.*
527 Sir *Thomas Morgan* of *Kangattock* in *Munmouth.*
528 Sir *Richard Lane* of *Talsk* in *Roſcommon* in *Ireland.*
529 Sir *Benjamin Wright* of *Cranham-hall* in *Eſſex.*
530 Sir *John Colleton* of *London.*
531 Sir *James Modyford* of *London.*
532 Sir *Edward Smith* of *Eſh* in *Durham.*
Sir *Thomas Giffard* of *Caſtle-Jordan* in *Meth* in *Ireland*, *March* 4. 1660. Extinct.
533 Sir *Thomas Clifton* of *Clifton* in *Lancaſter.*
534 Sir *William Wilton* of *Eaſtborne* in *Suſſex.*
535 Sir *Compton Reed* of *Barton* in *Berks.*
536 Sir *Bryan Broughton* of *Broughton* in *Staffordſhire*, Knight.
537 Sir *Robert Slingsby* of *Newſels* in *Hertford.*
538 Sir *Ralph Verney* of *Middle-Claydod* in *Bucks*, Knight.
539 Sir *John Crofts* of *Stow* in *Suffolk*, *Mar.* 16.
540 Sir *Robert Dyer* of *Up-hall* in *Hertford.*
541 Sir *Jo. Bromfield* of *Suffolk-place* in *Southwark* in *Surrey*, *Mar.* 20. 1660.
542 Sir *Thomas Rich* of *Sunning* in *Berks*, the ſame day.
543 Sir *Edward Smith* of *Edmund-thorpe* in *Leiceſter*, the ſame day.
544 Sir *Walter Long* of *Waddon* in *Wilts*, *Mar.* 26. 1661.
545 Sir *Jo. Fettiplace* of *Chilcey* in *Berks*, *Mar.* 30.
546 Sir *Walter Hendley* of *Couck-field* in *Suſſex*, *April* 8. 1661.
547 Sir *William Parſons* of *Langley* in *Bucks*, *April* 9.
548 Sir *John Cambell* of *Woodford* in *Eſſex*, the ſame day.
549 Sir *Charles Gawdy* of *Crows-hall* in *Suffolk*, *April* 20.
550 Sir *William Morrice* of *Werrington* in *Devon*, the ſame day.
551 Sir *William Caley* of *Brompton* in *York*, *April* 26. 1661.
552 Sir *William Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in *Cornwall*, *April* 29. 1661.
553 Sir *Thomas Curſon* of *Walter-Berry* in *Oxford*, *April* 30. 1661.

554 Sir *Edward*

554 Sir *Edward Fowel* of *Fowel-Combe* in *Devon*, Knight, *May* 1. 1661.
555 Sir *John Cropley* of *Clarkenwell* in *Middlesex*, *May* 7. 1661.
556 Sir *William Smith* of *Radicliffe* in *Berks*, *May* 10.
557 Sir *George Cook* of *Wheatley* in *York*, the same day.
558 Sir *Charles Koyde* of *Garth* in *Montgomery*.
559 Sir *Nathaniel Powel* of *Ewhurst* in *Sussex*.
560 Sir *Denny Ashburnham* of *Bromhall* in *Sussex*.
561 Sir *Hugh Smith* of *Long-Ashton* in *Somerset*.
562 Sir *Robert Jenkinson* of *Walcot* in *Oxford*, *May* 18. 1661.
563 Sir *William Glyn* of *Bissiter* alias *Burcester* in *Oxford*, *May* 20. 1661.
564 Sir *John Charnock* of *Holcot* in *Bedford*, *May* 21.
565 Sir *Robert Brook* of *Nacton* in *Suffolk*.
566 Sir *Thomas Nevill* of *Holt* in *Leicester*.
567 Sir *Henry Andrews* of *Lathbury* in *Bucks*.
568 Sir *Anthony Craven* of *Spersholt* in *Berks*, *June* 4. 1661.
569 Sir *James Clavering* of *Axwell* in *Durham*, *June* 5.
570 Sir *Thomas Derham* of *West-Derham* in *Norfolk*, *June* 8. 1661. Sir *Henry*.
571 Sir *Abraham Cullen* of *East-Sheen* in *Surrey*, *June* 17.
572 Sir *William Stanley* of *Houton* in *Chester*.
573 Sir *Godfrey Copley* of *Sprethorough* in *York*.
574 Sir *James Rushout* of *Milast-Green* in *Essex*.
575 Sir *Henry Winchcombe* of *Bucklebury* in *Berks*.
576 Sir *Thomas Vynor* of *London* Knight, died in 1665. Sir *George*.
577 Sir *Clement Clark* of *Lane-Abbey* in *Leicester*.
578 Sir *John Seylyard* of *De-la-ware* in *Kent*.
579 Sir *Christopher Guise* of *Elmore* in the County of the City of *Gloucester*, *July* 10. 1661.
580 Sir *Reynold Forster* of *East-Greenwich* in *Kent*, *July* 11. 1661.
581 Sir *Philip Parker* of *Erwarton* in *Suffolk*.
582 Sir *Edward Duke* of *Ben-hall* in *Suffolk*.
583 Sir *Edward Barkham* of *Wanfleet* in *Lincoln*, *July* 21. 1661.
584 Sir *Charles Hussey* of *Capthorpe* alias *Kaythrop* in *Lincoln*, the same day; died in 1664.
585 Sir *Thomas Norton* of *Coventry* in *Warwick*, *July* 23. 1661.
586 Sir *John Dormer* of *Le-Grange* in *Bucks*.
587 Sir *Thomas Carew* of *Harcombe* in *Devon*, *Aug* 2. 1661.
588 Sir *Mark Milbank* of *Halnaby* in *York*, *Aug.* 7.
589 Sir *Richard Rothwell* of *Ewerby* and *Stapleford* in *Lincoln*, *Aug.* 16. 1661.
590 Sir *John Banks* of *London*, *Aug.* 22. 1661.
591 Sir *John Ingolsby* of *Lothenborough* in *Bucks*, *Aug.* 30
592 Sir *Robert Jason* of *Broad-Samerfold* in *Wilts*, *Sept.* 5. 1661.
593 Sir *John Young* of *Culliton* in *Devon*, Knight, *Sep.* 26.
594 Sir *Francis Bickley* of *Atleborough* in *Norfolk*, *Sept.* 3. 1661.
595 Sir *John Frederick Van Friesenderfe de Heerdick*, Lord of *Kyrup*, Embassador extraordinary from the King of *Sweedland*, *Octob.* 4. 1661.
596 Sir *William Roberts* of *Willesdon* in *Middlesex*, *Nov.* 8. 1661.
597 Sir *William Luckin* of *Waltham* in *Essex*, *Nov.* 15.
598 Sir *Thomas Smith* of *Hill-hall* in *Essex*, *Nov.* 28.
599 Sir *Edwin Sadler* of *Temple-Dwinisley*, alias *Dimsley* in *Hertford*, *Decemb.* 3. 1661.
600 Sir *George Southcote* of *Bleborough* in *Lincoln*, *Jan.* 24. 1661.
601 Sir *George Trevilian* of *Netlecombe* in *Somerset*, the same day.
602 Sir *Francis Duncombe* of *Tangley* in *Surrey*. *Feb.* 4. 1661.
603 Sir *Nicholas Bacon* of *Gillingham* in *Norfolk*, *Feb.* 7. 1661.
604 Sir *Richard Cocks* of *Dumbleton* in *Gloucester*, the same day.
605 Sir *John Coriton* of *Newton* in *Cornwall*, *Feb.* 27.
606 Sir *John Floyd* of *Woking* in *Surrey*, *Feb.* 28.
607 Sir *Thomas Proby* of *Elton-hall* in *Huntingdon*, *Mar.* 7. 1661.
608 Sir *Miles Stapleton* of *Carlton* in *York*, *Mar.* 20.
609 Sir *Richard Braham* of *Windsor* in *Berks*, *April* 16. 1662.
610 Sir *John Witteronge* of *Stenton-Bury* in *Bucks*, Knight, *May* 2. 1662.
611 Sir *Philip Mathewes* of *Great-Govyors* in *Collier-row-ward* in *Essex*, *June* 13. 1662.
612 Sir *Robert Bernard* of *Hungton* in *Huntingdon*, Serjeant at Law, *July* 1. 1662.
613 Sir *Roger Lort* of *Stack-poole* in *Pembroke*, *July* 15. 1662. Sir *John*.
614 Sir *Edward Gage* of *Hengrave* in *Suffolk*, the same day.
615 Sir *Thomas Hook* of *Flanchford* in *Surrey*, *July* 22. 1662.
616 Sir *John Saville* of *Copley* in *York*, *July* 24. 1662.
617 Sir *Christopher Wandesford* of *Kirklington* in *York*, *Aug.* 5. 1662.
618 Sir *Richard Astley* of *Patshall* in *Stafford*. *Aug.* 13. 1662.
619 Sir *Jacob Gerrard* of *Langford* in *Norfolk*, *Aug.* 16. 1662.
620 Sir *Edward Fust* of *Hill* in *Gloucester*, *Aug.* 21. 1662.
621 Sir *Robert Long* of *Westminster* in *Middlesex*, *Sept.* 1. 1662. with Remainder, for lack of Issue Male, unto *John Long*, and the Heirs Males of his body.
622 Sir *Robert Canne* of *Compton-Greenfield* in *Gloucester*, Knight, *Sept.* 13. 1662.
623 Sir *William Middleton* of *Balshaw* in *Northumberland*, *Octob.* 24.
624 Sir *Richard Graham* of *Norton* in *York*, *Nov.* 17. 1662.
625 Sir *Thomas Tankred* of *Borough-Bridge* in *York*, the same day.
626 Sir *Cuthbert Herron* of *Chipchase* in *Northumberland*, *Nov.* 20.
627 Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Caswel* in *Oxford*, Knight, *Nov.* 29.
628 Sir *Henry Purefoy* of *Wadley* in *Berks*, *Dec.* 4. 1662.
629 Sir *Thomas Cobbe* of *Atterbury* in *Oxford*, *Dec.* 9.
630 Sir *Henry Brook* of *Norton* in *Chester*, *Dec.* 12.
631 Sir *Peter Pinder* of *Edrinstraw* in *Chester*, *Dec.* 22.
632 Sir *Nicholas Stanning* of *Mairstone* in *Devon*, *Jan.* 9.
633 Sir *George Reve* of *Twayte* in *Suffolk*. *Jan.* 22.
634 Sir *Thomas Brograve* of *Hamells* in *Hertford*, *Mar.* 18.
635 Sir *Thomas Barnardiston* of *Ketton* alias *Kedington* in *Suffolk*, *April* 7. 1663.
636 Sir *Samuel Barnardiston* of *Brightwel-hall* in *Suffolk*, May 1.
637 Sir *John Dawes* of *Putney* in *Surrey*, *June* 1.
638 Sir *John Holman* of *Banbury* in *Oxford*, the same day.
639 Sir *William Cook* of *Bromhall* in *Norfolk*, *June* 29.
640 Sir *John Bellot* of *Moreton* in *Chester*, *June* 30.
641 Sir *George Downing* of *East-Hatley* in *Cambridge*, *July* 1.
642 Sir *Wil. Gawdy* of *Westerling* in *Norfolk*, *July* 13.
643 Sir *Charles*

643 Sir *Charles Pym* of *Brymore* in *Somerſet*, Knight, *July* 14.
644 Sir *William Doyley* of *Shottiſham* in *Norfolk*, Knight, *July* 29.
645 Sir *John Muſham* of *Cuxton* in *Kent*, Knight, *Aug.* 12.
646 Sir *Robert Barnham* of *Boughton-Munſcalſe* in *Kent*, *Aug.* 15. 1663.
647 Sir *Francis Leeke* of *Newarke upon Trent* in *Nottingham*, *Decemb.* 15.
648 Sir *John St. Barbe* of *Broadlands* in *Southampton*, *Decemb.* 30. 1663.
649 Sir *James Pennyman* of *Ormesby* in *Cleveland* in *York*, *Feb.* 22. 1663.
650 Sir *Thomas Maddiford* of *Lincolns-Inn* in *Middleſex*, *March* 1. 1663.
651 Sir *George Selby* of *Whitehouſe* in *Durham*, *Mar.* 3. 1663.
652 Sir *Edmund Forteſcue* of *Fallowpit* in *Devon*, *Mar.* 31. 1664.
653 Sir *Samuel Tuke* of *Creſſing-Temple* in *Eſſex*, the ſame day.
654 Sir *John Tempeſt* of *Tongue* in *York*, *May* 25. 1664.
655 Sir *Litleton Osboldeſton* of *Chadlington* in *Oxford*, *June* 25. 1664.
656 Sir *Giles Tooker* of *Maddington* in *Wilts*, *July* 1. 1664.
657 Sir *Stephen Anderſon* of *Egworth* in *Bedford*, *July* 13. 1664.
658 Sir *Thomas Bateman* of *How-hall* in *Norfolk*, *Aug.* 31. 1664.
659 Sir *Thomas Lorraine* of *Kirke-harle* in *Northumberland*, *Sept.* 26. 1664.
660 Sir *Thomas Wentworth* of *Bretton* in *York*, *Sept.* 27. 1664.
661 Sir *Theophilus Biddulph* of *Weſtcombe* in *Kent*, Knight, *Novem.* 2. 1664.
662 Sir *William Green* of *Michum* in *Surrey*, the ſame day.
663 Sir *William Cookes* of *Norgrave* in *Worceſter*, *Dec.* 24. 1664.
664 Sir *John Wolſtenholme* of *London*, Knight, *Jan.* 10. 1664.
665 Sir *John Jacob* of *Bromley* in *Middleſex*, Knight, *Jan.* 11. 1664.
666 Sir *John Yeomans* of *Briſtoll*, *Jan.* 12. 1664.
667 Sir *John Pye* of *Hone* in *Derby*, *Jan.* 13. 1664.
668 Sir *Thomas Taylor* of the *Parkehouſe* in *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, *Jan.* 18. 1664.
669 Sir *William Leman* of *Northaw* in *Hertford*, *Mar.* 3. 1664.
670 Sir *Robert Smith* of *Upton* in *Eſſex*, Knight, *Mar.* 30. 1665.
671 Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* of *Hamerſmith* in *Middleſex*, Knight, *April* 14. 1665. Sir *Nicholas.*
672 Sir *John Shaw* of *London*, Knight, *April* 15. 1665.
673 Sir *John Brown* of *Caſome* in *Oxford*, *May* 10. 1665.
674 Sir *George Rawden* of *Moira* in *Down* in *Ireland*, *May* 20. 1665.
675 Sir *Robert Jocelyn* of *Hydehill* in *Hartford*, *June* 8. 1665.
676 Sir *Robert Duckenfield*, the younger, of *Duckenfield-hall* in *Cheſter*, *June* 16. 1665.
677 Sir *John Lawſon* of *Brughton* in *York*, *July* 6. 1665.
678 Sir *Peter Tyrrell* of *Hanſlap* and *Caſtlethorpe* in *Bucks*, *July* 20. 1665.
679 Sir *Francis Burdet* of *Burchet* in *York*, *July* 25. 1665.
680 Sir *George Moore* of *Maidsnorton* in *Bucks*, *July* 26. 1665.
681 Sir *Abel Barker* of *Hambleton* in *Rutland*, *Sept.* 9. 1665.
682 Sir *William Oglander* of *Nunwell* in the Iſle of *Wight*, Knight, *Dec.* 12. 1665.
683 Sir *William Temple* of *Sheene* in *Surrey*, *Jan.* 31. 1665.
684 Sir *William Swan* of *Southfleet* in *Kent*, Knight, *March* 1. 1665.
685 Sir *Anthony Shirley* of *Preſton* in *Suſſex*, *Mar.* 6. 1665.
Sir *Maurice Diggs* of *Chilhamcaſtle* in *Kent*, the ſame day. Extinct.
686 Sir *Peter Gleane* of *Hardwick* in *Norfolk*, the ſame day.
Sir *John Nelthorpe* of *Gray's-Inn* in *Middleſex*, *May* 10. 1666. Extinct.
687 Sir *Robert Viner* of *London*, Knight, the ſame day.
688 Sir *Thomas Twyſden* of *Bradburne juxta Eaſt-Malling* in *Kent*, Knight, one of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, *June* 13. 1666.
689 Sir *Anthony Archer* of *Biſhop's Bourne* in *Kent*, Knight, *July* 4. 1666.
690 Sir *John Doyly* of *Chiſelhampton* in *Oxford*, *July* 7. 1666.
691 Sir *Edward Hoby* of *Biſham* in *Berks*, *July* 12. 1666.
692 Sir *Thomas Put* of *Combe* in *Devon*, *July* 21. 1666.
693 Sir *John Tirrell* of *Siringfield* in *Eſſex*, the Son and Heir apparent of Sir *John Tirrell* of *Heron* in *Eſſex*, Knight, *Octob.* 22. 1666.
694 Sir *Gilbert Gerard* of *Fiskerton* in *Lincoln*, entailing the Title of Baronet upon his Iſſue Male by *Mary* his ſecond Wife, Daughter unto *John Cooſins* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Nov.* 17. 1666.
695 Sir *Robert Yeomans* of *Redlands* in *Glouceſter*, *Dec.* 31. 1666.
696 Sir *Car Scrope* of *Cockerington* in *Lincoln*, *Jan.* 16. 1666.
697 Sir *Peter Forteſcue* of *Wood* in *Devon*, *Jan.* 29. 1666.
698 Sir *Richard Bettenton* of *Wimbleton* in *Surrey*, Knight, *Feb.* 7. 1666.
699 Sir *Algernoon Peyton* of *Doddington* in the Iſle of *Ely*, *Mar.* 21. 1666.
700 Sir *Roger Martin* of *Long-Melford* in *Suffolk*, *Mar.* 28. 1667.
701 Sir *Richard Haſtings* of *Redlench* in *Somerſet*, *May* 7. 1667.
702 Sir *William Hanham* of *Winborne* in *Dorſet*, *May* 24. 1667.
703 Sir *Francis Top* of *Yormarton* in *Glouceſter*, *July* 25. 1668.
704 Sir *William Langhorne* of *the Inner Temple London*, *Aug.* 28. 1668.

A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND:

From the time of the *ROMANS* Government, Unto the Death of King CHARLES I.

Of the first known times of this Island.

ALTHOUGH we begin the *Æra* of our Computation from *William* called the Conqueror, as though he was the first of our Kings of *England*: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after-Ages can know nothing of former times, but what is recorded by writing: it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies, before Printing came up; that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been Fictions. And nothing is delivered to Posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables; such as the story of *Albina*, (of whom they say, this Island was called *Albion*; though others say, *Ab albis rupibus*, of the white Cliffs) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of *Diocletian*, King of *Syria*, (such as never was) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night killed all their Husbands: for which fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of *Albion*, the son of *Neptune*, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Attestation, and yet as very a fable as these; namely the story of the *Trojan Brute*, (of whom the Island they say, was called *Britain*: though many other causes are given of the name:) as likewise the story of *Brutes* Cousin *Corinæus*, of whom the Countrey of *Cornwal* had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Gyant *Gogmagog*: and that *Brute* having three Sons, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*, he gave at his death to his eldest Son *Locrine*, all the Land on this side *Humber*, and called it *Loegria*; to his second son *Albanact*, all the land beyond *Humber*, of whom it was called *Albania*, (now *Scotland*:) and to his youngest Son *Camber*, all the Land beyond the River of *Severne*, of whom it was called *Cambria* (now *Wales*;) with other such stuff which may please children, but not riper Judgements; and were first broached by *Geoffery*, Arch-deacon of *Monmouth*: for which all the Writers of his time cried shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* (afterward made, by the favour of King *Stephen*, Bishop of *Asaph*) lights upon a Book written in Welch, and brought out of *Wales* by *Walter* Arch-deacon of *Exeter* of the *British* affairs, and translated by *Geoffery*, in which, though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentitious Fables were inserted, that they rendred even what truths he writ suspected.

Albion why *England* called.

Brutes story fabulous.

Matth. West.

Geoffery of Monmouth a fabulous writer.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing it; and was not till the time of *Julius Cæsar*, a thousand years after

the Fable of *Brute*: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, as having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for defence without, so neither had they any Forts, for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of trees fastned together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as *Kent* only had in it (as *Cæsar* calleth them) four Kings, *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*:) which division, as it made the *Britains* the more easie to be conquered, so it made the *Romans* the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battles might have made a conquest of the whole; where being thus divided, there was need to be as many battles as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the *Romans* could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of *Julius Cæsar*, to the time of the Emperour *Domitian*: not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after *Cæsar's* first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of *Cassibelan*, King of the *Trinovants*, who had his seat at *Verulam*, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little stop to the Romans proceedings: but after the loss of a Battle or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, then by a general power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true, *Dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* Yet before the Countrey could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nations valour, seeking to keep themselves free; and afterward by reason of the insolency of the Garrison Souldiers, that sought to make them slaves, many great oppositions were made, amongst which the most memorable was that of *Voadicia*, a certain Queen of the Countrey, who having been by the Roman Souldiers her self abused, and her daughters ravished, used means to leavy an Army of sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the Romans in their chief Towns, which were *London*, *Verulam*, and *Camulodunum* (now *Malden* in *Essex*,) of whom she slew above seventy thousand: but then in a second Battel, had fourscore thousand of her own Army slain, after which Defeat, for avoiding of slavery, she poysoned her self.

How long the *Romans* were in conquering *England*.

Julius Cæsar invading *England*, *Cassibelan* resists him.

Voadicia discomfiteth the *Romans*: and after is discomfited her self.

This Island for a long time was so much esteemed of the *Romans*, that their Emperors sometimes came hither in person; as first the Emperour *Adrian* in the year 124. who re-edified that great Wall between *England*, first made by *Agricola*, *Nero's* General in *Britain*, and Father-in-law to *Tacitus* the famous Historian. *Adrian* having set the Countrey in order returned. The same Wall was again repaired by *Severus* the Emperour, in the yeer 212. who came over into *Britain* to repress the Incursions of the *Picts* and *Scots*, by whom in a Battel near *York*, he was wounded and thereof died; or as others say, he died of age and sickness. Afterward in the year 305. *Constantius* the Emperour came into *Britain*, and ended his life at *York*, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to *Constantine* the *Great*, Son of *Constantius*, who in that City was first saluted Emperour. But notwithstanding the great estimation the *Romans* a long time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater then the benefit; for to keep it in subjection, they maintained no fewer then fourscore thousand Souldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left *Britain*, yet they left not the *Britains*, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in their service, and the rest planted in that part of *France*, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called *Britain*. And now one would think, the Island should be in good case, being freed from them that kept them in subjection: but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, then it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King *Lucius* happening to die without issue, they were left as a few loose sticks, without the bond of a Governour, which the *Picts* and *Scots* observing, thought now was the time to make the Countrey their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the *Britains* having none left of their Native Kings to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they make choice of *Vortigern* Earl of *Cornwal*, one extracted from the *British* Line, to be their King: and he, whether so advised by his Cabinet Counsellor, the Prophetical *Merlin*, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance, implores first aid of the *Romans*; and they making answer, they had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the *Saxons* for aid, a warlike people of *Germany*, and who had greater swarms then their hives could well hold.

The Emperor *Adrian* comes into *England*.

The Emperor *Severus* comes into *England*.

The Emperor *Constantius* comes into *England*.

The *Romans* leave *England*, and why.

Vortigern is chosen King.

He calls in the *Saxons*.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation to call in strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters: as here it proved with the *Saxons*.

These *Saxons* were Infidels, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several dayes of the week. Adoring the *Sun*, they named the first day *Sunday*, or *Sunsday*. The second *Moonday*, from an Idol which ridiculously represented the *Moon*. Another god they had called *Tuisco*, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it *Tuesday*. The tradition is, that this *Tuisco* was the son of

Ashke-

Askkenaz, Grandchilde to *Japhet*, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of *Asia* into *Europe* from the unfinished Tower of *Babel*. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was *Woden*, representing an armed man, and they named the fourth day from him *Wodensday*, or *Wednesday*; they honoured him as the god of Battel: He had been a famous and victorious Prince amongst them, and of him lineally descended *Hengistus* and *Horsa* their first leaders into this Island. Not only our *Saxons*, but all the Septentrional Nations adored and sacrificed to *Thor*, a Statue resembling a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden *Stars*, of whom they denominated the fifth day *Thursday*. *Friday* took the name of *Friga*, an Idol representing both Sexes, with a Bow in one hand, and a Sword in the other: and though the Statue expresst an *Hermophrodite*, yet she was generally reputed a Goddess. Then they had a god called *Seater*, and to him they consecrated *Saterday*: this Idol was like an old man, with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the *Saxons*; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. First then, it is recorded, that in the year 63. what time *Arviragus* reigned here, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* (who buried the Body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then *Thurdet*, now *Glastenbury*; and that there came with him *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*: and more then this, that *Simon Zelotes* one of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom here in *Britain*: and more then this, that both St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which, and more to this purpose, is recorded by Authors of good account: though it be hard in believing, *That persons, and specially women of so great age, as these must needs be at this time, should take so long a journey.* But howsoever it was, certain it is, that the Doctrine of Christianity was about this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward but small progress, and that with some persecution; as in which time, St. *Alban* suffered Martyrdom at *Verulam*, and at *Lichfield* shortly after, no fewer then a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time *Lucius* was King of this Island, *Elutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, sent *Faganus* and *Damianus* to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Heathenish *Flamins* and *Arch-flamins* (one and thirty in number) were converted to so many Bishops Sees; whereof *London*, *York*, and *Caerleyn*, (now St. *Davids*) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Parish Church of St. *Peter*, on *Cornhil*, *London*, which recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King *Lucius*, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishops See. In the year 359. a Council was holden at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of *Britain*; and though they were Orthodoxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voices against the *Arian* Heresie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were ignorant in the *Greek* Language, they were circumvented by the *Arian* Bishops, and unanimously they would have Christ, but not *Homoousion*. After this, about the year 420. rose up in this Island, one *Pelagius* a Monk, brought up in the Monastery of *Bangor* in *Wales*, who spread the poyson of his Heresie, first in this his Native Countrey, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the *Saxons* were called in, about the year 450.

Joseph of *Arimathea* plants the Gospel at *Glastenbury*.

St. *Alban* suffers Martyrdom at *Verulam*.

The Heathenish Temples converted into Bishops Sees at the preaching of *Faganus* and *Damianus*.

Pelagius the Heretick riseth up.

And now under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*, came over nine thousand *Saxons* with their Wives and Children, to assist the *Britains* against the *Scots*, and were appointed the Isle of *Thanet* to inhabit. With which assistance, the *Britains* gave their enemies Battel, and overcame them: so as they accounted the *Saxons* as Angels sent from Heaven, and then allowed them *Kent* also for their inhabiting. Not long after *Hengist* obtained of King *Vortigern* the property of so much ground, as he could enclose with a Bulls Hide: which cutting into thongs, he there built the Castle, *Ficti de nomine*, called *Thong* Castle. And now having built it, he invites *Vortigern* to a Feast, who there fell in love with *Rowena*, the Daughter, or rather the Neece of *Hengist*; for when *Hengist* first arrived in *Britain* he was but 30. years of age: howsoever *Vortigern* marrying this fair Lady, put *Hengist* into such a height of boldness, that he began to aspire, sending for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to make this Island his Inheritance: which the *British* Lords perceiving, and not able to wean their King from his new Wife, and her Father *Hengist*, they depose him; and in his place set up his Son *Vortimer*, a true lover of his Countrey: who presently in a pitcht Battel near unto *Aylesford* in *Kent*, set upon the *Saxons*; where *Catigern* the Brother of *Vortimer*, and *Horsa*, or *Hengist*, in single fight hand to hand slew each other. In which place *Catigern* was buried, and a Monument in memory of him erected, the stones whereof at this day are standing in a great plain in the Parish of *Aylesford*; which instead of *Catigern*, is corruptly called *Kits-Cotyhouse*. Another the like Monument was erected for *Horsa*, though now defaced; remembred only by the Town where it stood, called *Horstead*. Three other Battels after this were fought between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*: one upon *Craford*, another at *Wepped-fleete*, the third upon *Colmore*: in which last, the *Britains* got so great a Victory, that the *Saxons* were clean driven out of *Kent*, and *Thanet* also not suffered to rest: so as shortly after, *Hengist* with his *Saxons* departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while *Vortimer* was thus intentive for his Countries liberty, *Rowena* the former Kings Wife, being Daughter to *Hengist*, was as intentive to bring it into servitude; which knowing she could not do as long as

Hengist and *Horsa* Saxons come into England.

Thong Castle why so called.

Vortigern marries *Rowena* the daughter of *Hengist*.

Vortigern is depoted, and his Son *Vortimer* set up.

Catigern and *Horsa* fight a single combat.

The *Saxons* forced to flee *England*.

Vortimer lived: she used means by poyson, to take away his life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the *British* Nobility, that her Husband *Vortigern* was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but *Hengist* (relying upon his Son *Vortigern's* love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being refused, he makes a shew, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter *Rowena*, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of *May*; the place upon the Plain of *Ambrii*, now called *Salisbury*; whither the plain-meaning *Britains* came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent *Saxons* under their long Cassocks had short skeynes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon the *Britains*, and of their unarmed Nobility slew three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of these four Countries, *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*. Whereupon *Vortigern*, whether fearing a second Deposing, or whether so advised by his Cabinet-Counsellor the Prophetical *Merlin*, betook himself into *Wales*, and there built him a strong Castle for his safe-guard; while the *Saxons* coming daily in great swarms into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if *Aurelius Ambrosius* a *Roman* born, but affected to the *British* Nation, had not landed at *Totnes* in *Devonshire*, to whom resorted great Troops of *Britains*. His first expedition was against *Vortigern*, (as the first cause of the *Britains* misery) whose Castle he besieged; and whether by wilde-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this *Ambrosius* is ascribed the admirable Monument in *Wiltshire*, now called *Stonehenge*, in the place where the *Britains* had been treacherously slaughtered and interred; and of whom the Town of *Ambersbury* bears its name. After this he set upon the *Saxons*, and in many Battels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of *Winchester*, a *Saxon*, in shew a *Britain*, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Physick, ministred Poyson, whereof he died in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

Vortigern is again received.

The *Saxons* return, and at a meeting fraudulently kill divers of the *English* Nobility.

Aurelius Ambrosius burns *Vortigern* and his Castle: which he had built by the advice of *Merlin*.

Is poisoned.

After *Ambrosius*, succeeded *Uter* (some say his Brother, others a *Britain*) called *Pendragon*, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was pourtrayed a Dragon with a golden Head, as in our *English* Camps it is at this day born for the Imperial Standard. And he also in many Battels discomfited the *Saxons*, till after eighteen years Reign he came to his end by treachery; dying by Poyson put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515.

Uter Pendragon, why so called.

Is poisoned.

After him succeeded his Son *Arthur*, begotten of the fair Lady *Igren*, Wife of the Duke of *Cornwal*, to whose bed the art of *Merlin* brought him in the likeness of her Husband; and he in twelve set Battels discomfited the *Saxons*; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called *Callibourn*, he slew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand slew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enow true to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he instituted the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical mindes, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in Battel wounded, whereof he dyed, in the year 522. after he had reigned six and twenty years.

Arthur the son of *Uter Pendragon*, kills eight hundred *Saxons* with his own hands.

He institutes the order of the Round Table.

Is wounded and dies.

After King *Arthur* succeeded his Cousin *Constantine*, and after his three years Reign, *Aurelius Conanus* the Nephew of King *Arthur*; whose Reign is so uncertain, that some say, he reigned only two, some three years, some again thirty, and some three and thirty. After *Conanus* succeeded *Vortiporus*, who after many Victories against the *Saxons*, and four years Reign, dyed. After whom succeeded *Malgo Conanus*, and reigned six years. After him *Careticus*, who setting upon the *Saxons*, and beaten, fled into the Town of *Chichester*, whereupon the *Saxons* catching certain Sparrows, and fastening fire to their feet, let them flie into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon *Careticus* flying, secured himself among the Mountains of *Wales*, where he died, after he had unprosperously reigned three years: and from that time forth, the *Britains* lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers *Severn* and *Dee*. After *Careticus* succeeded *Cadwan*, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son *Cadwallo*, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in St. *Martins* Church near *Ludgate*, and his Image of Brass placed upon the same gate, for a terrour to the *Saxons*. In his time the Doctrine of *Mahomet* began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After *Cadwallo*, succeeded his Son *Cadwalladar*; in whose time so great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner desolate: insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Countrey, and *Cadwallader* himself went to his Cousin *Alan*, King of little *Britain* in *France*. At which time the *Saxons* taking advantage of his absence, came over in swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn *Britains* of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon *Cadwalladar*, obtaining assistance from his Cousin *Alan*, was coming over to restrain their insolencies; when making prayers to God for good success, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his seeming he heard a voice that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the *Britains* should rule this Land any longer; and therefore bad him hie him to *Rome*, and receive of Pope

Chichester burnt by what chance

Cadwallo's Image placed upon *Ludgate*.

The *Saxons* get possession of the whole Island.

Cadwalladar the last King of the *Britains* leaveth his Kingdom; and is shorn a Monk at *Rome*.

Pope *Sergius* the habit of Religion, wherein he ſhould die and reſt in peace; which accordingly he did: and in him ended the blood of the *Brittiſh* Kings, in the year 689. So as *Britain* now was no longer *Britain*, but a Colony of the *Saxons*.

And now 'tis time to ſpeak of the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*, ſo much ſpoken of by all Writers; and to ſhew by what degrees the *Britains* loſt, and the *Saxons* got the whole poſſeſſion of this Iſland: for this Heptarchy or diviſion of this Iſland into ſeven Kingdoms, came not in, all at once, nor yet in an equal partition, but ſome good diſtance of time, one after another, and as the Invader had ſtrength to expel the Natives.

The firſt Kingdom being of Kent.

THE firſt Kingdom of the *Saxons* began by *Hengiſt*, in the year 455. containing all *Kent*, and continued 372. years, during the Reigns of ſeventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, ſhall be remembred; and for the reſt it will be no loſs to paſs them over in ſilence. Of theſe ſeventeen Kings, *Ethelbert* being the fifth, was the firſt *Saxon* Chriſtian King of this Iſland, converted by *Auſtin* the Monk, whom Pope *Gregory* ſent hither to that purpoſe, with forty others, in the year 596. to whom King *Ethelbert* gave his chief City of *Canterbury*, and his own Royal Palace there, made ſince the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himſelf to *Reculver* in the Iſle of *Thanet*, where he erected a Palace for himſelf and his ſucceſſors. He gave him alſo an old Temple, ſtanding without the Eaſt Wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. *Pancras*, and then added a Monaſtery to it, and dedicated it to St. *Peter* and S. *Paul*, appointing it to be the place of the *Kentiſh* Kings Sepulchres. But in regard of *Auſtin* the procurer, both *Pancras*, *Peter*, and *Paul* were ſoon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called St. *Auſtins*, which Abbey St. *Auſtin* enriched with divers Reliques, which he brought with him from *Rome*; amongſt which was a part of Chriſts ſeemleſs Coat, and of *Aarons* Rod. This King after his own converſion, converted alſo *Sebert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, and aſſiſted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, *London*; as alſo the Church of St. *Peter*, on the Weſt of *London*, then called *Thorny*: and himſelf at *Rocheſter* built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apoſtle St. *Andrew*; and dying when he had reigned ſix and fifty years, was buried at *Canterbury*. And thus by this firſt *Saxon* Kingdom, was all *Kent* lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion; and this was the firſt impairing, and this happened in the Reign of *Ambroſius* before ſpoken of. The ſixth King of *Kent* was *Ethelbald*, who at firſt an Apoſtata, was afterwards converted, and built a Chappel within the Monaſtery of St. *Peter* and *Paul* at *Canterbury*. The ſeventh King was *Ercombert*, a virtuous and religious Prince, who firſt commanded the obſerving of Lent; and in his dayes, the Archbiſhop *Honorius* divided *Kent* into Pariſhes. The eigth King was *Egbert*, who obtained the Kingdom by murthering his Nephews: whoſe ſiſter the Lady *Dapnena*, founded the Abbey of *Minſter* in *Kent*. The eleventh King was *Withred*, who founded the the Priory of *Merton* at *Dover*. The laſt was *Baldred*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, left *Kent* a Province to that Kingdom, in the year 827.

Ethelbert the firſt *Saxon* Chriſtian King.

St. *Auſtins* in *Canterbury*, why ſo called.

Pauls and *Weſtminſter* builded.

Lent firſt obſerved.

Kent divided into Pariſhes.

The ſecond Kingdom being of the South Saxons.

THE ſecond Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South *Saxons*, and began by *Ella*, in the year 488. containing *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, and continued 113. years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom *Ciſſa* being the ſecond founded the City of *Chicheſter*, and reigned as ſome ſay, threeſcore and ſixteen years. And then *Berthan* being the laſt King, was overcome by *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons*, and his Countrey became a Province of that Kingdom, in the year 601. And thus as *Kent* before, ſo now *Suſſex* and *Surrey* were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a ſecond impairing, which alſo happened in the Reign of the *Britiſh* King *Ambroſius*.

Chicheſter founded.

The third Kingdom being of the Weſt Saxons.

THE third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the Weſt *Saxons*, and began by *Cerdic*, in the year 519. containing *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſetſhire* *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, and continued 561. years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this *Cerdic* was the firſt; in whoſe time *Porth*, a *Saxon*, landed in the Weſt, at a place from him called afterward *Portſmouth*, and aided *Cerdic* in his conqueſt. And this happened in the Reign of King *Arthur*: and as *Kent*, *Suſſex*, and *Surrey* before, ſo now theſe ſeven other Shires were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion: and this was a third impairing. The ſixth King of the Weſt *Saxons* was *Kingils*, who was the firſt Chriſtian King of this Kingdom, converted by *Berinus* an *Italian* Divine, to whom he gave the City of *Dorcheſter*, near to *Oxford*; who therein erected his Epiſcopal See. The ſeventh King was *Kenwald*, who at firſt an Apoſtata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of *Wincheſter*, and the Abbey of *Malmſbury*; whoſe Wife *Segburg* alſo built a houſe of Devotion in the Iſle of *Sheppy*, wherein her ſelf became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbeſs of *Ely*. The eleventh King was *Ina*, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet extant in the *Saxon* tongue, and are tranſlated into Latine, by the learned Maſter *William Lambert*. This King built a Colledge at *Wells*, bearing the name of St. *Andrews*, which afterward King *Kenulph* made an Epiſcopal See. He alſo, in moſt ſtately manner

Portſmouth why ſo called.

Dorcheſter an Epiſcopal See.

Wincheſter Cathedral builded.

King *Ina* and his Laws.

Wells an Epiſcopal See.

ner new built the Abbey of *Glastenbury*; and out of his devotion to the See of *Rome*, he enjoyned every one of his Subjects, that possessed in his house of any one kinde of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon *Lammas-day*, one penny to the Pope; which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Alms, but afterward was paid by the name of *Peter* Pence. At last he went to *Rome*, and there took upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veyled Nun, and afterward was made Abbess of *Barking*, near *London*. The thirteenth King was *Cuthred*, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields. The fourteenth was *Sigebert*, who for his cruelty and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods, to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was *Kenwolph*, who founded the Cathedral Church of S. *Andrews* at *Wells*, and was afterwards slain by *Kynoard*, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was *Birthrick*, whose Queen *Ethelburg* having prepared a poyson for another, the King chanced to taste it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into *France*; where *Charles* the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in Marriage: but she out of her lustful humour choosing the Son, was thereupon debarr'd of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West *Saxons* ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severely executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named *Wazmund*, and was the Founder of *Warwick* Town: that he had a Son named *Offa*, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blinde, till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

Peter pence when first ordained.

Burials within Cities when first ordained.

K. *Sigebert* slain by a Swine-herd.

Queen *Ethelburg* thrust into a Monastery, and why.

A Law that no Kings Wife should have the title of a Queen.

Offa blinde and dumb till a certain age.

The fourth Kingdom of the East SAXONS.

THE fourth Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the East *Saxons*, and began by *Erchenwyn*, in the year 527. containing *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and continued 281. years, during the Reigns of fourteen Kings; of whom the third was *Sebert*, who first built the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, *London*, which had formerly been the Temple of *Diana*: He likewise founded the Church of St. *Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometime stood the Temple of *Apollo*, which being overthrown by an Earthquake, King *Lucius* new built for the service of God; and that again being decayed, this King restored to a greater beauty, and with his Queen *Athelgarda* was there buried. The ninth King was *Sebba*, who after thirty years peaceable Reign relinquished the Crown, and took upon him a Religious Habit, in the Monastery of St. *Paul*, *London*, where dying, his Body was intombed in a Coffin of gray Marble: the cover coped, and as yet standeth in the Northwal of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was *Offa*, famous for the beauty of his countenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands the Church of *Westminster*, and after eight years reign went to *Rome*, and was there shorn a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was *Suthred*, whom *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

Paul's and *Westminster* founded.

K. *Sebba* buried in *Paul's* Church.

The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE fifth Kingdom was of *Northumberland* (so called because it lay North from the River *Humber*) and began by *Ella* and *Ida*, in the year 547. Containing *Yorkshire*, *Durham*, *Lancashire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, and *Northumberland*, and continued 370. years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they builded the Castle of *Bamburg*. The seventh King was *Ethelfryd*, who at *Caerlegion* (now *Westchester*) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by *Redwald* King of the East *Angles*. The thirteenth King was *Osred*, whose Wife *Cutburga*, out of a loathing weariness of Wedlock, sued out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at *Winburn* in *Dorsetshire*, where in a Religious Habit she ended her life. The sixteenth King was *Cednulph*, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of *Lindesfarn*, or *Holy Island*. Unto this King the Venerable *Bede*, a *Saxon* and a Priest in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Werimouth* near to *Durham*, dedicated his Work of the English History, which he continued from the first entrance of the *Saxons* in this Island, to the year 731. containing after his own account 285. years. The seventeenth King was *Egbert*, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shore himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of *York*, erected a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The last King was *Oswald*, after whom this Kingdom yielded to the protection of *Egbert*, King of the West *Saxons*, who was now in the year 926. become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of this fifth Kingdom, were the six *Northern* Shires lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and this was a fifth impairing.

K. *Ethelfryd* kills twelve hundred Christian Monks at *Westchester* anciently called *Caerlegion*.

Queen *Cutburga* loathing the acts of Marriage becomes a Nun.

Bede dedicateth his History to K. *Cednulph*.

A Library erected at *York*.

Egbert becomes absolute Monarch of all *England*.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

THE sixth Kingdom was of *Mercia*, and began in *Crida*, in the year 522. containing *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *War-*

Warwickshire, Leicester, Northampton, Derby, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Glocestershire, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and *Hartfordshire*, and continued 220. years, during the Reigns of twenty Kings, eight of whom in a continued succession kept the Imperial Crown of the Heptarchy; for though others Reigned as Kings in their own Territories: yet among them ever one was the supreme head of the rest, and was called King of *Engle-lond*, till *Egbert* the West *Saxon* brought them all into one. The fifth of these Kings of *Mercia* was *Penda*, who was the first Christian King of the *Mercians*, and laid the foundation of the fair Church at *Medeshamstead*, now called *Peterborough*. The seventh King was *Ethelred*, who reigned thirty years, and then gave over the Crown, and became a Monk in the Monastery of *Bradney* in *Lincolnshire*, where in the year 716. he died. The eighth King was *Kenred*, who after four years Reign went to *Rome*, where he took upon him the Habit of a Monk, and after other four years died. The tenth King was *Ethelbald*, who at first was given to much lasciviousness of life; but being reprehended for it by *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, was so far converted, that he founded the Monastery of *Crowland*, driving in mighty piles of Oak into that Marish ground, where he laid a great and goodly Building of Stone; and after two and forty years Reign, was slain in a Battel by *Cuthred* King of the West *Saxons*. The eleventh King was *Offa*, who greatly enlarged his Dominions, reigned nine and thirty years, and founded the Monastery of St. *Albans*. The thirteenth King was *Kenwolph*, who reigned two and twenty years, and founded the Monastery of *Winchcomb*, in the County of *Glocester*, where his body was interred. The eighteenth King was *Withlafe*, who overcome by *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons*, held his Countrey afterward as his substitute and Tributary, acknowledging *Egbert* as now the sole Monarch of this Island. And by erection of this *Mercian* Kingdom, were seventeen Shires more lopped off from the *Britains* Dominion, and was a sixth, and a great impairing, so as now they were driven into a narrow room.

Peterborough anciently called *Medeshamstead*.

The Monastery of *Crowland* founded.

The Monastery of St. *Albans* founded.

The Monastery of *Winchcomb* founded.

The seventh Kingdom being of the East ANGLES.

THE seventh Kingdom was of the East *Angles*, and began by *Uffa* in the year 575. containing *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*, and continued 353. years during the Reign of fifteen Kings, of whom the fifth was *Sigebert*, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for education of youth, whether at *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, is left a *Quare*; and after three years Reign shore himself a Monk in the Abbey of *Cumbreburg*, which himself had built: but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East *Angles*, to relist the *Mercian* King *Penda*, and refusing to use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a Battel by him slain. The seventh King was *Anna*, who after thirteen years Reign, was also slain by *Penda* the *Mercian* King. This King *Anna* was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his Children, of whom his Son *Erkenwald* was Bishop of *London*, and built the Abbey of *Barking*, near *London*. His Eldest Daughter *Etheldred* was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun, and is remembred to posterity by the name of St. *Audrie*. His second Daughter named *Sexburg*, his third named *Ethelburg*, his fourth (a natural daughter) named *Withburg*, all entred into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was *Ethelbert*, a Learned and Religious Prince, who being invited by *Offa* the *Mercian* King to marry *Elfred* his daughter, came for that purpose to *Offa*'s Court, then seated at *Sutton Walleys*, in the County of *Hereford*, and there by him was cruelly murthered: In whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a fair Church at *Hereford*, the Cathedral of that See, as though he could expiate a murther of the living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a monument of his own impiety. The fifteenth King was *Edmund*, who assaulted by the *Danes* for his possessions, was more assaulted for his profession; for continuing constant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their Arrows shot him to death: whose body was buried at the Town where *Sigebert* the East *Anglian* King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most spacious, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day St. *Edmundsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Danish* King burnt to ashes: but when his Son *Canutus* had gotten possession of the *English* Crown, terrified with a vision of the seeming St. *Edmund*, in a religious devotion to expiate his Fathers Sacriledge, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Martyrs Tomb. After the death of this *Edmund*, the East *Angles* Countrey was possest by the *Danes*, and so continued the space of fifty years, until that *Edmund* surnamed the Elder, expelled those *Danes*, and make that Kingdom a Province to the West *Saxons*.

Oxford or *Cambridge* founded.

The Abbey of *Barking* built.

Etheldred twice married and yet a Virgin still.

Ethelbert treacherously murthered by K. *Offa*.

The Cathedral of *Hereford* built.

S. *Edmundsbury* founded.

By that which hath been said, it plainly appears, by what degrees the *Britains* lost, and the *Saxons* got the whole possession of this Island. For after that *Vortigern*, in the year 455. had called in the *Saxons*, every *Britain* King that succeeded him, lost some part or other of it to the *Saxons*, till at the last in the year 689. *Cadwallader* the last *Britain* King lost all; and then the *Saxon* Kings striving amongst themselves for sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818. *Egbert* King of the West *Saxons* reduced them all under his subjection, and then called all the South of the Island to be called *England*, according to the *Angles* of whom himself came: after whom they were no longer properly called *Saxon* Kings, but Kings of *England*,

When first called *England*.

land, and ſo continued till the *Danes* in the year 1017. made an interruption; of whoſe ſucceſſion now comes the time to ſpeak.

Of the Saxons *that reigned ſole Kings of this Iſland, and may properly be called* Engliſh *Kings.*

EGbert the eighteenth King of the Weſt *Saxons*, is now become the firſt of the Kings of *England*, in whoſe time the *Danes* began firſt to inſeſt the Land; as thinking they might do as much againſt the *Saxons*, as the *Saxons* had done againſt the *Britains*; but though they made divers Invaſions, and did great ſpoil, yet they were ſtill repelled. This King reigned ſix and thirty years, and died in the year 836. was buried at *Wincheſter*. Of his Iſſue, his Daughter *Edith* was made Governeſs of a Monaſtery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her Brother had given her, called *Polleſworth*, ſituate in *Arden*, in the North part of the County of *Warwick*, where ſhe died and was buried, and the place in memory of her called St. *Ediths* of *Polleſworth*.

The *Danes* begin to inſeſt *England*.

St. *Edith* of *Polleſworth* why ſo called.

To *Egbert* ſucceeded his Son *Ethelwolph*, who in his youth was ſo addicted to a Religious life, that he was firſt made Deacon; and after Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope *Gregory* the fourth, was to that end abſolved of his Vow. His Reign was infeſted with many and great Invaſions of the *Danes*, to whom notwithſtanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his Reign, remembring his former Religious Profeſſion, he ordained that riches and lands due to the Holy Church, ſhould be free from all Tribute or Regal Services, and in great devotion went himſelf to *Rome*, where he lived a year: confirmed the grant of *Peter* pence, and agreed beſides to pay yearly to *Rome* three hundred marks. Returning home through *France*, and being a Widower, he there married *Judith*, the beautiful daughter of *Charles* the Bald, then Emperour; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a chair of Eſtate, with all other Majeſtical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the Weſt *Saxons* formerly made; which ſo much diſpleaſed his Lords, that for it they were ready to depoſe him: but howſoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngeſt Son *Neote* was much addicted to learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and founded a Monaſtery in *Cornwal*, which of him was called *Neoteſtock*; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of *Huntington*, at a place then called *Arnulphsbury*, and afterward, in regard of his interment, St. *Neotes*, and now St. *Nedes*. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of them were Kings of this Land ſucceſſively.

Church-lands free from tribute.

Peter pence confirmed.

St. *Neots* in *Huntingtonſhire* why ſo called.

Firſt after him reigned his eldeſt Son *Ethelbald*, in the year 857. who to his eternal ſhame, took to wife *Judith* his Fathers Widow, reigned about two years, and dying, was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*, at that time the Epiſcopal See. From this *Judith*, married afterward to the Earl of *Flanders*, after divers deſcents, came *Maude* the Wife of *William* the Conquerour, from whom are deſcended all our Kings ever ſince.

K. *Ethelbald* marries his fathers widow.

Next to the eldeſt reigned his ſecond Son *Ethelbert*, all whoſe reign, which was only five years, was perpetually diſquieted with Invaſions of the *Danes*, which yet were at laſt repelled. He died in the year 866. and was buried at *Shirborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

The *Danes* invade *England* again.

Next to the ſecond reigned his third Son *Ethelred*, whoſe reign was more diſquieted with the *Danes*, then any other before: for they invading the Land, under the leading of *Hungar*, and *Hubba*, ſpoiled all the Countrey as they went, not ſparing Religious places; amongſt other, the goodly Monaſteries of *Bradney*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Huntington*, they laid level with the ground: the Monks and Nuns they murthered or raviſhed: at which time a rare example of Chaſtity and Fortitude was ſeen in the Nuns of *Coldingham*: For to avoid the barbarous pollutions of theſe Pagans, they deformed themſelves by cutting off their upper lips and noſes. Nine Battels in one year, this King fought with the *Danes*, in moſt of them victorious; but at laſt received a wound whereof he died, and was buried in the Church at *Winborn* in *Dorſetſhire*.

Monaſteries demoliſhed by the *Danes*

The Nuns of *Coldingham* their Chaſtity.

Next to the third reigned his fourth Son *Alfred*, in whoſe time came over greater ſwarms of *Danes* then ever before, and had now got footing in the North, the Weſt, and South parts of this Iſland, leaving this King nothing of all his great Monarchy, but only *Somerſet*, *Hampton*, and *Wiltſhire*; and not theſe neither altogether free, ſo that he was forced ſometimes to flie into the Fens and Mariſh grounds to ſecure himſelf, where he lived by Fiſhing and Fowling, and hunting of wilde Beaſts, till at laſt learning policy from adverſity, and gathering courage from miſery, he ventured in the habit of a common Minſtrel, to enter the *Danes* Camp; where having viewed the manner of their encamping, and obſerved their ſecurity, he returned back, ſhewing his Lords in what condition he found them. Whereupon ſetting upon them at unawares, he not only made of them a great ſlaughter, but brought upon them a greater terror; for preſently upon this the *Danes* ſue for peace, and deliver Hoſtages for performance of theſe conditions: that their King ſhould receive Baptiſm, and their great Army depart quietly out of the Land. But though upon this agreement they departed for the preſent into *France*, yet the year following they returned with greater Forces, forraging all parts of the Countrey in moſt cruel manner, though ſtill encountred by this Valorous Prince, till he ended his life in the year 901. after he had reigned nine and twenty years. The Virtues of this King, if they were not incredible, they were at leaſt admirable, whereof theſe may be inſtances. The day and night containing four and twenty hours,

K. *Alfreds* policy againſt the *Danes*.

K. *Alfreds* virtues.

hours, he deſigned equally to three ſpecial uſes, obſerving them by the burning of a Taper ſet in his Chappel; (there being at that time, no other way of diſtinguiſhing them.) Eight hours he ſpent in Contemplation, Reading, and Prayers: eight in proviſion for himſelf, his health and recreation, and the other eight in the affairs of the Common-wealth and State. His Kingdom likewiſe he divided into Shires, Hundreds, and Tythings: ordaining that no man might remove out of his Hundred without ſecurity: by which courſe he ſo ſuppreſſed Thieves and Robbers, which had formerly encreaſed by the long Wars, that it is ſaid a boy or girl might openly carry a bag of Gold or Silver, and carry it ſafely all the Countrey over: Beſides his great piety, he was alſo learned; and as far as it might be a commendation in a Prince, a skilful Muſician and excellent Poet. All former Laws he cauſed to be ſurveyed, and made choice of the beſt, which he tranſlated into the *Engliſh* tongue; as alſo the Paſtoral of St. *Gregory*, the Hiſtory of *Bede*, and *Boetius* his Conſolation of Philoſophy; the *Pſalms* of *David* likewiſe he began to tranſlate, but died before he could finiſh it. And ſo great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom, poſſeſſing two Hides of Land, ſhould bring up their Sons in Learning, till they were fifteen years of age at leaſt, that ſo they might be trained to know God, to be men of underſtanding, and to live happily. His Buildings were many, both for God's ſervice, and other publick uſe: as at *Edlinſey* a Monaſtery, at *Wincheſter* a new Minſter, and at *Shaftesbury* a houſe of Nuns; whereof he made his Daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbeſs; but his foundation of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, exceeded all the reſt: which he began in the year 895. and to furniſh it with able Scholars, drew thither out of *France*, *Grimbaldus* and *Scotus*, and out of *Wales*, *Aſſer*, (who wrote his life) whoſe Lectures he honoured often with his own preſence: And for a ſtock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom; and had all the particulars of his Eſtate Regiſtred in a Book, which he kept in his Treaſury at *Wincheſter*. He reigned ſeven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Peter* at *Wincheſter*, though removed afterward into the Church of the new Monaſtery, without the North-gate of the City called *Hyde*. His wife *Elſewith* founded a Monaſtery of Nuns at *Wincheſter*, and was there buried. Their ſecond daughter *Ethelgeda*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of *Shaftesbury*; in the County of *Dorſet*, in the Monaſtery founded there by him, who is alſo accounted the founder of the Town it ſelf.

He divides the Kingdom into Shires.

His love to learning.

Oxford founded.

Shaftesbury by whom founded.

King *Alfred* being deceaſed, his Son *Edward* (called *Edward* the Elder) ſucceeded: not ſo Learned as his Father; but in Valour his equal, and ſuperior in Fortune; For firſt he overcame his Couſin *Ethelwald*, who aſpired to the Crown; then the *Danes*, whoſe chief Leader he ſlew in Battel; laſtly the *Welch*, but theſe laſt more by humility ſhewed to their Prince *Leolyn*, then by force of Arms. But yet he muſt not have all the glory of his time: ſome muſt be imparted to his Siſter *Elfiede*; who being married to *Ethelred* Earl of *Mercia*, had by him a Daughter, but with ſo grievous pains in her Travel, that ever after ſhe refuſed the Nuptial Bed of her Husband, ſaying, it was a fooliſh pleaſure that brought with it ſo exceſſive pains: and thereupon after her Husbands death, made choice to follow the Wars; aſſiſting her Brother both againſt the *Welch*, and againſt the *Danes*, whom ſhe brought to be at her diſpoſing. Dying ſhe was buried at *Gloceſter*, in the Monaſtery of St. *Peter*, which her Husband and her ſelf had built. King *Edward* himſelf, after four and twenty years Reign, deceaſed at *Faringdon* in *Barkſhire*, in the year 924. and was buried in the new Monaſtery of *Wincheſter*, which his Father and himſelf wholly finiſhed: having had by his three Wives, ſix Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldeſt Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King *Alfred* had with his own hands Knighted, in an extraordinary manner; putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His ſecond Son *Elfred*, he ſo loved, that he cauſed him to be Crowned King with himſelf, which yet he enjoyed but a ſhort time, being taken away by death. His third Son *Elſeward*, preſently upon his Fathers death died himſelf alſo. His fourth Son *Edwyn*, was by his Brother *Athelſtan*, out of jealouſie of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himſelf. His fifth and his ſixth Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, came in ſucceſſion to be Kings of *England*. Of his Daughters, the eldeſt *Editha*, was marryed to *Sithricke* the *Daniſh* King of *Northumberland*, and he deceaſing, ſhe entred into a Monaſtery, which ſhe began at *Tamworth* in *Warwickſhire*, and there died. His ſecond Daughter *Elfiede*, took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monaſtery of *Ramſey*, in the County of *Southampton*, where ſhe died and was interred. His third Daughter *Eguina*, was firſt married to *Charles* the Simple, King of *France*; and after his deceaſe, to *Herbert* Earl of *Vermandois*. His fourth Daughter *Ethelheld*, became a Nun in the Monaſtery of *Wilton*, which was ſometime the head Town, giving name to the whole County of *Wiltſhire*, and anciently called *Ellandon*. That we may ſee in thoſe firſt times of Religion, when there was leaſt knowledge, there was moſt devotion. His fifth Daughter *Edhold*, was married to *Hugh*, ſurnamed the Great, Earl of *Paris*, and Conſtable of *France*. And *Edgith* his ſixth Daughter to *Otho*, the Emperour of the Weſt, ſurnamed the Great. His ſeventh Daughter *Elgina*, was married to a Duke of *Italy*. His eighth *Edigna*, to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitain* in *France*.

Elfiede forſaketh the marriage bed to follow the Wars.

Knighting in an extraordinary manner.

Wilton the head Town of *Wiltſhire*.

After the death of King *Edward*, his eldeſt Son *Athelſtan* ſucceeded, and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, by *Athelmus*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 924. The beginning of whoſe Reign, was moleſted with the Treaſon of one *Elfrid* a Nobleman; who being apprehended and ſent to *Rome* to purge himſelf, and there denying the act upon his Oath, fell ſuddenly down, and

within three dayes died, to the eternal terror of all perjured perſons. Preſently upon this, another diſaſter befel King *Athelſtan*, for having cauſed his Brother *Edwyn's* death (as before is ſhewed) chiefly procured by his Cup-bearers ſuggeſtions; it happened not long after, that his Cup-bearer, in his Service at a Feſtival, ſtumbling with one foot, and recovering himſelf with the other, and ſaying merrily, *See how one Brother helps another*; his words put the King in remembrance of his Brother, whoſe death he had cauſed, and with remorſe thereof, not only cauſed his Cup-bearer to be put to death, but did alſo ſeven years penance; and built the two Monaſteries of *Middleton*, and *Michelneſs*, in the County of *Dorſet*, in expiation of his offence. This King ordained many good Laws, and thoſe to binde as well the Clergy as the Laity; amongſt which, one was the attachment of Felons, that ſtole above twelve pence, and were above twelve years old. Of this King there is one Act related, that may ſeem ridiculous; another that may ſeem miraculous: For what more ridiculous then that going to viſit the Tomb of St. *John* of *Beverly*, and having nothing elſe of worth to offer, he offered his Knife in devotion to the Saint? Yet the miraculous is more apparent; For going to encounter the *Danes*, and praying to God for good ſucceſs, he prayed withal, that God would ſhew ſome ſign of his rightful cauſe, and thereupon ſtriking with his Sword, he ſtruck it an ell deep into a hard ſtone, which ſtood ſo cloven a long time after: But whether this be true or no, this certainly is true, that he obtained many great victories againſt the *Danes*, againſt the *Scots*, againſt the *Iriſh*, and againſt the *Welch*, whoſe Princes he brought to be his tributaries, entring Covenant at *Hereford*, to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of Gold, three hundred of Silver, and five and twenty hundred head of Cattel; beſides a certain number of Hawks and Hounds. Laſtly, he joyned *Northumberland* to the reſt of his Monarchy, and enlarged his Dominions beyond any of his Predeceſſors: which made all neighbouring Princes to ſeek his friendſhip, and to gratifie him with rare preſents, as *Hugh* King of *France* ſent him the Sword of *Conſtantine* the Great, in the Hilt whereof was one of the Nails which faſtned Chriſt to his Croſs: he ſent him alſo the Spear of *Charles* the Great, reputed to be the ſame that pierced Chriſt's ſide; as alſo part of the Croſs whereon Chriſt ſuffered, and a piece of the Thorny Crown put upon his head. Likewiſe *Otho* the Emperour, who had marryed his Siſter, ſent him a veſſel of precious Stones, artificially made, wherein were ſeen Landskips with Vines, Corn, and Men, all of them ſeeming ſo artificially to move, as if they were growing and alive. Likewiſe the King of *Norway* ſent him a goodly Ship, with a gilt Stern, purple Sails, and the Deck garniſhed all with Gold. Of theſe accounted holy Relicks, King *Athelſtan* gave part to the Abbey of Saint *Swithin* in *Wincheſter*, and the reſt to the Monaſtery of *Malmeſbury*, whereof *Adelm* was the Founder, and his Tutelar Saint. He new built the Monaſteries of *Wilton*, *Michelneſs*, and *Middleton*; Founded Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, Saint *Petrocus* at *Bodmyn*, and the Priory of *Pilton*; new walled and beautified the City of *Exeter*, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every ſpecial Abbey of the Land. But the chiefeſt of his works for the ſervice of God, and good of his Subjects, was the Tranſlation of the Bible into the *Saxon* Tongue, which was then the Mother Tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at *Gloceſter*, and was buried at *Malmesbury*, in the year 940. having never been marryed.

After the death of *Athelſtan*, his brother *Edmund*, the fifth Son of his Father, ſucceeded; and was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*: but no ſooner was the Crown ſet upon his head, but the *Danes* were upon his back; and in *Northumberland* made inſurrections; whom yet he not only repreſſed in that part, but took from them the Towns of *Lincoln*, *Leiceſter*, *Darby*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*; compelling them withal to receive Baptiſm, and to become his Subjects, ſo as the Countrey was wholly his as far as *Humber*. *Cumberland* alſo, which had been an entire Kingdom of it ſelf, and was now aided by *Leolyn* King of *Southwales*, he utterly waſted and gave it *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, to hold of him by Fealty. After his returning home, he ſet himſelf to ordain Laws for the good of his people, which Maſter *Lambert* hath ſince tranſlated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he come at laſt to a lamentable end; for at his Mannor of *Pucklekerks*, in the County of *Gloceſter*, interpoſing himſelf to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thruſt through the body, and ſo wounded, that he died, and was buried at *Glaſtenbury*, after he had reigned five years, and ſeven months, leaving behinde him two young Sons, *Edwyn*, and *Edgar*.

King *Edmund* dying, his brother *Edred* in the minority of his Nephews, was Crowned at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 946. Not as Protector, (it ſeems that kinde of Authority was not yet come in uſe) but as King himſelf, though with purpoſe to reſign, when the right Heir ſhould come of age; which at this time needed not, for while the right Heir was ſcarce yet fourteen years old, he reſigned to him the Kingdom, by reſigning his life to Nature, after he had twice repreſſed the rebelling *Northumbrians*, and twice forgiving their Rebelling, which yet was not a ſimple Rebellion; for they had ſent for *Anlafe* the *Dane* out of *Ireland*, and made him their King: which place for four years he held; and then weary of his Government, they thruſt him out, and take one *Hericus* to be their King, whom not long after they put down alſo; and then partly allured by the lenity of King *Edred*, and partly forced by his Arms, they ſubmit themſelves to him, and ask forgiveneſs; to whom he as a merciful Prince, grants an Act of Oblivion, and received them again into protection. This Prince was ſo devout and humble, that he ſubmitted his body to be chaſtiſed at the will of *Dunſtan*, Abbot of *Glaſtenbury*, and committed all his Treaſure and Jewels to his cuſtody. The ſtately Abbey of *Mich* at *Abington* near *Oxford*, built by King *Inas*, but deſtroyed by the *Danes*, he newly re-edified; endowing it with Revenues and Lands, the Charters whereof he con-

Felons punished.

A miracle of King Athelstan.

K. Athelstan makes Wales tributary.

Holy Reliques sent to King Athelstan.

The Bible tranſlated into the *Saxon* Tongue.

King *Edmund* compels the *Danes* to receive Baptiſm.

His good Laws.

His unfortunate end.

King *Edred's* devotion.

confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint *Germans* in *Cornwal*, to be a Biſhops See, which there continued, till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Epiſcopal See of *Kyrton* in *Devonſhire*; both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward* the Confeſſor, tranſlated to the City of *Exeter*. He left behinde him two Sons, *Elfred*, and *Bertfred*, and was buried in the old Minſter, without the City of *Wincheſter*, whoſe bones with other Kings, are to this day preſerved in a gilt Coffer, fixed upon the Wall, in the South ſide of the Quire.

Exeter made the Epiſcopal See.

After *Edred*, not any of his Sons, but his Nephew *Edwyn*, the eldeſt Son of King *Edmund* ſucceeded, and was anointed and Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 955. This Prince, though ſcarce fourteen years old, and in age but a childe, yet was able to commit ſin as a man; for upon the very day of his Coronation, and in ſight of his Lords, as they ſate in Council, he ſhamefully abuſed a Lady of great Eſtate, and his near Kinſwoman; and to mend the matter, ſhortly after ſlew her Husband; the more freely to enjoy his inceſtuous pleaſure. And whether for this infamous fact, or for thruſting the Monks out of the Monaſteries of *Malmesbury*, and *Glaſtenbury*, and placing married Prieſts in their rooms, as alſo for baniſhing *Dunſtan* the holy Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* out of the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts was ſo turned againſt him, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted, and ſwore Fealty to his younger brother *Edgar*; with grief, whereof, after four years reign, he ended his life, and was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Hyde*, at *Wincheſter*.

K. *Edwyn's* ſhameful fact at his Coronation.

After *Edwyn*, ſucceeded his younger Brother *Edgar*, at the age of ſixteen years; but his Coronation, when, and where, and by whom, ſo uncertain, that ſome ſay he was Crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the firſt year of his Reign; others ſay not till the twelfth, and *William* of *Malmesbury* not till the thirtieth: Another Chronicle ſaith, in his eleventh year; and that in the City of *Bathe*, by the hands of *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. This King, by reaſon of the tranquility of his Reign, was ſurnamed the *Peaceable*; for as he was ſomething inclined to the *Danes*, ſo the *Danes* never offered to ſtir in all his time; and as for the *Saxons*, they acknowledged him their ſole Sovereign, without diviſion of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were ſome Virtuous, ſome Politick, ſome Juſt, ſome Pious; and yet all theſe not without ſome mixture of Vice. To repreſs drunkenneſs, which the *Danes* had brought in, he made a Law, ordaining a ſize, by certain pins in the pot; with penalty to any that ſhould preſume to drink deeper then the mark. It was a politick device which he uſed for the deſtruction of Wolves that in his dayes did great annoyance to the Land: For the tribute impoſed on the Princes of *Wales*, by King *Athelſtan*, he wholly remitted, appointing in lieu thereof, a certain number of Wolves yearly to be paid; whereof the Prince of *North-Wales*, for his part was to pay three hundred; which continued for three years ſpace: and in the fourth year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and ſo the tribute ceaſed. He had in his Navy Royal, three thouſand and ſix hundred Ships, which he divided into three parts, appointing every one of them to a ſeveral Quarter, to ſcowre the Seas, and to ſecure the Coaſts from Pirates: and leſt his Officers might be careleſs, or corrupted, he would himſelf in perſon ſail about all the Coaſts of his Kingdom every Summer. It was a notable Act of Juſtice, that in his Circuits and Progreſſes through the Countrey, he would take ſpecial account of the demeanour of his Lords; and ſpecially of his Judges; whom he ſeverely puniſhed, if he found them Delinquents. Wars he had none in all his Reign, only towards his end the *Welſhmen* moved ſome Rebellion; againſt whom he went with a mighty Army, and chaſtiſed the Authors: but when his Souldiers had gotten great ſpoils, and made prey upon the innocent Countrey people, he commanded them to reſtore it all back again; which, if it made ſome few *Engliſh* angry, it made the whole Countrey of the *Welſh* well pleaſed, and ſound forth his praiſes. His pious Acts were, that he built and prepared ſeven and forty Monaſteries, and meant to have made them up fifty, but was prevented by death. But now his mixture of Vice marred all; eſpecially being a Vice oppoſite to all thoſe Virtues, which was Laſciviouſneſs. For firſt, he deflowred a Sacred Nun, called *Wolfchilde*; on whom yet he begot a Saint, the chaſte *Edyth*. After her another Virgin, called *Ethelfleae*, for her excellent beauty ſurnamed the White, on whom he begot his eldeſt Son *Edward*; for which Fact he did ſeven years penance enjoyned him by the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*. After this he chanced to hear of a Virgin, Daughter to a Weſtern Duke, exceedingly praiſed for her beauty, and coming to *Andover*, commanded her to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her Daughters honour, brought in the dark her Maid to him; who in the morning making haſte to riſe, and the King not ſuffering her to depart, ſhe told him what great work ſhe had to do, and how ſhe ſhould incur her Ladies diſpleaſure, if it were not done; by which words the King perceiving the deceit, turned it to a jeſt: but ſo well liked her company, that he kept himſelf true to her ever after, till he married. But now his marriage it ſelf happened by a greater vice then any of theſe; for hearing of the admirable beauty of *Elfrida*, the only Daughter of *Ordgarus*, Duke of *Devonſhire*, Founder of *Taveſtock* Abby in that Countrey, he ſent his great Favourite Earl *Ethelwold*, (who could well judge of beauty) to try the truth thereof; with Commiſſion, that if he found her ſuch as Fame reported, he ſhould ſeize her for him, and he would make her his Queen. The young Earl, upon ſight of the Lady, was ſo ſurprized with her love, that he began to wooe for himſelf, and got her Fathers good will, ſo as the King would give his conſent. Hereupon the Earl poſted to the King, relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed, but nothing anſwerable to the Fame that went of her; yet deſired the King that he might marry her, as being her Fathers Heir, thereby to raiſe his Fortunes. The King conſented, and

King *Edgar* called the *Peaceable*.

A Law to repreſs drunkenneſs

How wolves come to be deſtroyed in *England*.

King *Edgar's* Navy Royal of 3600. ſhips.

Souldiers made to reſtore their Booties.

King *Edgar* built ſeven and forty Monaſteries.

King *Edgar's* laſciviouſneſs.

A treacherous Favourite.

the marriage was ſolemnized. Soon after, the fame of her beauty began to ſpread more then before; ſo as the King much doubting that he had been abuſed, meant to try the truth himſelf, and thereupon taking occaſion of hunting in the Dukes Park, came to his houſe; whoſe coming *Ethelwold* ſuſpecting, acquainted his Wife with the wrong he had done both her, and the King; and therefore to prevent the Kings diſpleaſure, intreated her by all the perſwaſions he could uſe, to cloath her ſelf in ſuch attire, as might be leaſt fit to ſet her forth: but ſhe conſidering that now was the time to make the moſt of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen, would not be acceſſary to her own wrong, but decked her ſelf in her richeſt Ornaments, which ſo improved her beauty, that the King at the firſt ſight was ſtruck with admiration, and meant to be revenged of his perfidious Favourite; yet diſſembling his paſſion, till he could take him at advantage, he then with a Javelin ran him through; and having thereby made fair *Elfrid* a Widow, took her to be his Wife. This King founded the Monaſtery of *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*, reigned ſixteen years, lived ſeven and thirty, and with great Funeral pomp was buried in the Abby of *Glaſtenbury*. He had Children by his firſt Wife *Ethelfleda*, one Son named *Edward*, and by his ſecond Wife *Elfrid*, two Sons, one named *Edmund*, who died young, the other *Ethelred*. He had alſo one natural Daughter, named *Edgyth* by a Lady named *Wolfchilde*, the Daughter of *Wolholme*, the Son of *Birding*, the Son of *Neſting*; which two latter, bear in their names the memory of their Fortunes; the laſt of them being found in an Eagles neſt, by King *Alfred* as he was a hunting. This *Edgyth* built the Monaſtery and Church of Saint *Dennis* at *Wilton*, and was there buried.

Ramſey Monaſtery in *Hampſhire* founded.

A child found in an Eagles neſt: and thereof called *Neſting*.

After the death of King *Edgar* ſucceed his Son *Edward*, but not without ſome oppoſition, for Queen *Elfrid* combined with divers of the Lords, to make her Son *Ethelred* King, ſaying, that Prince *Edward* was illegitimate; on the other ſide, the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, and the Monks ſtood for *Edward*, abetting his Title as being lawfully born; but while the Council was aſſembled to argue their Rights, the Archbiſhop came in with his Banner and Croſs, and not ſtaying for debating *de Jure*, *de Facto* preſented Prince *Edward* for their lawful King, and the Aſſembly conſiſting moſt of Clergy men, drew the approbation of the reſt; and thereupon Prince *Edward* was admitted, being but twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, in the year 975. In the beginning of his Reign, it fell into debate whether married Prieſts were to be allowed to live in Monaſteries upon the Revenues of the Church. The *Mercian* Duke *Alfere*, favouring the cauſe of the married Prieſts, deſtroyed the Monaſteries in his Province, caſt out the Monks, and reſtored again the ancient Revenues to the Prieſts and their Wives. On the other ſide, *Edelwyn* Duke of the Eaſt *Angles*, and *Brynoth* Earl of *Suſſex*, who ſtood for the Monks, caſt married Prieſts out of their Provinces. The matter being debated in a Council at *Weſtminſter*, the Monks cauſe was like to have the foil, till it was referred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory Wall where the Council ſate: For to this great Oracle Saint *Dunſtan* deſired them devoutly to pray, and to give diligent ear for an anſwer, when ſuddenly a voice was heard to ſay, *God forbid it ſhould be ſo, God forbid it ſhould be ſo.* This was thought Authority ſufficient, to ſuppreſs the Prieſts, till they perſwading the people, that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks, in placing behinde the Wall, a man of their own, who through a Trunk uttered theſe words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon another Aſſembly was appointed at *Cleve* in *Wiltſhire*, whether repaired the Prelates, with moſt of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the Kingdom. The Synod being ſet, and the matter at the height of diſcuſſing, it happened that the Joyſts of the Room, where the Synod was held, ſuddenly brake, and the floor with all the people thereon, fell down, whereof many were hurt, and ſome ſlain; only the Archbiſhop *Dunſtan*, then Preſident, and mouth for the Monks, remained unhurt; which whether it were done by practice, or were miraculous, it ſerved the Monks turn for juſtifying their cauſe; and married Prieſts were thereupon diſcarded. It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to ſpeak of all the Miracles, reported to be done by this Saint *Dunſtan*, which may be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle.

Married Prieſts excluded from living in Monaſteries by what verdict.

But now a moſt lamentable diſaſter comes to be remembred: For King *Edward*, hunting one time in the Iſland of *Purbeck*, not far from *Corfe Caſtle*; where his Mother-in-Law, Queen *Elfrid*, with his Brother Prince *Ethelred*, were then reſiding, he out of his love to both, would needs himſelf alone go viſit them; where the cruel woman, out of ambition to bring her own Son to the Crown, cauſed one to run him into the back with a Knife, as he was drinking a Cup of Wine on Horſeback at his departing, who feeling himſelf hurt, ſet Spurs to his Horſe, thinking thereby to get to his company, but the wound being mortal, and he fainting through loſs of much blood, fell from his Horſe; but one foot being intangled in the Stirrup, he was thereby rufully dragged up and down, through Woods and Lands; and laſtly left dead at *Corfes* Gate; for which untimely death, he was ever after called by the name of *Edward* the Martyr. He reigned only three years and ſix months, and was buried firſt at *Wincheſter*, without all Funeral pomp, but after three years, by Duke *Alferus* removed, and with great ſolemnity interred in the Minſter of *Shaftsbury*. Queen *Elfrid*, to expiate this her bloody fact, built the two Monaſteries of *Almeſbury*, and *Worwel*, in the Counties of *Wiltſhire*, and *Southampton*, in which latter with great repentance, ſhe lived till her death.

K. *Edwards* lamentable end by the wickedneſs of his Mother-in-law: and called the Martyr.

After the death of *Edward* the Martyr, dying at the age of ſixteen years, his half Brother *Ethelred*, at the age of twelve years, in the year 979. was Crowned King at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames* by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, though much againſt his will; which King by reaſon of his backwardneſs in Action, was commonly called the Unready. At the Coronation of this Prince St. *Dunſtan* in a Prophetick ſpirit

K. *Ethelred* called the Unready.

ſpirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in theſe words following: Becauſe (ſaith he) thou haſt aſpired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother whom thy Mother hath murthered; therefore hear the word of the Lord: *The Sword ſhall not depart from thy houſe, but ſhall furiouſly rage all the dayes of thy life, killing of thy ſeed, till ſuch time as thy Kingdom ſhall be given to a people whoſe cuſtoms and language the Nation thou now governeſt, know not. Neither ſhall thy ſin, the ſin of thy Mother, and the ſin of thoſe men, who were partakers of her Counſels, and Executors of her wicked deſigns, be expiated but by a long, and moſt ſevere vengeance.* Which prediction of the Holy Archbiſhop was ſeconded by Prodigies, and by the diſaſterous calamities which fell on him, his houſe, and the whole confirmed for truth. Beſides this, moſt remarkable are the propheſies of a holy man in the time of this King *Ethelred*. Before whoſe time, for two and twenty years paſt the *Danes* had lived as quiet inmates with the *Engliſh*: but whether weary of ſo long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing ſomething, in the ſecond year of this King, they begin to ſtir, and inviting from home, Forces, who in ſeven Ships arrived upon the Coaſt of *Kent*; they ſpoiled all the Countrey, ſpecially the Iſle of *Thanet*, and continued this courſe of forraging the Kingdom, ſometimes in one part, and ſometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at laſt, in the year 991. the King by advice of his Lords, of whom *Siricius* the now Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was chief, was contented to pay them ten thouſand pounds, upon condition they ſhould quietly depart the Realm. This ſerved the turn for the preſent, but was ſo far from ſatisfying them, that it did but give them the greater appetite: for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet then before, againſt whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to *Elfrick*, Earl of *Mercia*, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the moſt part did, whom the King imployed againſt the *Danes*, as with whom they were allianced in blood) the *Danes* ſo prevailed, that for the next compoſition, they had ſixteen thouſand pounds given them, and a year after, twenty thouſand; and ſo every year more and more, till it came at laſt to forty thouſand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coin, and the *Engliſh* were brought ſo low, that they were fain to Till, and Ear the Ground, whilſt the *Danes* ſate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abuſing the Wives and Daughters of their Hoaſts, where they lay, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called *Lord Danes*; (which afterward became a word of deriſion when one would ſignifie a lazy Lubber.) In this diſtreſſed ſtate, the King at laſt bethought himſelf of a courſe: he ſent forth a ſecret Commiſſion into every City within his Dominions; that at an appointed time, they ſhould maſſacre all the *Danes* that were amongſt them: the day was the thirteenth of *November*, being the Feſtival of St. *Bricius*, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with ſuch rigour, that in *Oxford* the *Danes* for refuge took into the Church of St. *Frideſwide*, as into a Sanctuary, when the *Engliſh*, neither regarding place nor perſon, ſet the Church on fire, wherein many of the *Danes* were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that *England* by this Fact had clean ſhaken off the *Daniſh* yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwiſe: For the news of this maſſacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the *Danes* ſharper ſet againſt the *Engliſh*, then ever they had been before; ſo as the year following, their King *Sweyne*, with a mighty Navy entred the Countrey, razed and levelled with the ground the City of *Exeter*, all along from the Eaſt Gate to the Weſt: againſt whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl *Edrick*, his great Favourite, whom he had created Duke of *Mercia*, and given him his Daughter *Edgith* in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being ſent Ambaſſadour to the *Danes*, to mediate for peace, he revealed to them the weakneſs of the Land, and treacherouſly diſſwaded them from conſenting to any Truce. Upon this King *Ethelred* gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land ſhould build a Ship, and every eight Hides finde a compleat Armour furniſhed; yet all this great preparation came to nothing, but only to make a ſhow. After this, the King ſeeing no end of their Invaſions; nor promiſe kept upon any compoſition; (for three *Daniſh* Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he intended to adventure once for all, and to commit his cauſe to God, by the fortune of a Battel. To which end he ſecretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the Enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked *Edrick* had not diſſwaded him from fighting, and put him into a cauſleſs fear, by forged tales. After this the *Danes* forraged many Countries, burnt *Oxford*, *Thetford*, and *Cambridge*; and laſtly, entred *Wiltſhire*, which was the ſeventh ſhire in number, they had laid waſte like a Wilderneſs. The year after they make a new Expedition, and beſiege *Canterbury*; which by treaſon of a Church-man they won, took *Alphegus* the Archbiſhop, and ſlew nine hundred Monks, and men of Religion, beſides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, ſlaying all by nines, and reſerving only the tenth to live; ſo that of all the Monks in the Town, there were but four ſaved, and of the Lay-people, four thouſand eight hundred; by which account Maſter *Lambert* collecteth, that there dyed in this Maſſacre three and forty thouſand, and two hundred perſons. The Archbiſhop *Alphegus*, for that he refuſed to charge his Tenants with three thouſand pounds to pay for his Ranſome, they moſt cruelly ſtoned to death at *Greenwich*. *Turkillus* the leader of theſe Murtherers, took into his poſſeſſion all *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, over whom he tyrannized in moſt ſavage manner; the reſt compounding with the *Engliſh* for eight thouſand pounds, quietly for a while ſojourned among them. The year following came King *Sweyne* again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of *Humber*, and landed at *Gainsborough*, to whom the *Northum-*

The *Danes* having been long quiet, begin now to ſtir.

The *Danes* prevail, and are called *Lord-Danes*.

The *Danes* maſſacred.

In revenge whereof King Sweyne the next year invades the kingdom, and prevails by the treachery of Edrick.

thumbrians, and the people of *Lindſey* yielded themſelves; ſo that now over all the North from *Watlingſtreet*, he reigned ſole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he paſſed into the South, ſubduing all before him till he came to *London*, where he was ſo valiantly encountred by the *Londoners*, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithſtanding he entred *Bathe*; where *Ethelmare* Earl of *Devonſhire*, with his Weſtern people, ſubmitted himſelf to him. Yet after this, between him and the *Engliſh* was ſtruck a fierce Battel, which had been with good ſucceſs, if the treachery of ſome in turning to the *Danes*, had not hindred it. After this the *Danes* proceeded on victoriouſly, and had gotten moſt part of the Land, and even *London* alſo by ſubmiſſion: whereupon the unfortunate King *Ethelred*, ſending his Wife *Emma*, with her two Sons, *Edward* and *Alfred*, to her Brother Duke of *Normandy*, himſelf alſo the Winter following paſſed thither, leaving the *Danes* Lording it in his Realm. *Sweyne* now as an abſolute King, extorted from the *Engliſh* both Victuals and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding ſuch a Compoſition for preſerving of St. *Edmunds* Monaſtery in *Suffolk*, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refuſed to pay: he thereupon threatned ſpoil, both to the Place, and to the Martyrs bones that were interred, when ſuddenly in the midſt of his jollity (ſaith *Hoveden*) he cried out, that he was ſtruck by Saint *Edmund* with a Sword, being then in the midſt of his Lords, and no man ſeeing from whoſe hand it came; and ſo with great horrour and torment, three dayes after, upon the third of *February*, he ended his life at *Thetford*, or (as others ſay) at *Gainsborough*. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the *Engliſh*, to free themſelves wholly from the *Daniſh* yoke? but when all was done, either croſſed by treachery, or fruſtrated by misfortune, nothing proſpered. It is true, upon this occaſion of *Sweyne's* death, King *Ethelred* returned out of *Normandy*, but at his coming *Canutus* the Son of *Sweyne*, had gotten the people of *Lindſey* to be at his devotion, and to finde him both Horſe and Men againſt their own King; ſo as *Ethelred* was now to encounter as well his own Subjects as *Danes*, which he did ſo valiantly, that he made *Canutus* glad to return into *Denmark*, as utterly hopeleſs of any good to be done in *England*. And now one would certainly think the *Danes* had been removed, Root and Branch, out of *England*, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is a true ſaying, *That which will be, ſhall be, let all be done that can be*. For now *Turkil* the *Dane*, who had before revolted to King *Ethelred*, growing ſenſible of his fault, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Countrey-mens caſe, which was now or never to be helpt, with nine of his Ships ſailed into *Denmark*; and firſt excuſing himſelf to *Canutus* for his former defection, as though he had done it of purpoſe, to learn all advantages againſt the *Engliſh*, which now he could diſcover to him: ſo he prevailed with *Canutus* once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he ſet ſail for *England*, and landed at *Sandwich*, where he gave the *Engliſh* a great overthrow, and paſſed victoriouſly through the Counties of *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, and *Wilts*. When (*Ethelred* lying dangerouſly ſick at *Coſſam*) the managing of the War was committed to Prince *Edmund* his Son, who preparing to give the *Danes* Battel, had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Brother-in-law *Edrick* meant to betray him into his Enemies hands, which made him ſuſpend his proceeding: and *Edrick* perceiving his deſign to be diſcovered, caſt off the Maſque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the Weſt Countries ſubmitted themſelves unto *Canutus*. By this time King *Ethelred* having recovered his ſickneſs, prepared to go on with the Battel, which his Son *Edmund* had intended; but his Forces being aſſembled, he likewiſe had ſuddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the *Danes*. Hereupon he withdrew himſelf to *London*, as the place in which he moſt confided; where falling into a relapſe of his former ſickneſs, he ended his unfortunate dayes in the year 1016. when he had reigned 37. years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, whoſe bones as yet remain in the North Wall of the Chancel, in a Cheſt of gray Marble, adjoyning to that of *Sebba*, King of the Eaſt *Saxons*. He had by his two Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngeſt named *Goda*, was married to one *Walter de Maigne*, a Nobleman of *Normandy*, by whom ſhe had a Son named *Rodolph*, which *Rodolph* had a Son named *Harold*, created afterward by King *William* the Conquerour, Baron of *Sudely* in the County of *Gloceſter*, and Anceſtor to the Barons of that place ſucceeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudely*, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third Son *Edmund* called *Ironſide* (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldeſt living at his Fathers death, ſucceeded, and was crowned at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, by *Levingus* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1016. A great part of the *Engliſh* both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured *Canutus*; eſpecially the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, and ſware Fealty to him: but the *Londoners* ſtood firm to Prince *Edmund*, and were the principal authors of his Election. *Canutus* before the death of King *Ethelred*, had beſieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompaſſed it: but the new King *Edmund* coming on, raiſed the ſiege, and made *Canutus* fly to the Iſle of *Sheppey*, where having ſtaid the Winter, the Spring following, he aſſailed the Weſt of *England*, and at *Penham* in *Dorſetſhire*, a Battel was fought, and the *Danes* diſcomfited. After this, in *Worceſterſhire* at a place called *Sheroſtan*, another Battel was fought, where the *Danes* were like again to be diſcomfited: but the traiterous *Edrick* perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King *Edmund* both in hair and countenance, and ſhaking his bloody Sword, with the gaſping head, crying to the Army of the *Engliſh*, *Flie ye wretches, flie, and get away, for your King is ſlain; behold,*

Is perſwaded by *Turkil* the *Dane* to return into *England*.

Edrick continues treacherous ſtill

The Lord *Chandois* of *Sudeley* from whom deſcended.

Edmund Iron-ſide crowned King.

Drives *Canutus* from the ſiege of *London*.

Edrick treacherous ſtill

King *Sweyne* is ſtricken by the Divine Hand for offering violence to St *Edmund* the Martyrs bones.

Canutus in deſpair returns into *Denmark*.

behold, here is his head; but King *Edward* having notice of this treacherous ſtratagem, haſted to ſhew himſelf where he might beſt be ſeen; whoſe ſight ſo encouraged his men, that they had gotten that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke *Edrick* excuſes his Fact, as being miſtaken in the countenance of the man, and deſirous to ſave the blood of the *Engliſh*; upon which falſe colour he was received into favour again. After this, *Canutus* ſecretly in the night brake up his Camp, and marched towards *London*, which in a ſort was ſtill beſieged by the *Daniſh* Ships: but King *Edmund* hearing of his departure, followed him, and with ſmall adoe removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entred the City. After this near unto *Otford* in *Kent*, was another great Battel fought, in which *Canutus* loſt four thouſand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* only ſix hundred; the reſt of the *Danes* ſaving themſelves by flight: whom if King *Edmund* had purſued, it is thought that day had ended the Wars between theſe two Nations for ever. But the ever traiterous *Edrick*, kept King *Edmund* from purſuing them, by telling him of Ambuſhes and other dangers: ſo as *Canutus* had leaſure to paſs over into *Eſſex*, but thither alſo King *Edmund* followed him; where at *Aſhdon* three miles from *Saffron Walden*, another Battel was fought, in which the *Danes* being at the point to be overthrown, the traiterous *Edrick* with all his Forces revolted to their ſide; by which treachery the *Engliſh* loſt the day. There died of King *Edmund*'s Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Goodwyn*, Duke *Athelwald*, Duke *Athelwyn*, Earl *Urchil*, *Codnoth* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Wolſey* Abbot of *Ramſey*, with many other. The remembrance of which Battel is retained to this day, by certain ſmall hills there remaining, whence have been digged the bones of men, armour; and horſe-bridles, After this at *Dereherſt*, near to the River *Severn*, another Battel war ready to be fought; when ſuddenly, a certain Captain ſteps forth, and for ſaving of blood, uſed great perſwaſions, that either they ſhould try the Battel by ſingle Combat, or elſe divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entring into a ſmall Iſland called *Alney*, adjoyning to the City of *Gloceſter*, in compleat Armour aſſailed each other; at firſt on Horſe-back, and after on foot: when *Canutus* having received a dangerous wound, and finding himſelf overmatched in ſtrength, deſired a Compromiſe, and with a loud voice uſed theſe words. What neceſſity ſhould move us, moſt valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aſide, and condeſcend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become ſworn Brothers, and divide the Kingdom between us. This motion was by King *Edmund* accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between theſe two Princes; *Edmund* enjoying that part which lies upon the Coaſt of *France*, and *Canutus* the reſt. But now Duke *Edrick* hath his laſt and greateſt act of treachery to play; for King *Edmund* being retired to a place for natures neceſſity, he thruſt from under the draught a ſharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his head preſented it to *Canutus*, with theſe fawning words, *All hail, thou ſole Monarch now of* England, *for here behold the head of thy Co-partner, which for thy ſake I have adventured to cut off*. *Canutus* though ambitious enough of ſovereignty, yet abaſhed at ſo diſloyal a fact, replyed and vowed, that in reward of that ſervice, his own head ſhould be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom: which ſoon after he performed; for by his command the falſe *Edrick's* head was cut off, and placed upon the higheſt Gate of *London*. *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter* and *Huntingdon*, relates this murther to have been acted by *Edrick's* own Son, at the commandment of his Father: *William Malmesbury* writes that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, hired by the ſame diſloyal *Edrick*; notwithſtanding *Roger Hoveden* reports, that he died a natural death at *London*. The death of this King in this manner, ſome ſay, was acted at *Oxford*; others, that he died of a natural ſickneſs in *London*; but howſoever he came to his death, his reign was but only ſeven months, and his body was buried at *Glaſtenbury*, near to his Grandfather King *Edgar*. This King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth*, two Sons; the eldeſt named *Edward*, ſurnamed the Out-law, becauſe he lived out of *England*, in *Hungary*, as a baniſhed man, for fear of King *Canutus*: but when his Uncle King *Edward* the Confeſſor had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died, He married *Agatha*, Siſter to Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, and Daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the Second; by whom he had *Edgar* ſurnamed *Atheling*, the right Heir of the *Engliſh* Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The ſecond Son of *Ironſide* was called after his Fathers name *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had alſo two Daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, of whom the younger became a Veyled Nun at *Ramſey* in *Hampſhire*; the elder *Margaret*, after ſole Heir to the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third King of *Scotland*, from which princely bed in a lineal Deſcent, our High and Mighty Monarch King *James* the firſt, doth in his moſt Royal Perſon, unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and *Scotiſh* Imperial Crowns in one.

Edgar Atheling his Father.

King *James* deſcended from Margaret daughter of King *Edmund Ironſide*.

King *Edmund* and *Canutus* try the matter by a ſingle combat.

They divide the Kingdom between them.

Edrick treacherous ſtill, murthers King *Edmund*.

Of the firſt DANISH *King in* England.

Canutus poſſeſt of the whole Kingdom.

Canutus being poſſeſt of half the Kingdom by compoſition with King *Edward*, now after his death ſeiſed upon the whole, and to prevent all further queſtion, he called a Council of the *Engliſh* Nobility, wherein it was propounded, whether in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been reſerved for King *Edmunds* Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to ſay otherwiſe) they abſolutely anſwered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to *Canutus*. Being thus cleared of all oppoſites, he prepared with great ſolemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Levingus* ſurnamed *Elſtane*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1017. being the firſt *Dane* that reigned Monarch of *England*. But *Canutus* not thinking himſelf ſufficiently

ficiently ſafe, as long as any that might pretend, were in the peoples eye, cauſed firſt *Edwyn* the Son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*, to abjure the Realm, who was yet afterward recalled; and treacherouſly murthered by his own men, and his body buried at *Taveſtock* in *Devonſhire*. Next were the two ſons of *Edmund Ironſide*, *Edward*, and *Edmund*, whom to the end the people might not ſee him ſhed the blood of Innocents, he ſent to his half Brother, King of *Sweden*, to be made away: but the King of *Sweden* more compaſſionate and noble, then this jealous and cruel *Dane*, ſent the young Princes into *Hungary*, to *Salomon* (the King thereof) in whoſe Court they were brought up and preferred, as we have before mentioned. Then remained *Edward* and *Alfred*, the Sons of King *Ethelred*, and them their Mother Queen *Emma* had ſent away before to her Brother the Duke of *Normandy*, there to be in ſafety: ſo as none of the Royal Blood was now left in the Land, to give *Canutus* any fear of competition. After this he took to Wife the virtuous Lady *Emma*, the Relict of King *Ethelred*, by which match he procured to himſelf three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they ſo intirely loved; another, that he got the Alliance of the Duke of *Normandy*, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he ſecured himſelf againſt the Sons: as likewiſe Queen *Emma* was not unwillingly perſwaded to the match, upon agreement to make her Iſſue, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of *England*. And to win the love of the people more, he cauſed great numbers of his *Danes*, who peſtered the Countrey, to return home, beſtowing amongſt them for their ſatisfaction, fourſcore and two thouſand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now ſet himſelf to the making of good Laws, in a Parliament at *Oxford*; whereof, for a pattern of thoſe times, ſome that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. Firſt, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the encreaſe of Reverence and Devotion ſhould be uſed as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all publick Fairs, Markets, Synods, Huntings, and all ſecular actions ſhould be forborn, unleſs ſome urgent neceſſity ſhould require it. Thirdly, that every Chriſtian ſhould thrice in the year receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Miniſter of an Altar killed a man, or committed any notorious crime, he ſhould be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifthly, that a married woman convict of Adultery, ſhould have her noſe and ears cut off. Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelve month after her Husbands deceaſe ſhould loſe her Joynture. Theſe and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a moſt peaceable ſtate and government. In the third year of his Reign he heard how the *Vandals* taking advantage of his abſence, had entred *Denmark*, and annoyed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Army of *Engliſh* he paſſed over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill ſucceſs the firſt day; when preparing for the next dayes Battel, the Earl *Goodwyn* who was the General of the *Engliſh*, ſecretly in the dead of the night, ſet upon the *Vandals* Camp, and with a great ſlaughter of their Souldiers, made their two Princes, *Ulfus* and *Anlave*, to flie the Field. In the morning it was told *Canutus* that the *Engliſh* were fled, for that their ſtation was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his patience: but he going in perſon to ſee the truth, found the great overthrow the *Engliſh* had given, for which ſervice ever after he held the *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the Earl *Goodwyn*, in great eſtimation. After this, returning home, he made a proſperous expedition againſt *Malcolme*, King of *Scots*; and at laſt, in the fifteenth year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of a devotion, he took a Journey to *Rome*, to viſit the Sepulchre of St. *Peter* and *Paul*, from whence he writ to the Biſhops, and Nobility of *England*, that they ſhould carefully adminiſter Juſtice, and never ſeek to advance his profit by any undue wayes, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from *Rome*, he built in *Eſſex* the Church of *Aſkdon*, where he got the Victory againſt King *Edmund*; in *Norfolk*, the Abbey of St. *Benets*, which Saint he greatly reverenced; and in *Suffolk* the Monaſtery of Saint *Edmund*, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of *Wincheſter* he gave many rich Jewels, whereof one was a Croſs, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of *England* amounted to in one year. To *Coventry* he gave the arm of the great St. *Auſtin*, which he bought at *Pavia* in his return from *Rome*, for which he paid an hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One ſtrange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning flatterers, who uſed to tell him that his powers were more then humane; For being one time at *Southampton*, he commanded that his Chair of State ſhould be ſet on the ſhoar when the Sea began to flow, and then ſitting down there in the preſence of his many attendants, he ſpake thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou preſume not to enter my Land, nor wet theſe Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his uſual courſe of Tyde, firſt wet his skirts, and after his thighs, whereupon ſuddenly ariſing, he thus ſpake in the hearing of them all: Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never ſuffer the Crown to be ſet upon his head: but preſently Crowned therewith the Picture of Chriſt on the Croſs at *Wincheſter*; from which example aroſe perhaps the Cuſtom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings conſecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had reigned nineteen years, he deceaſed at *Shaftesbury* in the County of *Dorſet*, the twelfth of *November*, in the year 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monaſtery at *Wincheſter*; which being after new built, his bones with many other *Engliſh Saxon* Kings, were taken up, and are preſerved in

He marries Queen *Emma*.

He makes good Laws.

The Sabbath to be ſtrictly obſerved.

The Communion to be received thrice a year.

A married woman convict of adultery, to have her noſe and ears cut off.

He takes a journey to *Rome*.

He builds divers Monaſteries.

A Jewel as much worth as the revenues of *England*.

His Act for convincing his flatterers

Hanging up the armour of worthy men in Churches, from whence it began.

in gilt Coffers, fixed upon the Walls of the Quire in that Cathedral Church. He had by his two Wives, three Sons, *Sweyne* and *Harold* by his first Wife *Alfgive*; and *Hardiknute* by his second Wife Queen *Emma*, and two Daughters, of whom the eldest, called *Guinhilda*, was marryed to the *Roman* Emperour *Henry* the third, who being accused of Adultery, and none found to defend her cause, at last an *English* Page, a very boy and dwarf, who for the littleness of his stature, was generally, and jestingly surnamed *Mimecan*, adventured to maintain her Innocency against a mighty Giant-like Combatant; who in fight, at one blow, cutting the sinews of his adversaries leg, with another he felled him to the ground, and then with his Sword, taking his head from his shoulders, redeemed both the Empereſſes life and honour. But the Empereſs after this hard usage forsook her Husbands Bed, and took upon her the Veil of a Nun, in the Town of *Burges* in *Flanders*, where she devoutly spent the rest of her life.

Guinhilda's Innocency defended by a Page.

Of the second Danish *King in* England.

King *Canutus* dying, left his Kingdom of *Norway* to his eldest Son *Sweyne*, and his Kingdom of *England*, to his youngest Son *Hardiknute*, whom he had by his Wife *Emma*; but he being at the time of his Fathers death in *Denmark*, *Harold* his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at *Oxford*, where Queen *Emma* pleaded for her Son *Hardiknute*, urging the Covenant of *Canutus* at their Marriage, and his last Will at his death; as also Earl *Godwyn* of *Kent* did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But *Harold's* presence, together with the favour of the *Londoners*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, so wrought with the Lords, that the absent *Hardiknute* was neglected, and *Harold* was proclaimed and crowned King at *Oxford*, by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1036.

Harold succeedeth his Father *Canutus*.

Harold having now attained the Crown, was not so jealous of his Brother *Hardiknute*, as of his Mother-in-law Queen *Emma*, and her Sons by King *Ethelred*, who were beyond Sea; and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care: For effecting whereof, he framed a Letter, as written by Queen *Emma*, to her two Sons *Edward* and *Alfred*; instigating them to attempt the Crown usurped by *Harold*, against their Right: to which Letter, coming first to the hands of *Alfred*, he suspecting no fraud, returned answer, that he would shortly come over, and follow her counsel. And thereupon with a small Fleet, and some few Souldiers lent him by *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, he took the Sea for *England*, where coming to shore, Earl *Godwyn* met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his guide to his Mother Queen *Emma*, but being wrought firm for *Harold*, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at *Guilford*, making known to King *Harold* what he had done, who presently committed them all to slaughter, sparing only every tenth man, for service of sale. Prince *Alfred* himself he sent Prisoner to the Isle of *Ely*, where having his eyes inhumanely put out, in grief and torment he ended his life. Some add a more horrible kinde of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with Needles, or Poignards, and forced about till all his entrails were extracted. This done, then he set upon Queen *Emma*, confiscating her Goods, and banished her the Realm. And now further to secure himself, he kept the Seas with sixteen *Danish* Ships, to the maintenance whereof, he charged the *English* with great payments; by which, if he procured the safety of his person, he certainly procured the hatred of his Subjects. This King for his swiftness in running was called *Harefoot*, but though by his swiftness he out-run his Brother for the Kingdom, yet could not he run so fast, but that death quickly overtook him: For having reigned only four years and some months, he dyed at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Westminster*, having never had Wife or Children.

His plot to intercept Competitors.

His cruelty against his Brother-in-law *Alfred*.

Called Harefoot for his swift running.

Of the third and last Danish *King in* England.

King *Harold* being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, sent now for *Hardiknute*, and offer him their Allegiance, who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of *Kent*, the sixth day after he had set sail out of *Denmark*; and with great pomp conveyed to *London*, was there crowned King by *Elnothus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the year 1040. His first act was to be revenged of his deceased Brother *Harold*, whose body he caused to be digged up, and thrown into the *Thames*, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. *Clement* without *Temple-Bar*; commonly called St. *Clement Danes*, because it was the burying place of the *Danes*, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince *Edward*, he shewed true natural affection, inviting them both to return into *England*, where he received them with all the honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

Hardiknute succeedeth *Harold*.

St. *Clement Danes* why so called.

But now, as the King *Harold*, for his swiftness in running, was surnamed *Harefoot*; so this King for his intemperance in dyet, might have been surnamed Swinesmouth, or *Bocca di Porco*; for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kindes of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State, he committed it wholly to his Mother Queen *Emma*, and to the politick Earl of *Kent*, *Godwyn*; who finding this weakness in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he sought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other courses he caused him to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Ship-money to pay his *Danes*, amounting to two and

His intemperance in diet.

He imposeth Ship-money upon his Subjects.

thirty thouſand pounds: which was ſo offenſive to the people, that the Citizens of *Worceſter* ſlew two of his officers, *Thurſtan* and *Feudax*, that came to collect it. But this King had ſoon the reward of his intemperance; for in a ſolemn Aſſembly and Banquet at *Lambeth*, revelling and carowſing, he ſuddenly fell down without ſpeech, or breath, after he had reigned only two years, and was buried at *Winchester*. His death was ſo welcome to his Subjects, that the day of his death is to this day commonly celebrated with open paſtimes in the ſtreet, and is called *Hocks-tide*, ſignifying ſcorn or contempt, which fell upon the *Danes* by his death; For with him ended the Reign of the *Danes* in *England*, after they had miſerably afflicted the Kingdom, for the ſpace of two hundred and forty years; though in regal Government, but only ſix and twenty.

Of English *Kings again, and firſt of* Edward *the Confeſſour.*

Edward the Confeſſour ſucceedeth *Hardiknute.*

KIng *Hardiknute* dying without Iſſue, as having never been married, and the *Daniſh* line clean extinguiſhed, *Edward* for his Piety called the *Confeſſour*, half Brother to the deceaſed *Hardiknute*, and Son to King *Ethelred* by his Wife Queen *Emma*, was by a general conſent admitted King of *England*, and was Crowned at *Winchester* by *Edſyne* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, on *Eaſter-day*, in the year 1042. being then of the age of forty years. He was born at *Iſlip* near to *Oxford*; and after his Fathers death, for ſafety ſent into *France*, to the Duke of *Normandy*, his Mothers Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of *England*. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were firſt, the remitting the yearly tribute of forty thouſand pounds, gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had been impoſed by his Father, and for forty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the *Mercians*, *Weſt Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he ſelected the beſt, and made of them one body certain, and written in *Latin*, being in a ſort the Fountain of thoſe which at this day we term the Common of Laws, though the forms of pleading, and proceſs therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerour. The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in his ſixth year the *Daniſh* Pirates entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-coaſts of *Eſſex* they ſpoiled, and then in *Flanders* made merchandize of their prey. As likewiſe the *Iriſh*, with thirty Ships entred *Severn*, and with the aſſiſtance of *Griffyth* King of *South-wales*, burnt or ſlew all in their way, till at laſt *Reeſe* the Brother of *Griffyth* was ſlain at *Bulendeu*, and his head preſented to King *Edward* at *Gloceſter*. His Domeſtical troubles were only by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons; who yet after many conteſtations and affronts were reconciled, and *Godwin* received again into as great favour as before. But although King *Edward* forgave his Treaſons, yet the Divine Providence did not; for ſoon after as he ſate at Table with the King on *Eaſter-Monday*, we was ſuddenly ſtrucken with death, and on *Thurſday* following dyed, and was buried at *Winchester*. Some make his death more exemplar, as that juſtifying himſelf for Prince *Alfrid's* death, he ſhould pray to God, that if he were any way guilty of it, he might never ſwallow down one morſel of bread, and thereupon by the juſt Judgement of God was choaked by the firſt morſel he offered to eat.

Earl *Godwin* puniſhed by the Divine hand.

In this Kings time ſuch abundance of ſnow fell in *January*, continuing till the middle of *March* following, that almoſt all Cattel and Fowl periſhed, and therewith an exceſſive dearth followed.

Extremity of Snow.

Two Acts are related of this King, that ſeem nothing correſpondent to the general opinion had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife: That concerning his Mother Queen *Emma* was this, that becauſe after King *Ethelred's* death, ſhe marryed the *Daniſh* King *Canutus*, and ſeemed to favour her iſſue by him, more then her Iſſue by King *Ethelred*, therefore he diſpoſſeſt her of all her her Goods, and committed her to cuſtody, in the Abbey of *Worwel*; and more then this, ſo far hearkened to an aſperſion caſt upon her, of unchaſte familiarity with *Alwyne* Biſhop of *Winchester*, that for her Purgation, ſhe was fain to paſs the tryal of Fire Ordeal, which was in this manner; nine Plow-ſhares red hot were laid in unequal diſtance, which ſhe muſt paſs bare-foot and blinde-fold, and if ſhe paſſed them unhurt, then ſhe was judged Innocent, if otherwiſe, Guilty. And this tryal ſhe paſſed, and came off fairly, to the great aſtoniſhment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; he had married *Editha* the beautiful, and indeed virtuous Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, and becauſe he had taken diſpleaſure againſt the Father, he would ſhew no kindeneſs to the daughter; he had made her his Wife, but converſed not with her as a Wife, only at board, but not at bed, or if at bed, no otherwiſe then *David* with *Abiſhag*, and yet was content to hear her accuſed of Incontinency; whereof if ſhe were guilty he could not be innocent. So as, what the virtues were, for which after his death he ſhould be reputed a Saint, doth not eaſily appear. It ſeems he was chaſte, but not without injury to his Wife: Pious, but not without ungratefulneſs to his Mother; Juſt in his preſent Government, but not without neglect of Poſterity; for through his want of Providence in that point, he left the Crown to ſo doubtful ſucceſſion, that ſoon after his deceaſe it was tranſlated out of *Engliſh* into *French*, and the Kingdom made ſervile to a fourth Forreign Nation. One ability he had which raiſed him him above the pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, that by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he cured a Diſeaſe, which from his curing is called, *The Kings-Evil*. His Mother Queen *Emma*, in memory of the nine Plow-ſhares ſhe had paſſed in her Tryal, gave nine Mannors to the Minſter of *Winchester*, and himſelf remembring the wrong he had done her, beſtowed on the ſame place, the Iſland of *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, being about ſeuen miles in compaſs. He made

Queen *Emma* paſſeth the tryal of Fire Ordeal. *Mat. Weſt.*

He remits *Dane-gilt.*

He ordained the common Laws.

The firſt King that cured the *Kings Evil.*

made alſo of a little Monaſtery in the Weſt of *London*, by the River of *Thames*, a moſt beautiful Church, (called of the place *Weſtminſter*) where he provided for his own Sepulchre; and another dedicated to St. *Margaret*, ſtanding without the Abbey. This of *Weſtminſter* he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the firſt of the Kings of *England*, who uſed that large and ſtately impreſſion in their Charters and Patents. He founded alſo the Colledge of St. *Mary Ottery* in *Devonſhire*, and gave unto it the Village of *Ottery*, and removed the Biſhops See from *Cridington* to *Exeter*; as a place of far more dignity: and when he had reigned the ſpace of three and twenty years and ſix months, he ended his life the fourth of *January*, in that room of his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which is now called the *Painted Chamber*, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at *Weſtminſter*, which he had builded.

He builds *Weſtminſter*.

He firſt uſed the Broad Seal.

He dyed in the *Painted Chamber* at *Weſtminſter*.

Of Harold *the ſecond* Engliſh *King after the* Danes.

KING *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, being himſelf without Iſſue, had in his life time ſent into *Hungary* for his Nephew *Edward* called the *Out-law*, the Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, with a purpoſe to deſign him his Succeſſor in the Crown, but he dying ſoon after his coming into *England*, King *Edward* then gave his Son *Edgar* the name of *Atheling*; as to ſay, Prince *Edgar*, meaning to deſign him for his Succeſſour, but being prevented by death, before the Succeſſour was fully eſtabliſhed, and *Edgar Atheling*, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his right, *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin* ſteps into the Throne, and never ſtanding upon Ceremonies, ſet himſelf the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violater of Holy Rites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durſt oppoſe him, as being at that time the moſt martial man in the Kingdom; and ſuch a one, as the ſtate of the Realm ſtood at that time in need of, and beſides his own worthineſs had the aſſiſtance of *Edwyn*, and *Marchar*, the two great Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſter*, whoſe Siſter *Algyth* he had married. It is true withal, that King *Edward* had appointed the Crown after his own deceaſe, ſometime to *William* Duke of *Normandy*, ſometimes to *Edgar Atheling*, and ſometimes to this *Harold*, ſo as he was Crowned by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, as not coming in by intruſion or wrong, but by the appointment of King *Edward*; though that appointment of King *Edward*, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of *Edgar*, then to make him abſolute King: but howſoever being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince *Edgar* ſome amends, he created him Earl of *Oxford*, which was indeed to uſe him like a Childe, take away a Jewel, and pleaſe him with an Apple. Yet *Harold* having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himſelf with great Valour and Juſtice, for the time he ſate in it, which was but very ſhort (only nine months) as being indeed but tottering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother *Tonſtayne*, who by diverting his Forces to ſuppreſs a Rebellion, made him of leſs force to reſiſt an Invaſion. But now that we have ſhewed how *Harold* entred the Throne, we muſt forbear to ſhew how he was caſt out, till we come to him that caſt him out; who becauſe he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we muſt neceſſarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, ſeeing in him we ſhall joyn our Iſland to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Diſcourſe then heretofore they have done.

Harold ſucceeds *Edward* the Confeſſour: ſetting the Crown upon his own head.

Edgar Atheling made Earl of *Oxford*.

THE

The LIFE of KING WILLIAM THE FIRST, Called the CONQUEROUR.

His Parentage and Deſcent.

The race of the Dukes of Normandy.

THere were ſix Dukes of *Normandy* in *France*, in a direct line ſucceeding from Father to Son. The firſt was *Rollo*, who of a private man in *Denmark*, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wreſted by force of Arms from *Charles* the *Simple*, King of *France*, to be made Duke of *Normandy*. The ſecond was *William* his Son, called *Long-Eſpee*, or *Long-Sword*. The third was *Richard* his Son, called the *Hardy*, who had *Richard*, and a Daughter called *Emma*, married to *Ethelred* King of *England*, Father of *Edward* the Confeſſour. The fourth was *Richard* the ſecond, his Son, called the *Good*. The fifth was *Richard* the third, his Son, who by a firſt Wife had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*; and by a ſecond two other Sons, *William* Earl of *Arguos*, and *Mauger* Archbiſhop of *Roan*. So as *Richard* his eldeſt Son by his firſt Wife, ſucceeded him by the name of *Richard* the fourth, and dying without Iſſue, the Dukedom deſcended to *Robert* his ſecond Son by his firſt Wife: which *Robert* was Father to our *William* the Conquerour, of whom it is thus recorded; that riding one time abroad, he happened to paſs by a company of Countrey Maids that were a dancing, where ſtaying a while to look upon them, he was ſo taken with the handſomneſs and graceful carriage of one of them whoſe name was *Arlotte*, a Skinners Daughter (from whence as ſome think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanding him, and authority her, he cauſed her that night to be brought to his Bed; where being together, what was done or ſaid between them, is no matter for Hiſtory to record, though ſome Hiſtorians have recorded both; making her not ſo modeſt as was fit for a Maid: only ten months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke *William* was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary ſpirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his birth fore-running tokens which preſaged his future greatneſs; for his Mother *Arlotte* being great with him, had a dream like that of *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus* the firſt *Perſian* Monarch; namely, that her bowels were extended and dilated over all *Normandy* and *England*. Alſo as ſoon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber floor, with both his hands he took up ruſhes, and ſhutting his little fiſts, held them very faſt; which gave occaſion to the Goſſiping Wives to congratulate *Arlotte* in the birth of ſuch a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the childe would prove a King.

His ſucceeding in the Dukedom, notwithſtanding his Baſtardy.

Baſtardy no bar to ſucceſſion.

IT appears by many examples, that Baſtardy in thoſe dayes was no bar to ſucceſſion, till a law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought ſome diſgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Baſtardy ſeemed to have ſome allay, if it be true (as ſome write) that his Father took the ſaid *Arlotte* afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Dukedom ſo much by ſucceſſion, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, cauſed them to ſwear Allegiance to this baſe Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his deceaſe. Neither was this in thoſe dayes unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceaſes upon whom they pleaſed, counting it as lawful to appoint Succeſſours after them, as Subſtitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of *Northumberland* prevailed with King *Edward* the ſixth, to exclude his two Siſters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and to appoint the Lady *Jane Grey*, Daughter of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to ſucceed him.

Princes to appoint their ſucceſſours.

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

HIS Father having declared and appointed him to be his Succeſſour, went ſoon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Pennance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was ſuſpected) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianſhip to the King of *France*, in whoſe Court for a time he was brought up. A ſtrange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was baſe, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of *France*, who aimed at nothing more

more, then to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of *France*; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

His troubles in his Minority.

FIrst, *Roger de Tresney*, who derived his Pedegree from *Rollo*, and had won much Honour by his valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites complices to assist him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke *William* had not been against it; who though he were himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up friends that supplied him with Assistance, and particularly *Roger de Beaumont*, by whose valour this *Roger de Tresney*, with his two Brothers, was defeated and slain. After *Roger de Tresney*, *William de Arques* his Uncle layes claim to the Dutchy, and assisted by the King of *France* comes to a Battel, but by the valour of Count *Gifford*, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one *Guy*, Earl of *Burgoigne*, Grandchilde to *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy*, grew sensible of his right to the Dukedom, and joyning with Viscount *Neele*, and the Earl of *Bessin*, two powerful *Normans*, conspired Duke *William*'s death, and had effected it, if a certain Fool about him had not stoln away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to flie for his life instantly, or he would be murthered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward *Falaise*, his principle Castle, but missing his way, he happened to pass, where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done, but the Conspirators came presently inquiring if such a one had not passed that way, which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their guide to overtake him, but leading them of purpose a contrary way, the Duke by this means came safely to *Falaise*, and from thence journeys to the King of *France*, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his servant his Father. The King of *France* moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Fathers merits, though he wished he was less then he was: yet he so aided him, that he made him greater then he was; for himself in person, suffering much in the Battel, procured him the Victory. By which we may see, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves, are all assistants to the Destinies; or to say better, indeed to the Divine Providence. Many other affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterwards by the King of *France* himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountred with such dexterity, that made his Bastardy, as it were, become Legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

A Fool saves Duke *William*'s life.

His Carriage afterwards in Peace.

BY this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in War, he now began to shew himself a provident Governour in Peace, composing and ordering his state: wherein he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

His Incitements for Invading of England.

DUke *William* had Incitements to Invade *England*, and some shew of a Title. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages transacted betwixt the two former Kings, *Edward* the Confessour, and *Harold* the Son of Earl *Godwin*. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl *Godwin* falling out with King *Edward*, the business was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Allies were in a manner banished the Realm. *Godwin* makes his refuge to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, *Harold* his Son into *Ireland*. *Emma* the Kings Mother deceasing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation betwixt the King and the Exiles; but *Edward* jealous of *Godwins* arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Countrey: Hostages are delivered; *Walnoth* the Son of *Godwin*, and *Harun* his Grandchilde, whom the King for more security sends into *Normandy*, there to be detained by Duke *William* his Kinsman. After the death of *Godwin*, *Harold* succeeds him, Earl of *Kent*, who craves leave of the King to go to *Normandy*, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman: The King in this manner answers him, *Harold* you may do your pleasure, and I may permit, though will not consent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. *Harold* notwithstanding, obstinate in his resolution, after a tempestuous Voyage, arrives in *France*, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of *Pontive*, and at the command and threats of Duke *William* dismist; and though first rob'd of his Treasures, and choicest things he transported, at last sent into *Normandy*; where relating the cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertained, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wished. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entred into private discourse with him, and told him, that King

Edward

Edward being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promiſed him, that if ever he came to be King of *England*, he would make him his heir, and ſettle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore *Harold* (quoth the Duke) if you will aſſiſt me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into *England*, you ſhall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our tye of friendſhip the ſtronger, you ſhall promiſe to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and ſend your Siſter hither, whom I will beſtow on one of my chief Lords: you ſhall alſo promiſe me to ſecure the Caſtle of *Dover*, for my ſervice: and I promiſe you that when I am King of *England*, I will deny you nothing, which in reaſon you ſhall demand. *Harold* having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: but ſeeing himſelf in ſuch ſtreights, That he muſt either venture on a promiſe, or hazard an impriſonment, condeſcends to all the Duke demanded; and for more ſecurity, with a ſolemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into *England*, acquaints *Edward* with all theſe paſſages, who replyed, Did not I know *William's* diſpoſition, and foretell thee how much miſchief this Journey would bring upon *England*? Duke *William* having the Word of *Edward*, and the Oath of *Harold*, had ſufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of *Edward*, and that *Harold* was Crowned King, he thought himſelf not more forgotten by *Edward* then wronged by *Harold*; and therefore ſent a meſſenger to put him in minde of King *Edward's* Promiſe, and his own Oath. *Harold* returns anſwer that he could not ſend his Siſter over, becauſe ſhe was dead; but if *William* would have her Carkaſs he ſhould. Secondly, that he could neither promiſe, nor diſpoſe of a Kingdom, which was none of his own. Laſtly, he ſhould be injurious to his own Nobility, if he ſhould without their conſent and advice take a ſtranger for Wife. *William* having heard his anſwer, was as yet patient, and again ſending to *Harold* mildly, demands of him at laſt to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwiſe by force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promiſe of King *Edward*. To this *Harold* peremptorily replies, that he feared not the one, ſo by no means would he do the other. Duke *William* thus ſlighted by *Harold*, endeavours to make him honeſt by force, and aſſured himſelf he ſhould finde him a weak Enemy, who had proved ſo perjured a Friend. Theſe were the incitements which cauſed *William* in his declining age to undertake this expedition; but who can think himſelf too old for a Kingdom, when *Galba*, above 73. years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limbs for the attaining of a *Roman* Empire?

The Reaſons that facilitated his Conqueſt of England.

DUke *William* incenſed with *Harolds* anſwers, acquaints the Nobility with his purpoſe, who with ſome ado conſented to aid him, as likewiſe many other great Lords of *France*, but ſpecially *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, whoſe Daughter he had married; and who being at that time Guardian of the young King of *France*, procured aid from him alſo; and to make the Enterpriſe the more ſucceſsful, Pope *Alexander* the ſecond ſent him a Banner, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. *Peter*. So as the preparation of the Duke, both by Sea and Land, was very great, having three hundred ſail of Ships, and as ſome write, 890. and as one *Norman* above a thouſand, and as *Gemeticenſis*, three thouſand; and though *Harold* had likewiſe provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time unfortunately diverted another way. For *Touſtayne* his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, at the ſame time invading thoſe parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, that the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where though he got the Victory at *Stamford*, with the death both of his brother *Touſtayne*, and of the King of *Norway*: yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entred the Kingdom as eaſily as one may enter a houſe, when the doors are all left open. By this means King *Harold's* Shipping (the beſt wall of defence to an Iſland) was utterly fruſtrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at *Stamford*, exceedingly both weakened and impaired: yet hearing that Duke *William* was landed at *Pemſey*, not far from *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*, he repaired thither with all ſpeed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increaſing them by all the means he could, made himſelf ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke *William* in the mean time, as ſoon as he had landed his men, ſent his Ships preſently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory: And then going himſelf on Land, it is ſaid, his foot ſlipped, and he fell down; which ſome that ſtood by, taking it for an evil ſign, No (ſaith he) I have by this taken poſſeſſion of this Land. And indeed preſages are but as *Animus ejus qui preſagit*, as in this Dukes fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of ſpirit ſhewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joyn; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of haſte, or out of perturbation of minde, putting the forepart behinde, and the back part before, the Duke ſeeing it, merrily ſaid, I ſee now by this inverſion of my Armour, that my Dukedom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a good *Omen*, which ſome other of weaker ſpirits would have taken for a bad. Many wayes of compoſition between Duke *William* and King *Harold* were propounded, yet *Harold* would hearken to none, as nothing doubting of ſucceſs, and perhaps thinking it a diſgrace to capitulate for that, which was now his own: and when one of his Brothers called *Gyrth*, being leſs intereſſed, and therefore clearer ſighted, intreated him to conſider what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he ſo ſolemnly had ſworn, *Harold* ſeemed to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to binde him, now being a Prince: and ſo on the fourteenth day of *October*, being Saturday, in the year 1066. (which day he liked the better, becauſe it was his Birth-day, hoping that the day of his Birth

Duke *William's* number of ſhips to invade *England*.

King *Harold* prepares to reſiſt Duke *William*.

Duke *William* at his landing takes a fall.

Birth, would not ſo much degenerate, to prove the day of his Death, though this alſo even bred no good blood to the action; for the Souldiers of *Harold*, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, ſpent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of conſideration of their next dayes work, ſpent the night in quietneſs and devotion) they joyned Battel, (the *Kentiſh-men* being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient cuſtom is their due, and King *Harold* with his *Londoners*, leading the main Battel) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about threeſcore thouſand men) yet there was great odds in the expertneſs of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons; for, the Duke had with him all the flower of *France* and *Flanders*, where King *Harold* had loſt his beſt men, in his late Battel: and for advantage of Weapons, the *Normans* had long Bows and Arrows, which among the *Engliſh* at that time were not at all in uſe. What marvail that the *Normans* got the Victory, though King *Harold* loſing his life, yet loſt no reputation; and though the *Engliſh* Souldiers ſhewed no leſs valour, in being conquered, then the *Normans* did in conquering? One circumſtance may not be omitted, that King *Harold* as an expert General, had ordered his men in ſo firm a Body, that no force of the *Normans* could diſorder their Ranks, till Duke *William* uſed a ſtratagem, commanding his men to retire, and to counterfeit flight; by which he drew the *Engliſh* on, upon a hollow ground covered with earth: whereinto many of them fell and periſhed, and beſides into an ambuſh of his Horſemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there ſeems one great error to have been committed (at leaſt, if it were an errour, and not rather a neceſſity) that there was not a ſupplemental Army provided, (as his Brother *Gryth* would have had it) which might have come on if the firſt had failed; and would have been of great advantage againſt a wearied Army. But when *Sic viſum eſt ſuperis*, all humane force is weak and cannot withſtand, all humane Providence is unprovided, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke *William* that day fought ſo valiantly, that he had three Horſes killed under him; but King *Harold* ſhewed no leſs valour in killing many *Normans* with his own hands: ſo as the fight continued doubtful along time; till at laſt, King *Harold* being ſtruck into the brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whoſe falling, a baſe *Norman* Souldier, cut off one of his Thighs, while he was yet breathing: which Duke *William* hearing, was ſo much offended, that he cauſed the Souldier to be diſarmed, and with ſhame caſhiered. The body of King *Harold*, his Mother *Thyra* offered a great ſumme, to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleneſs of his minde, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in *Waltham* Abbey; which himſelf had begun to build, at leaſt, to repair. But here *Gyraldus Cambrenſis* tells a ſtrange ſtory, that *Harold* was not ſlain in the Battel, but only wounded and loſt his left eye, and then eſcaped by flight to *Cheſter*, where he afterwards led a holy Anchorets life, in the Cell of St. *James*, faſt by St. *John's* Church.

An. Dom. 1066.

Kentiſh men are to be placed in the fore-front of the Battel.

Duke *William* uſeth a ſtratagem.

King *Harold* is ſlain.

How Duke William *proceeded after his Victory at* Haſtings.

AS his Valour won him the Victory, ſo his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was ſuddenly became a young King: and indeed, nothing ſo much renues life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, eſpecially when it is the fruit of merit. Firſt therefore, having given publick thanks to God for his happy ſucceſs, he led his Army towards *London*, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of ſome new encounter) but coaſting about through part of *Kent*, through *Suſſex*, *Surry*, *Hampſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, where at *Wallingford* he paſſed over the *Thames*; and then through *Oxfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Hartfordſhire*, until he came to *Barkhamſtead*, where there came unto him *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wilfere* Biſhop of *Hereford*, and many other Prelates, accompanied with *Edgar Atheling*, with Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, Brothers, and men of the greateſt ſway in the Kingdom, and many others of the Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at *Haſtings*, Earl *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, had a purpoſe to ſet up *Edgar Atheling*, as next Heir of the Royal blood; and Grandchilde to *Edmund Ironſide*, and ſo beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but conſidering his young years, and other inabilities, but eſpecially finding the minds of the Biſhops, (who at that time bare all the ſway) to be otherwiſe inclined, they deſiſted from that courſe; and thus the Duke without any oppoſition, coming to *London*, was received by Biſhops and Lords, and all, with great joy, though ſmall gladneſs: and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in moſt humble manner they ſubmitted themſelves to him, acknowledging him for their Soveraign Lord; and upon *Chriſtmas* day after, he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Aldred* Archbiſhop of *York*, the Archbiſhop *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, not being admitted to do that office, for ſome defect in his Inveſtiture; and perhaps for ſome aſperſion in his manners.

1067.

Duke *William* is Crowned King of *England*.

How he rewarded his Followers.

THough he hath had the name of Conqueror, yet he uſed not the Kingdom as gotten by Conqueſt; for he took no mans living from him, nor diſpoſſeſſed any of their goods, but ſuch only, whoſe demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one *Warren* a *Norman* to whom he had given the Caſtle of *Sherborne* in *Norfolk*. For when *Sherborne*, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, that the Caſtle was his, and that he had never born Arms againſt him, he preſently commanded *Warren*, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of Offices, and filling up the places of thoſe who were ſlain or fled, were the preſent means he made uſe of, for preferring his Followers. One ſpecial preferment we cannot omit, that where one *Herlowyn* a Noble man in *Normandy*, had married

He uſeth his conqueſt moderately.

married his Mother *Arlotte*, and had by her a Son named *Hugh Lupus*, he gave to the said *Hugh*, the Earldom of *Chester*, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held *England* by his Crown, by vertue of which Grant, the said *Hugh* ordained under him four Barons, *Nigel*, he made Baron of *Halton*, *Malbank*, Baron of *Nantwich*: *Eustace*, Baron of *Mawpase*, and *Vernon*, Baron of *Shipbrook*: Such an honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew *Alane* Earl of *Britain*, all the lands which sometimes belonged to Earl *Edwyn*: and this Earl of *Britain*, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Mannor of *Gillingham*, and named it *Richmont*: from which Castle the Earls of *Richmont* bear their Titles of Honour.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

BEsides the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into *Normandy*, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, the two Earls of *Northumberland* and *Mercia*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edgar Atheling*, *Waltheoff* Son to *Syward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Agelnothus* Abbot of *Glastenbury*, were the chief; leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Brother by the Mother: and to *William Fitz Osborne*, whom he had made Earl of *Hereford*: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforth they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, then the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without stings, they might afterward be but Droans. And because there is seldom any danger from singular numbers, but all the danger ariseth from plurality: therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at eight a clock in the evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights (which was called *Couure feu*) and go to bed. And for more security he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom, one at *York*, another at *Lincoln*, a third at *Notingham*, (at that time called *Snottingham*) and a fourth at *Hastings*, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at *Normandy*, saving only that *Edrick* the Forester in the County of *Hereford*, calling into his aid the Kings of *Wales*, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in his very person finde something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the people might think themselves in a sort advanced, being now made members of a greater body; when the Dukedom of *Normandy* should come to be annexed to the Kingdom of *England*; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former Kings choosing; and though a stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King *Edward*. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came commended to them, by a commending as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

He takes from the Clergy all Temporal Authority.

He takes from the people all their Armour.

He ordains *Couure feu* at eight a Clock.

What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.

An. Reg. 2. 1068.

BUT the body of a State being more obnoxious to crudities and ill humours, then the state of a Natural Body, it is impossible to continue long without distempers; notwithstanding any preservatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his reign, brake forth the discontentment of *Edgar Atheling*, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late Royal Blood, and therefore the most apt to be sensible of servitude; who taking along with him his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Sisters, *Margaret*, and *Christine*, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into *Hungary*, the Country where he was born: but by contrary windes was cast upon the coasts of *Scotland*, where the King *Malcolme*, not only most kindely entertained him, but for a stricter bond of kindeness took his Sister *Margaret* to wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the second Generation after, a match was found, by which in the person of King *Henry* the second, the *Saxon* and *Norman* blood were conjoyned, the union whereof continues in the race of our Kings of *England* to this day. Not long after to *Edgar* in *Scotland*, came the two great Earls, *Edwyn* and *Marchar*, brothers to *Agatha* the late King *Harold's* Wife; also *Hereward*, *Gospatrick*, and *Syward*, with many other Lords; and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred* Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And these Lords being together in *Scotland*, did but watch opportunity, to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had lost: And assisted by the *Scots*, they invade the North parts, spoiling the Countrey, and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Countrey, and so return.

Edgar Atheling is cast upon the shore of *Scotland*.

Whose sister *Margaret* King *Malcolme* marries.

After this, in the third year of his Reign, the two sons of *Sweyne* King of *Denmark*, *Harold* and *Canutus*, with a fleet of 240 Ships, entred *Humber*, and invaded the North parts, with whom the *English* Lords in *Scotland* joyned, and forraged all the Countrey, till they came near to *York*. When the *Normans* that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contented, by assistance of a violent winde, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth then the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the *Normans* that were left in defence of the City, to the number of three thousand, were all slain. King *William* hear-

An Reg 3. 1069.

The *Danes* invaded *England*; and at *York* slay 3000. *Normans*.

hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entred *Northumberland*, wasting the Countrey that already lay waste; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great summe of money, to purchase the *Danes* departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, but especially in *Northumberland*, so great a Dearth and Famine followed, that men were glad to eat horses and dogs, cats and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature, and between *York* and *Durham*, the space of 60 miles, for nine years together, there was so utter desolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled.

King *William* purchaseth their departure with a great sum of money.

Northumberland left desolate 60. miles together.

Many other insurrections there were in his Reign, as at *Exeter*, at *Oxford*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and many times by the *Scots* in the Northern parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most distasted of him, was that of *Roger Fitz Aubre*, Earl *of Hereford*, *Ralph Waher* Earl of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; *Waltheoff* Earl of *Northumberland*, with *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, (sent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of *France* into *England*, to incite and joyn with the Conspirators.) *Ralph Waher* married the Sister of *Roger* the young Earl of *Hereford*, contrary to the expres commandement of King *William:* at the solemnization of the marriage, these Lords conspire to keep the King now in *Normandy*, and dispossess him of his Sovereignty, which to perform, they agreed to joyn theirs with the *Danish* Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous comb nation of all, it happening when he was out of *England*, at the siege of *Dole*, a Castle in *Britain* belonging to *Ralph Waher*, and defended against him by the King of *France*; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affections toward him. The King of *Scotland*, and Princes of *Wales* ready to assist the Rebels at home; *Swaine* King of *Denmark* invading *England* with a Navy of 200. sail, to which *Drone* King of *Ireland* added 65. Ships. How much such an action did distaste and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinsmen, or in affinity nearly allyed to him: But *William*'s fortune secures him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand conspiracy is discovered by *Waltheoff* to *Lanfranck* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who perswades the Earl to go over to King *William*, and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, *Roger* and *Ralph* persist in their intentions, raise forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of *Odo* the Kings Brother, Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Bishop of *Worcester*, and the Abbot of *Evesham*, were so prevented, that they could never unite their forces. *Ralph* flies into *France*, *Roger* Earl of *Hereford* is taken, put in prison, and as some report, to death; *Waltheoff*, of all lamented, beheaded. But all these were easily suppresst, for they were but scattered Forces, *Et dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur*; whereas if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more then Routs and Riots. Yet some write, that King *William* granted *Cumberland* to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold from him conditionally, that the *Scots* should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of *England*, for which grant King *Malcolme* did him homage.

1076.

Malmesbury.

His son Robert riseth in arms against him.

The greatest and last was an Insurrection raised in *Normandy*, by his Son *Robert*, the more dangerous because unnatural; for by the instigation and assistance of *Philip* King of *France*, (emulous now of King *William*'s greatness) he entred *Normandy*, and claimed it as in his own right. His Father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but *Robert* impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better then disinheriting, endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father King *William* hearing hereof, with a strong Army passeth over into *Normandy*, where in a Battel meeting hand to hand with his Son, he was by him unhorsed, and hurt in the arm: but his Son perceiving him by his voice to be his Father, suddenly leaps off his horse, takes up his Father, casts himself down at his feet, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a Father he easily grants, embraceth his Son: and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love, and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a *Nemesis*, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that did not pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prospered in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begat his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the Kings Severity: but which of them soever was the mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King *William* so far trusted his Son *Robert*, that he sent him with an Army against *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*, who had invaded *Northumberland*: but at the coming of Duke *Robert* retired. At which time Duke *Robert* began the foundation of a Castle upon the River of *Tyne*; whereof the Town of *Newcastle* did after take both beginning and name, which before this time was called *Moncaster*. In his twentieth year in Whitsun-week, he honoured his Son *Henry*, with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he used, is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the *Saxons* was; first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest; then he continued all that night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private devotion: The next morning, he heard Mass, and offered his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the Mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of consecrating Knights, the *Normans* abhorred.

He vanquisheth his Father.

His aptness to forget Injuries.

CErtainly there is no such goodness of nature, as aptness to be reconciled; of which vertue it seems King *William* had a large

proportion, for he seldom remembred injuries after submission. *Edrick* the first that rebelled against him, he placed in Office near about him. *Gospatrick*, who had been a factious man, and a plotter of Conspiracies against him, he made Earl of *Gloucester*, and trusted him with managing a War against *Malcolme* King of *Scots*. *Eustace* Earl of *Boloigne*, who in the Kings absence in *Normandy* attempted to seize upon *Dover* Castle, he received afterward into great favour and respect, The Earls *Marchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth* the Brother of *Harold*, a little before his death, he released out of Prison. *Edgar*, who as next heir to the *Saxon* Kings, had often attempted by Arms to recover his right, he not only after twice defection pardoned, but gave him also allowance as a Prince: It is said twenty shillings a day, or rather a pound weight of Silver, and other large livings beside; so as *Edgar* finding the sweetness of safety, and the pleasures of a Countrey life, spent the rest of his dayes (which were many) retired from Court, neither envying nor being envied. Only *Waltheoff*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Northampton*, of all the *English* Nobility was put to death in all the time of this Kings reign; and not he neither, till he had twice falsified his Oath of Allegiance.

Waltheoff Earl of *Northumberland* the only Nobleman put to death in all this Kings time.

Of new Acquests to this Kingdom, by this Kings means.

1079. *An. Reg.* 13. IN the thirteenth year of his Reign, he subdued *Wales*, and made it tributary to him, as before in the seventh year of his Reign, he brought *Malcolme* King of *Scots* to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him Hostages; that if *England* made him greater then he was before, a King of a Duke; he no less made *England* greater then it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

Of his Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.

AS his Taxations were many in number, so they were various in kinde, not alwayes bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely saving it: The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his Reign, after his return out of *Normandy*; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his Reign he ransacked all Monasteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King *William's* cruelty, and insatiable desire of moneys, deposited their Treasures, Jewels, and chiefest commodities, in the Monasteries and Abbeys, as in sure Sanctuaries to be safely kept for their own uses; the King violently seised on all for himself, neither regarding the sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own Subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he fessed all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should finde to serve him in his Wars: also the strangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispersed into Religious houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but last of all in the eighteenth year of his Reign, by the advice of *Roger* Earl of *Hertford*, he caused the whole Realm to be described in a Censual Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from King *Alfred*) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly rent, and the owner thereof was therein set down: How many Ploughlands, what Pastures, Fens or Marishes, what Woods, Farms, and Tenements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Villains every man had; what Beasts, what Cattel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was called the Roll of *Winton*, because it was kept in the City of *Winchester*. By the *English* it was called Doomsday book, either by the reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, in stead of *Domus Dei* book, for that it was laid in the Church of *Winchester*, in a place called *Domus Dei*. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as some account it, twenty Acres, but as Master *Lambert* proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those Lands which he gave to any man, he reserved Dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly rent, and likewise a Fine whensoever the Tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, until his age of one and twenty years. To be short, his greedines of money, was so great, that he spared not his own Brother *Odo*, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seise upon his Treasure, which was infinite great, and which he had gathered in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kinde of profit he forbare to meddle with, that is, Vacancies of Abbyes and Bishopricks; which he always reserved for the Successors: but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compelled all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which device he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of *Ely*, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there wanted a Groat in the weight, (for in those dayes greater sums were not paid by tale, but by weight) which the King understanding, denyed them all composition for Peace, until with much suit he was intreated to accept of a thousand Marks more.

The Roll of *Winton*, or Doomsday Book.

A Hyde of Land, how much it contains.

Wardships ordained by K. *William*.

For a groat in weight wanting, a thousand marks exacted.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice erected by him.

ALthough at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King *Edward* then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of *Normandy*; commanding them to be

He brings in the Laws of *Normandy*: and causeth them to be written in *French*.

be written in *French*; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in *French*; upon a pretense to dignifie the *French* tongue, but with a purpose to intrap men through ignorance of the language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the *Normans* language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons: which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the *Norman* language in the *English* tongue. Forms of Judgment, and tryals by Fire and Water, called *Ordeal*, formerly used, were in short time after the Conquest disused, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquest, with the same cautions for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; Though by the Laws of *Etheldred* it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Judges to determine all business in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergie within the province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in business concerning rule of souls, according to the Canons and Laws Episcopal. And where the Causes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward*, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gemote, or Conventicle held monethly in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain daies, the same businesses should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he constituted Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Justices of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Councel of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (*Scaccarium*, corruptly called so, of the word *Statarium*, or rather of the board or Table, where the Officers sate;) also his Courts of Justice, which alwayes removed with his Court. These places he furnished with Officers, and assigned four Terms in the years for determining controversies among the people. The place of these Courts was *Westminster*, where King *William Rufus* afterwards built a stately Palace. Now for his provisionary Revenues, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Victuals; and a just rate of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied ever certain, for maintenance of the Kings house. Only the *Kentish* men procured the continuance of their antient Laws by a trick; for King *William* riding towards *Dover*, at *Swanscombe*, two miles from *Gravesend*, the *Kentish* men met him, but in the form of a moving Wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compassing the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Laws, and Customes; of which one special was, that the Tenure of their Lands was *Gavelkind*; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countreys, but were partable between all the Sons: and the Priviledges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conqueror considering, that he might as well allow them, as other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request. But see the levity of these *Kentish* men, to hazard themselves more for the preserving a simple Custome; then for preserving the Liberty of themselves, and their Countrey: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mastered by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they then cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extremely distasteful to all the Gentry of the Land, for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no less then putting out their eyes, that none should presume to kill, or take any of them, as reserving them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kinde of sport, that he depopulated a great part of *Hampshire*, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (saith *Caxton*) six and twenty Towns, and fourscore Religious Houses, and made it a habitation for such kind of Beasts; which was then, and to this day is called the New Forest. But the lamentable disasters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is a Power, that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be *Memorem Fandi atque Nefandi*. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of *London*, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large form, as they enjoyed them in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, which he granted at the suit of *William* a *Norman*, Bishop of *London*; in grateful remembrance whereof, the Lord Maior and Aldermen, upon the solemn daies of their resort to *Pauls*, do still use to walk to the Gravestone, where this Bishop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jewes to inhabit here in *England*: as likewise he made a Law, that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals: and in his time, long Bows came first into use in *England*, which as they were the weapons with which *France* under this King conquered *England*: so they were the weapons with which *England* under after-Kings, conquered *France*; as if it were not enough for us to beat them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Constable of *Dover* Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities, as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained so good Laws, and had them so well executed; that it is said a girl might carry a bag of Money all the Countrey over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the setting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first

He brought in the trial by verdict of twelve men.

He ordained the four Terms of Law.

He ordained Sheriffs and Justices of Peace.

He ordained the Court of Chancery and Exchequer.

His Tenants pay their Rents in corn and other victuals.

The *Kentish* men procure the continuance of their ancient Laws. *Lambert.*

He hunts in the New Forest.

He depopulates 36 Towns to make the New Forest in *Hampshire*.

He grants to the City of *London* their first Charter of Liberties.

He first brought Jews into England: *Matt. Paris.*

used, where before there were only witnesses to Deeds.

Affairs of the Church in his Reign.

IN his time, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of *Winchester*: after whom succeeded *Lanfrank* an *Italian*, in that See: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at *London*, where amongst other things he removed the Bishops Sees from small Towns to great Cities, as from *Sillinay* to *Chicester*; from *Kyrton* to *Exeter*; from *Wells* to *Bathe*; from *Shirborn* to *Salisbury*; from *Dorchester* to *Lincoln*; and from *Lichfield* to *Chester*, and from thence again to *Coventry*: and not long before, the Bishoprick of *Lindisfern*, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the River *Tweede*, had been translated to *Durham*. In the sixth year of his reign, a controversie arising between the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, they appealed to *Rome*, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of *England*. Hereupon a Synod is holden at *Windsor*, where sentence was given on *Lanfrank's*, then Archbishop of *Canterburies*, side: That in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of *York*, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Only at *Rome* it was decreed, for matter of Title, that the See of *York* should be styled *Primas Angliæ*; and the See of *Canterbury*, *Primas totius Angliæ*, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of *York* oweth obedience to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so all the Bishops of *Scotland* owe obedience to the Archbishop of *York*, as to the primate of *Scotland*. It shall not be amiss here to write the journey of *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to *Rome*; who in the fifth year of King *William's* Reign made Bishop of *Canterbury*, went to *Rome* to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his companions *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*; arrived at *Rome*, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope *Alexander* rose from his seat, and gently saluting him, saith with all, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archbishoprick, but as due to my Master; to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two companions of his journey.

Bishop See removed.

The Archbishop of *York*, Primas *Angliæ*; of *Canterbury*, Primas totius *Angliæ*.

But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalties, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all: so in Spiritualties, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between *Aldred* Archbishop of *York* and the King; for at a time, upon the repulse of a certain suit, the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, desired pardon, and promised to grant his suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Noblemen that were present, put him in minde that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (saith the Archbishop) let him alone, let him finde what it is to anger Saint *Peter*. And as by this story we see the insulting pride of a Prelate in those daies: so by another, we may see the equivocating falsehood of a Prelate at that time; For *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury* would often swear, he had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost; and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost; which the Bishop beginning, and oft assaying, could never say [*and to the Holy Ghost*] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of vertue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as *William* Bishop of *Durham*, Founder of University-Colledge in *Oxford*, but especially Bishop *Wolstan*; whom upon *Lanfrank's* reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontifical Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a divine Inspiration, *Wolstan* answered, A better then you, O King, bestowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And therewithall going to St. *Edward's* shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staff, upon St. *Edward's* Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrified both *Lanfrank* and the King, that they intreated him to take his Robes again, and keep his Bishoprick. Also *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who devised a form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of *Secundum usum Sarum*. In this Kings time was *Berengarius*, who denied the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament; Also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, removed married Priests from executing Divine Service, whereof great troubles arose in *England*: also in his time was instituted the Feast of the conception of the Virgin *Mary*: also in his time, Pope *Gregory* the seventh, in a Synod holden at *Rome*, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of *Rome*, where before all Bishops were called Popes.

An equivocating Bishop.

A miracle done upon a Bishop.

A miracle done by a Bishop.

Prayers devised *Secundum usum Sarum*.

No Priests to be married. *Eadmare.*

Aldred Archbishop of *York*, his insulting over King *William.*

Works of Piety, by him and others, in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of *Battel* in *Sussex*, where he overcame *Harold*, as a monument in memory of his Victory; but there succeeded a greater monument in memory of this Battel, if it be true which *Newbrigensis* saith, that after every small rain, the Grass where the Battel was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so, to his dayes, who lived in the time of King *Stephen*, almost an hundred years after the Battel was fought. The Abbey of *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and a third near *London*, called St. *Saviours*. He founded

founded also the Priory of St. *Nicholas* at *Exeter*, and gave great priviledges to St. *Martins le Grand* in *London*; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by *Ingelricus* and *Emardus* his Brother, Cousins to King *Edward* the Confessour. He also builded the Tower of *London*: namely the great white and square Tower there. These were this Kings works of Piety in *England*; but in *Normandy* he founded also an Abbey at *Caen*, where his Wife *Maude* built also a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of St. *Stephens* in *Caen*, two Mannors in *Dorsetshire*, one Mannor in *Devonshire*, another in *Essex*, much land in *Barkshire*, some in *Norfolk*, a *Mansion* in *Woodstreet*, *London*, with many Advowsons of Churches; and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the said Church, being of his own Foundation: for the redemption whereof, his Son *Henry* gave the Mannor of *Brydleton* in *Dorsetshire*. In this Kings time *Robert*, Son to *Hildebert Lacies* founded the Priory of *Pontfraight*: *Henry* Earl *Ferrers* founded a Priory within his Castle at *Tutbury*; *Alwyne Childe*, a Citizen of *London*, founded the Monastery of St. *Saviours* at *Bermondsey*, in *Southwark*, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in *London*: Also in this Kings time, *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, after the firing of the former Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, began the Foundation of the New Church, a work so admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choice stones of his Castle at the West end of the City, upon the bank of the River *Thames*; which Castle having been at that time fired, in place thereof *Edward Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did afterwards found a Monastery of *Black fryers*. The King also gave the Mannor of *Starford* to the same *Maurice*, and to his Successours in that See; after whose decease, *Richard* his next successour bestowed all the Rents of his Bishoprick to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony: and yet all he could do, made no great shew, but the finishing of the work was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, founded University-Colledge in *Oxford*; Also one *Gilbert* a *Norman* Lord, founded the Abbey of *Merton* in *Surrey*, seven miles from *London*; and *Thomas* Archbishop of *York* first builded the Minster of *York*. In this Kings sixteenth year, his Brother Duke *Robert* being sent against the *Scots*, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King *John*. Also in this Kings time *Ledes* Castle in *Kent* was builded by *Crevequer*, and the Castle of *Oxford*, by *Robert d' Oylie*; two Noblemen that came into *England* with him. *Osmund* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the new Church there: Also *Waring* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*: and another at *Wenlock*.

St. *Pauls* Church new founded.

University-Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

New-*Castle* upon *Tyne* builded.

Casualties happening in his time.

A great fire in *London*.

IN the twentieth year of his Reign, so great a fire happened in *London*, that from the West-Gate to the East Gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of St. *Paul*, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this year, by reason of distemperature of weather, Thunders and Lightnings, by which many men perished, there insued a Famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and Cattel; and which is very strange, Hens, Peacocks, Geese, and Ducks bred in, and accustomed to houses, forsook their wonted hives, and turned wilde. (*Matth. Westmon. Anno Dom.* 1087) Also this year in the Province of *Wales*, upon the Sea-shore, was found the body of *Gawen*, Sisters Son to *Arthur*, the great King of the *Britains*, reported to be fourteen foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord sitting at a Feast, was set upon by Mice; and though he were removed from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice still followed him, and at last devoured him.

The body of *Gawen*, sisters Son to King *Arthur*, found.

A Lord eaten up with Mice.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE had to Wife, and her only, *Mathilde*, or *Maud*, Daughter to *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*. She was Crowned Queen of *England*, the second year of his reign: the seventeenth year of his reign she died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at *Caen* in *Normandy*, where she lies buried. By her he had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*: of whom *Robert* the eldest called Court-cayse of his short Thighs, or Court-hose, of his short Breeches, or Courtois, of his courteous behaviour, (for so many are the comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Dutchy of *Normandy*. *Richard* his second Son was kill'd by misfortune, hunting in the *New-Forest*. *William* his third Son, called *Rufus*, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*. *Henry* his youngest Son, called *Beauclerk* for his learning, had by his Fathers will five thousand pounds in money, and the Inheritance also of his Mother: His Daughters were *Cicelie*, *Constace*, *Adela*, *Margaret*, and *Elenor*, of whom *Cicelie* was Abbess of *Caen* in *Normandy*. *Constace* was married to *Alan* Earl of *Britain*. *Adela* to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*. *Margaret* affianced to *Harold* King of *England*, but never married, and died young. *Elenor* betrothed to *Alphonsus* King of *Gallicia*, but desiring to die a Virgin, she had her wish, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Robert Courtois why so called.

Good Devotion.

Of his personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, yet big of Body, and therewithal so strong, that few were able to draw his Bow: growing in years he was bald before; his beard alwayes shaven, after the manner of the *Normans*; and in his younger time, he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of strength of Youth, Incontinency. After he was once married, whether out of saciety, or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kinde. Of

so

so perfect health, that he was never sick, till that sickness whereof he died. Of a stern countenance, yet of an affable nature: In War as expert as valiant: In Peace, as Provident as prudent: and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasant then magnificent. He made no great proficiency in learning, as having had his Education in the licentiousness of the *French* Court; yet he favoured learned men, and drew out of *Italy*, *Lanfrank*, *Anselm*, *Durand*, *Tarherne*, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and great Piety. Very devout he was, and alwayes held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence. And this is one special honour attributed unto him, that from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of *England*.

His Places of Residence.

King *William* new Crowned every year.

HIS *Christmas* he commonly kept at *Gloucester*, his *Easter* at *Wincheſter*, and his *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*, and once in the year at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it sit the easier upon his head. And for the houses which the Kings of *England* had in those dayes in *London*; I finde that at *Westminster* was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*, from the time of *Edward* the Confessour; which in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for building, incomparable. The Remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called St. *Edward's* Painted Chamber; because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King *Edward* died in it. Adjoyning unto this, is the White-hall, wherein at this day the Court of Requests is kept: Beneath this, is the Great Hall; where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King *Richard* the second, out of the ground; as appeareth by his Arms engraven in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by *William Rufus*) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in *Anno* 1512. lay desolate, and King *Henry* the Eight shortly after translated the Kings seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal *Woolsey*, and is called *White-hall*. The Tower of *London* was anciently used by the Kings of *England* to lodge in. Other houses they anciently had; one where *Bridewel* now standeth, out of the ruines whereof, the now *Bridewel* was built. Another called the *Tower-Royal*, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in *Bucklers-bury*, called *Sernes* Tower. Another where the now Popes-head Tavern is, over against the *Old Exchange*, thought to have been the Kings House; also another in *Limestreet*, called the Kings Arrice. Also another in the *Old Jury*; and oft-times they made use of *Baynards Castle*. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and Places have their fates and periods as well as men. And as for his Arms, he gave three Lions passant Gold in a Field *Gules*; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; to which three *Flower de Luces* were added by King *Edward* the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of *France*.

Westminster Palace the ancient habitation of the Kings of *England*.

Westminster Hall built by *Richard* the second.

White-Hall, when made the Kings habitation.

His Death and Burial.

TOwards the end of his Reign, he appointed his two Sons, *Robert* and *Henry*, with joynt authority, Governours of *Normandy*. These went together, to visit the King of *France* lying at *Constance*; where entertaining the time with variety of sports, *Henry* played with *Lewis* the Heir of *France* at Chess, and winning much money of him, *Lewis* grew so cholerick, that he threw the Chess-men at *Henries* face, calling him the Son of a Bastard; and thereupon *Henry* struck *Lewis* with the Chess-board, and had presently slain him, if his Brother *Robert* had not stept in and stayed him. Upon this the King of *France* invades *Normandy*, and draws *Robert*, King *William's* eldest Son, to joyn with him against his Father: But King *William* coming presently over with an Army, was soon reconciled to his Son; yet being corpulent and in years, was by this means much distempered in body, and so retired to *Roan*, where he stayed, as not being well in health. The *French* King hearing of his sickness, scoffingly said, that he lay in Childe-bed of his great belly. Which so incensed King *William*, that he swore by Gods Resurrection and his Brightness, (his usual Oath) that as soon as he should be Churched of that Childe, he would offer a thousand Lights in *France*: and indeed he performed it. For he entred *France* in Arms, and set many Towns and Corn-fields on fire, in which he was so violent, that by reason of his travel, and the unreasonable heat, being in the month of *August*, it brought upon him a relapse of his sickness, and withal, leaping on Horseback over a Ditch, his fat belly did bear so hard upon the pommel of his Saddle, that he took a Rupture in his inner parts; whereupon returning to *Roan*, his sickness so increased, that in short time he dyed. And that which is scarce credible, yet recorded for certain, the very same day he dyed at *Roan*, his death was known at *Rome*, a thousand miles off; which if it be true, it seems there are certain Invisible Intelligencers, that can make such speed: whereof *Froissard* tells a strange story; and for the strangeness not unworthy to be here related. There was (saith he) in the time of King *Edward* the Third, a Knight in *France*, called *Corasse*, who could tell any thing that was done all the world over, the very day it was done, or within a day or two, how far soever it were off; and this he did by such an invisible Intelligencer, for he had gotten a Familiar Spirit, called *Orthone*, who brought him the news continually; and held on this course with him divers years, till at last he lost him, by this occasion. He had only heard the voice of his spirit *Orthone*, and now had great longing to see his shape: whereupon the spirit seeing his earnestness; Well then (saith he) to morrow morning when you rise out of your bed, the first thing you see shall be I. So the

The *French* King scoffs at King *William's* great belly.

1087.

King *William's* death known the same day he dyed, a thousand miles off.

the Knight rising the next morning, looked out, but could see nothing: whereupon he blamed his spirit *Orthone*, for not keeping his promise with him. *Orthone* answered, he had kept his promise: for saith he, bethink your self, what it was you first saw after your rising. Then the Knight bethinking himself, remembred he saw two straws upon the ground, tumbling upon one another: Why (saith *Orthone*) that was I. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well then, said *Orthone*, to morrow morning when you rise, the first thing you see, that shall be I. So the next morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it: and thereupon caused his men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away: which being done, the Sow vanished away; after this his spirit *Orthone* never came to him any more, And this relation *Froissard* had from the Knights own mouth: and by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King *William* was known at *Rome*, the very day he died at *Roan*, though a thousand miles asunder. And now to go on with the story: *William* the Conquerour in all the time of his sickness retained to the very last his memory and speech; and shewed many demonstrations of his Devotion, and true contrition, specially for his severity used towards the *English*. And thus he who was a Conquerour of men, was conquered himself by death, the ninth day of *September*, when he had reigned twenty years, and near eleven months, in the three-score and fourth year of his age: *Malmesbury* saith in the fifty ninth. I may well say he was conquered by death, seeing death used him more despitefully, then ever he living used any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants purloining what they could lay hands on, forsook him and fled, leaving his body almost naked upon the ground. Afterwards, *William*, Archbishop of *Roan*, commanded his body should be conveyed to *Caen*, but his command was little regarded: till at last, one *Herlewyne*, a Countrey Knight, at his own charges caused his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abbot and Monks meeting the corps, suddenly in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and thus was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accompanied the Herse to the Abbey Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one *Anselm Fitz Arthur*, stood up and claimed that ground to have been the Floor of his Fathers house, which King *William* had violently wrested from him, and thereupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it self, paid him by *Henry*, the Kings youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of stone which stood within the Grave, was hewen somewhat too strait for his fat belly, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence, with which, whether his bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural passage, such an intollerable stinck proceeded from him, that none were able to indure it, but made all the haste they could to be gone, And yet neither was this the last of his miseries, for in the year 1562. when *Castillion* took the City of *Caen*, certain dissolute Souldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treasure they expected, threw forth his bones with great derision: whereof some were afterward brought into *England*. So that if we consider his many troubles in life, and after his death: we may well think, that notwithstanding all his greatness, a very mean man would hardly be perswaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the same Arms as peculiar to the Crown of *England*; which all succeeding Princes have used: namely, Three Lions passant Gold in a Field *Gules*: for as for the three *Flowre de Luces*, they were added by King *Edward* the third, upon his claim of the Crown of *France*.

King *William* being dead, how neglected and molested at his burial.

The Arms born by King *William*.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly *Marianus Scotus*, a Historiographper, and *Alpheredus* a Monk of *Beverly*, a Writer also of Historical Argument. And as for the men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of servitude, but as if all the *English* valour were now remaining in the *Kentish* men, they only made resistance, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private *Norwegian* Souldier did, who himself alone upon a Bridge, resisted the whole Army of the *English*, slew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the bridge, found means to thrust up a Spear into his body and killed him.

THE

The REIGN of KING WILLIAM THE SECOND.

William Rufus is Crowned.

Anno Dom. 1087.

KING *William* the second, called *Rufus*, second Son to *William* the Conquerour, appointed Successor by his Fathers Will, was upon the fifth of *October*, in the year 1087. by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Crowned at *Westminster* King of *England*. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of *Jacob*, who gave to his younger Son *Joseph*, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King *William* gotten the Land of *England*; and therefore might justly bestow it on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favour, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother *Robert*, yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds: and perhaps also, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son, fitter to bridle the insurrections of the *English*, then the softly disposition of his Son *Robert*.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to hold it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother *Robert* prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with *Robert* to assist him in it. The first mover of this trouble was *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, his Unkle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for an old grudge he bore to *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, that though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of *Kent* (as this *Otho* was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to joyn with him, in behalf of Duke *Robert* against the King: but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon passed over; that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother *Robert* with more cost: for it was at last agreed, that *Rufus* should pay him three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repressing his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For *Odo* fortified himself in *Kent*, *Roger Mountgomery*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, in *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Cambridgeshire*; *Hugh de Grandmenil*, in *Leicestershire*, and *Northamptonshire*; *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, possest himself of *Bristow*; *William* Bishop of *Durham*, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy, and Nobility, fortifie themselves in *Herefordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Worcestershire*, and all the Countreys adjoyning to *Wales*, thinking by this means to distract the King that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repress them suddenly, so it made it easie to repress them at leasure; for being thus divided, they were but as single sticks, that are easily broken; where if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater resistance. But the King having *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wolstan* Bishop of *Worcester*, firm of his side: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts of all unto him; that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words: as *Robert Mountgomery*; (a principal sinew of the Faction) some again he mastered by strong hand; and *Odo* the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of *Rochester*, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppressed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood spilt. A happy rebellion for the *English*; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all *Normans*, the King had none to trust to, but the *English*, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after respected more then he had done before,

His brother is incited to claim the Crown.

He is compounded with for 3000 marks a year.

The Rebel Lords are won or overcome.

The English firmer to King William then the Normans.

This year died *Lanfrank*, after he had been Archbishop of *Canterbury* eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great discredit of their profession.

An. Reg. 3. 1090.

After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; For now *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King *William* was troubled at home, invades *Northumberland*, and having burnt and spoiled the Countrey, returns home laden with booties: Which King *William* hearing, he takes his brother *Robert* along with him, and with a mighty Army enters *Scotland*, brings *Malcolme* to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given, returns to *London*. After this, Duke *Robert* finding his brother King *William* not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of *France*, and with his aid,

King William represseth the Scots.

He represseth his brother Robert taking up Arms for his Pension not payed.

aid, assaults and take some Towns, which he before had delivered in pawn for money to his brother King *William*; who hearing of it, hastens into *Normandy* with an Army, and by the mediation of money takes off the King of *France*, and makes his brother, being left destitute of assistance, to ask him pardon; a wise and merciful course in King *William*; for to buy his peace with the King of *France*, did cost him but money, where to have purchased it by War, must besides money, have cost the lives of many.

An. Reg. 6. 1093. After this *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, came in kindness to visit King *William* at *Gloucester*: but the King not vouchsafing so much as to see him, put him into so great an indignation, that returning home, he makes ready an Army, invades *Northumberland*, making great spoil, and getting great spoils, but by *Robert Mowbray*, the Kings Lieutenant there, was taken in an ambush, and together with his eldest Son *Edward*, defeated and slain. This King *Malcolm* was a most valiant Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy plotted to murther him, whereof one was Author, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a hunting, he took the fellow apart from the company, and being alone, said unto him: Here now is a fit time and place, to do that manfully, which you have intended to do treacherously; draw your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present, you can incur no danger: with which speech of the King, the fellow was so daunted that presently he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being granted him, was ever after serviceable and faithful to him. The death of King *Malcolme* and his Son, was so grievous, and so grievously taken of *Margaret* his Queen, the Sister of *Edgar Atheling*, that she made it her Prayer, and had it granted, not to over-live them, and so within three daies after died. A woman as full of vertues all her life, as at this time of sorrows; whom yet I should not break order to mention, but for one Pious Act of hers, in causing a most barbarous custome of *Scotland* to be abrogated, that when a man married, his Lord should lie the first night with his Bride. Which custome by her endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

Malcolme King of *Scots* with his eldest Son *Edward* is slain.

A most valiant Prince

With grief of whose death his Queen *Margaret* dyeth within three daies.

A barbarous custom in *Scotland* abrogated her means.

After these troubles were ended in the North, a new trouble ariseth in the West; for now the *Welsh* men hearing of King *William*'s distractions, enter upon the *English* borders, making spoil and havock of men and Towns: whom King *William* went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to return to *London*, and provide him a stronger Army. About this time also *Robert Mowbray* Earl of *Northumberland*, by whom *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in King *William's* service formerly slain; finding his service not rewarded as he expected, enters into conspiracy against the King: but the King being informed of the practice, seiseth suddenly upon many of his Complices; and himself, after many devices and shifts for flight, is taken and put in Prison, in the Castle of *Windsor*. After this, King *William* to take a further revenge of the *Welsh*, and to make an absolute conquest of that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than ever before, enters *Wales*, and thinks with new devices of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue them, but they defending themselves, with their Woods and Mountainous passages, tyre and weary out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the business to two *Hughs*, one Earl of *Salop*, the other of *Chester*, who first invaded and took *Anglesey*, (their Island of refuge) where they used all kinde of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and cutting off hands and noses: in prosecuting of which business, *Hugh* Earl of *Salop* was slain, but *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, entred *Wales*, and in the end with the slaughter of *Rees*, the last King of *Wales*, made an absolute conquest of the Countrey. For after this, though they had often rebelled, yet they were in a true subjection. And these for the most part, were all the troubles of his reign: where we may observe, that none of them did overtake him, but still he met them; and from none of them he ever fled, but was still the pursuer, and yet so many as might well have taken away all the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a pair of Beads: but that Ambition, though sometimes weary, yet never tires.

An. Do. 11. 1098.

Wales absolutely conquered by King *William*.

Rees the last King of *Wales* slain.

His Exactions and Courses for raising of Money.

IN the second year of his Reign, *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* dyed, who had kept the Kingdom and King in some good order: but as soon as he was dead, the King, as though he were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all licentiousness, preying especially upon the Clergy, as amongst whom he found the richest Booties. When Bishopricks or Abbeys were vacant, it was familiar with him to seise them into his own hands, as this of *Lanfranks*, he kept to his own use four years together, and longer would have kept it, if a sickness of his body had not healed this disease of his minde: For finding himself in some hazard of death, he then conferred the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* upon *Anselm*, and the Bishoprick of *Lincoln* upon *Robert Bloet*, two eminent men of that time: but as soon as he was well again, it repented him of that he had done, and he was not quiet, till he had drawn from the said *Bloet*, five thousand pounds, and from *Anselm* also good sums of money. For he repented not more in time of sickness for the evil he had done in health, then being in health he repented of the good he had done in sickness; that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing made him sick but health, and nothing made him be in health but sickness. But this preying upon the Clergy was grown into such a custome with him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three Bishopricks, *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, and *Salisbury*, and twelve Abbeys; all which he let out to Farm, and received the profits: and from this King the use is said to have risen first in *England*, that the Kings succeeding had the Temporalties of Bishops Sees, as long as they remained void. Having agreed to pay the King of *France* a great sum of money, he raised it in this manner; He caused twenty thousand men to be levied, under pretence for his wars in *Normandy*; but when they were ready to be shipped, it was signified to them from the King, that whosoever would pay ten shillings towards the levying of Souldiers in *Normandy*, should be excused from

King *William* keeps Abbeys and Bishopricks vacant, in his hands.

From this King the Kings succeeding took the Temporalities of Bishops Sees vacant.

going, and ſtay at home; which was ſo plauſible an offer to the Army, that ſcarce a man was found that accepted not that condition. When Duke *Robert* went into the Holy Land he pawned his Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Brother King *William* for 6666 pounds, or as ſome write, for 12600. which money King *William* took up part by a grievous Impoſition: ſo that Biſhops melted their Plate, and the Temporal Lords ſpoiled their Tenants for the payment thereof: and part by loan; but chiefly of Religions Perſons. He ſold the Abbey of *Glaſtenbary* to *Thurſtan* for five hundred pounds; and when he built *Weſtminſter* Hall, he made that an occaſion to lay a heavy tax upon the people, who grudged at it, as done on purpoſe. He uſually ſold all Spiritual Preferments, to them who would give moſt; and took Fines of Prieſts for Fornication, as alſo he took money of *Jews*, to cauſe ſuch of them as were converted, to renounce Chriſtianity, and return to Judaiſm, as making more benefit by their unbelief then by their converſion. He cauſed divers of the Nobility to pay grievous Fines for tranſgreſſing his Laws, though the fault were never ſo ſmall. He ſet forth a Proclamation that none ſhould go out of the Realm without his Licence, by which he drew much mony from many; for either they muſt tarry at home and live diſcontented, or elſe content him for giving them leave to go abroad. And from thence the Cuſtom or Law of *Ne exeas Regno*, ſeems to have taken its beginning: for Precedents of ſervitude are ſure to live, where Precedents of Liberty are commonly ſtil-born. Theſe were his wayes for raiſing of money, wherein Promoters and informers and informers were his darling ſervants; and the moſt officious of all was *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, of whom he would often ſay, there was not ſuch a man in the world to ſerve a Kings turn. And yet he was not ſo greedy of lucre, but that he did ſome acts that may ſerve for examples; as one time, an Abby being vacant, two Monks of the Covent came ſuiters to him for the place, offering great ſums, and each of them out-bidding the other; whereupon the King looking about, and eſpying another Monk ſtanding not far off, asked him what he would give for the place? Who anſwering, he neither had any thing to give, nor would give any thing if he had it: Well (ſaid the King) thou haſt ſpoken honeſtly, thou art fitter to be Abbot then either of theſe; and ſo beſtowed the place upon him *gratis*.

Fines taken off Prieſts for fornication.

Ne Exeas Regno, whence it began.

A notable part of King *William*.

Of his Magnanimity.

WOrd was brought him as he ſat at dinner, that his City of *Mans* in *Normandy* was beſieged, and in great danger to be taken, if not preſently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way *Mans* lay; and then cauſed Maſons preſently to take down the Wall, to make him paſſage the next way, and ſo rode inſtantly towards the Sea. His Lords about him, adviſing him to ſtay till his people were ready, No (ſaith he) ſuch as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempeſtuous, he was adviſed by the Maſter of his Ship, to ſtay for ſome calmer ſeaſon: No (ſaith he,) Fear nothing, I never yet heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to *Mans* unexpected, preſently diſperſed the Beſiegers, and took *Helias*, *Count de la Fleſche*, who had been Author of the tumult, priſoner; who vaunting to the King, and ſaying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wile; but if I were at liberty again, you ſhould finde me to do other kinde of feats: at which the King laughing, Well then (ſaith he) go your waies and do your worſt, and let us ſee what feats you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother *Robert*, he aſſiſted him to recover the Fort of Mount St. *Michael*, which their brother *Henry* did formerly hold in *Normandy*: during which ſiege, ſtragling one time alone upon the ſhoar, he was ſet upon by three Horſemen, who aſſaulted him ſo fiercely, that they drove him from his ſaddle, and his ſaddle from his Horſe; but he taking up his ſaddle, and withall drawing out his Sword, defended himſelf till reſcue came: and being afterward blamed for being ſo obſtinate to ſave his ſadle, he anſwered: It would have angred me at the very heart, that the knaves ſhould have bragged they had won the ſaddle from me.

In what he was juſt in keeping his word, in what he was failing.

THis vertue eſpecially was commended in him, and he would often ſay, That even God himſelf was obliged by his Word. But if we obſerve the courſe of his life, we ſhall finde that howſoever he might keep his word in ſmall matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kept not his word with his brother *Robert*, to whom he promiſed to leave his Kingdom of *England* after his deceaſe, but performed it not. Nor he kept not his word with his Subjects, for in the rebellion of the *Norman* Lords, he promiſed the *Engliſh*, if they would now ſtick to him, they ſhould have their ancient Laws reſtored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Foreſts; which promiſe he kept not at all, or at leaſt ſoon brake. Nor he kept not his word with God himſelf; for being ſick at *Gloceſter*, and in ſome hazard of his life, he made a ſolemn vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new life, and give over all his diſorderly courſes: but being recovered he grew more diſorderly then he was before: that if denomination be made from the greateſt actions, it cannot be truly ſaid, that he was juſt of his word. But ſuch is the priviledge of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promiſe, it muſt be believed; and if they break it, it muſt not be queſtioned.

Of his Incontinency and Prodigality.

MUch is ſpoken of his laſcivious life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any: nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are ſeldom concealed. It is true, he was never marryed and of a ſtrong conſtitution of body, and ſo probable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not alwayes concluding, and therefore whether it be a true accuſation, or but a ſlander, it may well be doubted; only one baſe Son is ſpoken of, called *Bertrannus*, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble Family.

King *William* never married.

Family. But why ſhould we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, then of his Prodigality? for he was taxed no leſs for being Prodigal, then for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not ſo much as one inſtance recorded, unleſs we take this for an inſtance; that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hoſe, which becauſe they were new, he asked what they coſt? And being told they coſt three ſhillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of thoſe of 3 *s.* to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (ſaith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair ſcarce ſo good as the former, and telling him they coſt a Mark; I marry (ſaith the King) theſe are ſomething like, and was better ſatisfied with hearing what they coſt, then with ſeeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wiſdom, for to ſay the truth, it is no defect of wiſdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

A coſtly ſuit for a King.

Of his Wavering in Religion.

HE appointed a diſputation to be held between Chriſtians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Preſent, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Preſent, encouraging them to quit themſelves like men: and ſwore by St. *Luke's* face (his uſual Oath) that if they prevailed in Diſputation, he would himſelf turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A yong Jew on a time was converted to the Chriſtian Faith, whoſe Father being much troubled at it, preſented the King ſixty Marks, intreating him to make his Son to return to his Judaiſm; whereupon the King ſent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young man anſwered, he wondred his Majeſty would uſe ſuch words; for being a Chriſtian, he ſhould rather perſwade him to Chriſtianity: with which anſwer the King was ſo confounded, that he commanded the young man to get him out of his ſight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again, Nay (ſaith the King) I have taken pains enough for it; and yet that thou maiſt ſee how kindly I will deal, you ſhall have one half; and the other half you cannot in conſcience deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accuſed for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denyed, and were therefore condemned to the trial of fire, which by Gods merciful judgement they paſſed through untouched: the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiſcation expected, is ſaid in a great chafe to ſay; How happens this? Is God a juſt Judge in ſuffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It ſeems alſo he doubted in many points of Religion, then in credit; For he would often proteſt, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods ſight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wiſe (as he affirmed) make Interceſſion either to *Peter*, or to any other for help.

King *William* takes money to perſwade a Chriſtian Jew to turn to Judaism. *Eadmerus.*

A blaſphemous ſpeech of King *William.*

King *William* truſted not to the Prayers of Saints.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE King claimed the Inveſtiture of Biſhops to be his right, and forbad Appeals and Intercourſe to *Rome*: for Appeals had been ſeldom uſed till *Anſelm* in this Kings reign appealed to the Pope; upon whoſe complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the fourth, he forbare at that time to do it, leſt by making Excommunication common, he ſhould make it be ſlighted. At this time great contention aroſe between the King and Archbiſhop *Anſelm*; and *Anſelm* not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to the Popes authority: nor the King yielding to *Anſelm* in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were points indeed incompatible) the contention continued long and hot, and the hotter, becauſe there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called *Urbanus* the ſecond; another ſet up by the Emperour called *Clement* the third: for *Anſelm* held with *Urban*, the King with *Clement*: and thus not agreeing in a third, it was impoſſibl they ſhould agree between themſelves. And this contention, though palliated with pretentions, ſometimes of one ſide, ſometimes of another; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. *Anſelm* often threatning his going to *Rome*, the King told him plainly he would not thruſt him out of the Realm: but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleaſure; and beſides, he ſhould carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet *Anſelm* ventured it, and the King performed it; for *William Warlewaſt* was ſent to rifle him in his paſſage at Sea, of all he had, neither was he ſuffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profits of his Archbiſhoprick to his own uſe. It may not be amiſs to ſhew a paſſage here concerning the firſt cauſe of contention between the King and *Anſelm*, which ſome ſay was this; The King required a thouſand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See; which *Anſelm* refuſed to give, as judging it no leſs Simony to give after the preferment then before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refuſed to accept it, as being worth (he ſaid) five times as much; whereupon *Anſelm* told him, Your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to ſerve your turn in a friendly manner: but in the way of ſervitude and bondage, you ſhall neither have me nor mine; Which words ſo angred the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reign Pope *Urban* exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to joyn together for recovery of *Jeruſalem* and the Holy Land: and by the ſoliciting of *Peter* an Hermite, there aſſembled for that enterpriſe, under the conduct of *Godfrey* of *Bulloigne*, to the number of three hundred thouſand men; amongſt whom was *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* who ſo valiantly carryed himſelf in the action, that after *Jeruſalem* was won, the Kingdom of it (as ſome write) was offered to him: but he looking more after the Kingdom of *England*; and therefore refuſing it, it is obſerved he never proſpered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in *Ireland*, yet their Biſhop of *Dublin* was ſent over to *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,

* *Wilfred* he or this appointed to the Pope; or Pope hereby reſtoreth.

Contentions between the King and Archbiſhop *Anſelm.*

Anſelm fleers the Realm, and not ſuffered to return, during the Kings life.

Liberty of the ſubject.

Coſtly of *Bulloigne* undertakes the recovery of *Jeruſalem.*

Robert Duke of *Normandy* refuſing the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* never proſpered after.

to be consecrated by him; and the Citizens of *Waterford* also desiring to have a Bishop procured *Mercherdach*, King of *Ireland*, to write to *Anselm*, to give his consent. Also in this Kings dayes the Pope forbad the marriage of Priests. And in his time, was the first Appeal to *Rome*, made by *Anselm*, that ever before had been made in *England*.

Works of piety by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King gave the Monks of *Southwark*, the Church of St. *Saviour* of *Bermondsey*, and *Bermondsey* it self; He also founded at *York* the Hospital of St. *Leonards*: He gave the Church of St. *Peter* in the City of *Bathe* to be a Bishops See. *Hugh* Earl of *Chester* in this Kings days builded the Abbey of *Chester*: *Oswald* Bishop of *Salisbury*, finished the Cathedral Church of *Salisbury*. *Remigius* Bishop of *Dorchester*, to the end his Bishoprick might be removed to *Lincoln*, began to build the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln*; and *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* builded two Hospitals without the City; the one of St. *John*, the other at *Harbaldown*; repaired Christs Church, and caused five and twenty Manours to be restored to that See, which had unjustly been withholden. He repaired also the Abbey of St. *Albans*, and the Church of *Rochester*, where for four secular Priests he placed to the number of fifty Monks. In the sixth year of this Kings Reign, *William Warren* the first Earl of *Surrey*, (who came with Duke *William* into *England*) and *Gundred* his Wife, founded the Abbey of *Lewis* in *Sussex*: and *Warren* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, built two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of *Shrewsbury*, the other at *Wenlock*. In his twelfth year, *Robert Losaunge* Bishop of *Thetford*, removed his See from *Thetford* to *Norwich*, and founded there a fair Monastery.

Bathe made a Bishops See.

The Abbey of *Lewis* in *Sussex* is founded.

His Buildings and Structures.

THis King enlarged the Tower of *London*, and compassed it with new walls: he also built the great Hall at *Westminster*, being 270. foot in length, and 74. in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the Thames to the Kings street. He repaired the City and Castle of *Carlisle*, which had been wasted by the *Danes* two hundred years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished *New-Castle* upon *Tyne* and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of *Scotland*; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breast of *Wales*.

Westminster Hall built by this King.

Casualties happening in his Reign.

IN the fourth year of his Reign, on St. *Lukes* day, above six hundred houses in *London* were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of St. *Mary Bow* Church in *Cheapside*, was so raised, that in the fall six of the beams being 27. foot long, were driven so deep into the ground (the streets being not then paved with stone) that not above four foot remained in sight, and yet stood in such rank and order as the workman had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings Reign all the Lands in *Kent*, sometimes belonging to Earl *Godwin*, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called *Godwin's* Sands to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called *Finchamstead* in the County of *Berks*, a Well cast out blood, as before it had done water; and after by the space of fifteen dayes, great flames of fire were seen in sundry places, and at sundry times.

Godwins sands in *Kent*.

A strange Hail. The streets in this Kings time not paved with stone.

Of his Personage and Condition.

HE was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called *Rufus*, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes spotted, and not one like another; his speech unpleasant, and stammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his minde, they may best be known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall finde he was never more assured, then when he was least sure; never less dejected, then when in most extremity; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pass the time, there was none in more request with him then hunting, a delight hereditary to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Forest, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we finde not any, unless we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them: yet sometimes he entred into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatest virtues, Magnanimity; and his worst vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irreligion.

Presages that preceded his Death.

AT *Finchamstead* in *Barkshire*, near unto *Abington*, a spring cast up liquor for the space of fifteen dayes, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kild, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King gnaw the image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that as he was about to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his feet spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoak. This being related to the King by *Robert Fitz Mammon*, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same night, the King himself dream'd that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issued out in great aboundance: and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as *Julius Cæsar*, that did all they could to give him warning: but that, as *Cæsars*, so his *malus Genius* would not suffer him to take.

No warning can prevent destiny.

Of

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *William* having kept his Chriſtmaſs at *Gloceſter*, his Eaſter at *Wincheſter*, his Whitſuntide at *Weſtminſter*; notwithſtanding forewarned by many ſigns of ſome great diſaſter toward him, would needs the day after *Lammas*, go a hunting in the New Foreſt; yet ſomething reſenting the many preſages, he ſtayed within all the forenoon. About dinner time, an Artificer came and brought him ſix Croſsbow Arrows, very ſtrong and ſharp; whereof four he kept himſelf, and the other two he delivered to Sir *Walter Tyrel*, a Knight of *Normandy*, his Bow-bearer, ſaying, Here *Tyrel*, take you two, for you know how to ſhoot them to purpoſe: and ſo having at dinner drank more liberally then his cuſtom, as it were in contempt of Preſages, out he rides into the *New Foreſt*, where Sir *Walter Tyrel* ſhooting at a Deer, at a place called *Charingham*, (where ſince a Chappel hath been erected) the Arrow glanced againſt a tree, or as ſome write, grazed upon the back of the Deer, and flying forward, hit the King upon the breaſt: with which he inſtantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common conſent of all; only one *Sugerius* a Writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the ſaid *Tyrels*, againſt the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the ſaid Sir *Walter* ſwear that he was not in the Foreſt with the King all that day. I have been the longer upon this point, becauſe a more pregnant example of Gods Judgement remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named *Richard*, a young Prince of great hope; and alſo a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother *Robert*, came all in this place to violent deaths; that although King *William* the Founder of the Foreſt eſcaped the puniſhment in his own perſon, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his Iſſue. Thus died King *William Rufus*, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and ſome months, of his reign. His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart, with one Horſe, to the City of *Wincheſter*, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Swithin*, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble ſtone; till afterward it was tranſlated, and laid by King *Canutus* bones.

King *William*'s ſlain in hunting in the New Foreſt.

1100.

Sugerius differs from all other Writers.

Men of Note in his time.

FOR men of Valour, he muſt ſtand alone by himſelf: for men of Learning, there was *Lanfrank*, a *Lombard*, but Biſhop of *Canterbury*; alſo *Robert*, a *Lorain*, who Epitomized the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*: alſo *Turgotus* an *Engliſh* man, Dean of *Durham*, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works; but eſpecially *Oſmund* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who compoſed the ordinary Office, or Book of Prayer.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown.

Anno Dom. 1100.

ALthough *Henry* came not to the Crown, as his Brother *William* did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate in Land between his two Eldest Sons, giving to *Henry* his youngest only a portion in money, with which division he perceived him to be much discontented, he said unto him, content thy self *Harry*, for the time will come, that thy turn shall be served as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Prediction was accomplished, for on the fifth of *August*, in the year 1100. he was Crowned King of *England* at *Westminster* by *Maurice* Bishop of *London*, (as Dean of all the Bishops of *England*, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though he had been present, who was indeed at this time in exile.) But though it appears *fuisse in Fatis*, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so; yet it would not have been so, if his own endeavours had not been concurring. And therefore being in the New Forrest, when his Brother King *William* was killed, he never stayed to complement the Disaster, but rode presently to *Winchester*, and there, not without some opposition of the keepers, seized upon his Brothers Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the first means he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to this he is. Yet withal there were circumstances in his own person that conduced to it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; *Robert* but a Foraigner, being born in *Normandy*, himself a Native, born at *Selby* in *Yorkshire*; and it was not the least circumstance, that he was called *Beauclerk*, as much as to say, a good Scholar, having been bred in *Cambridge*; not perhaps that his learning was so great, but that it was great, either in respect of that age, which had but little, or in respect of his Brothers, who had none at all: and the people having been oppressed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that were illiterate, could not chuse but be glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother *Robert*, as being the elder, had right unto it; yet he as out of sight was out of minde, and perhaps neglected, as being himself negligent: withal it was given out, that he was chosen King of *Jerusalem*, and therefore no looking for him to come home; and to give force to all these reasons, *Henry Newborough* Earl of *Warwick* was a principal furtherer.

King *Henry* is crowned. The Bishop of *London* is as Dean to all the Bishops of *England*.

Why *Henry* preferred before *Robert* his Brother.

His course for establishing himself in the Kingdom.

IT is a hard matter to keep that safely, which is unjustly gotten; and therefore he took all possible care to overcome that hardness, which he effected by these means: First he called *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* home from Exile; placed *William Gyfford* a learned man, in the Bishoprick of *Winchester*; and Monasteries that had been long vacant, he furnished with good Abbots. And because it is no less pleasing to the people to have bad Instruments punished, then the good to be advanced, he cast *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* (a principal cause of their late oppressions) into prison, then mitigated the rigour of the new Laws, and promised restitution of the old. And that there might be no abuse in measures, he ordained a measure, made by the length of his own Arm, which is called a Yard. He restored to his Subjects the use of Lights and Fire in the night, which before had been forbidden after eight a clock at night. He acquitted the people from the Tax of *Dane-gilt*, and from all other unjust payments, which had been imposed upon them by the two former Kings. He gave free liberty to the Nobility and Gentry of the Realm, to inclose Parks for Deer, and Warrens for Coneys, and such like Game. And because he knew *Scotland* might be an ill Neighbour to him, if not tied by some Bond, and none so sure as the Bond of Alliance, he therefore takes *Matild* sister of the present King *Edgar* to be his Wife.

Anselm called home from exile.

The measure of a Yard ordained by King *Henry*.

Dane-gilt remitted.

He marries the King of *Scots* sister.

His troubles during his Reign.

RAlph, Bishop of *Durham*, the late King *William's* greatest Instrument for Exactions, that had by this King been committed to the *Tower*, made an escape, and passing over to Duke *Robert* in *Normandy*, incenseth him, not to suffer himself to be baffled by a younger Brother: as for his Brother *William* there was some reason, because his Father had given him the Kingdom by his Will; but what could

An. Reg. 2.

Ralph Bishop of *Durham* incenseth Duke *Robert* to claim the Crown.

Henry

Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother *William*, with consent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the survivor of them should succeed. With such like instigations, and withal assuring him, there were many in *England* would take his part; he easily perswaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have disswaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at *Portsmouth*, while *Henry* waited for his coming about *Hastings*; and being landed there, much people resorted to him, that it was like to have been a bloody business: but by mediation of friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke *Robert*, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King *Henry* should pay to Duke *Robert*, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke *Robert* should succeed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus this cloud, that threatned so great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justifie his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon dispersed; for *Robert de Belesm*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, a rash young man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great estate, he was not a King as well as some others, fortified the Town of *Shrewsbury*, and the Castle of *Bridgenorth*, and got many *Welshmen* to assist him: but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrified the *Welsh*, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his estate; for the King seised his estate into his hands, but for his person he only banisht it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood, and putting to death, though for great Treasonable Practices, was not much in use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempt, and upon the like occasion, was made by *William* Earl of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*, and of *Cornwal* in *England*, Uncle to the King, only for denying him the Earldom of *Kent*, which because he could not obtain, he entred into Treasonable practices, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a woman that is safely delivered; painful for a time, but ending in joy: and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his losses.

1101. Duke *Robert* comes with an Army into *England*.

Is compounded with upon certain conditions.

Robert de Belesm Earl of *Shrewsbury* rebels.

An. Reg. 3. 102. Bromton says the greater punishment, though for Treason.

William of *Cornwal* rebels.

After this Duke *Robert* came in kindeness into *England*, to visit his Brother *Henry*; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter, he released to King *Henry*, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into *Normandy*, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly cousened him. Which coming to King *Henries* ear, so incensed hm, that he presently sent over a mighty Army, which forraged the Countrey, and won many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke *Robert* but only *Roan* in all *Normandy* to put his head in; and this done, returns into *England*. And now Duke *Robert* begins to be sensible of his own weakness, and therefore comes over into *England* to try the uttermost of his Brothers good nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be, but that gratefulness and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he presents himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke *Robert* had given out of him, or whether aspiring to joyn *Normandy* to *England*, as his Father had done before, King *Henry* scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a sullen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole state to stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into *Normandy*, he useth all his force in raising of Forces; but King *Henry* suspecting his intentions, and not using to give Insurrections time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Battel before he was half ready to fight. In which Battel King *Henry* received sundry stripe on the heads at the hands of one *William Crispine*, *Count de Eureux*; so as the blood burst out of his mouth: yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies, and particularly the said *Crispine* who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never Battel was more fiercely fought; and the *Normans* seemed at first to have the better, till King *Henry* shewing himself in the Army, put such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King *Henry* obtained a compleat Victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of of *Mortaigne*, *William Crispine*, and *William Ferrers*, was Duke *Robert* himself, whom the King (having first taken order for all things, in his new State of *Normandy*) brought over with him into *England*, and committed him to the Castle of *Cardyffe* in *Wales*, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it increased his misery, yet it shortned not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the joy of Nature, in this life was the scorn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the *English* won *Normandy*, the very same day fortieth year, the *Normans* had won *England*. Such Revolutions of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unstable is the state of all worldly greatness. He died; *Anno Dom.* 1134. and lies buried at *Gloucester*.

1106. Duke *Robert* is invaded by King *Henry*.

1107. Is taken prisoner, brought into *England*, and hath his eyes put out.

An. Reg. 4. 1104. Duke *Robert* remits his annuity.

1105. He gives out that his Brother had cousened him.

ceſter. Matth. Weſtmon. writes that King *Henry* his Brother ſent him according to his cuſtom, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it firſt on himſelf, perceived the Capouch to be ſomewhat ſtrait: whereupon he ſaid, Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his head is leſs then mine. The meſſenger delivering the Robe, Duke *Robert* demanded if any had worn it, and being told him the King had firſt aſſayed it, and what ſpeeches he had uſed, the Duke replied, I have now too long protracted a miſerable life, ſince my Brother is ſo injurious to me, that he ſends me his old cloaths to wear; and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King *Henry* as great as ever his Father was; and as greatneſs draws envy, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envy makes enemies, as much oppoſed as ever his Father was. For now *Fulke* Earl of *Angiou*, and *Baldwyn* Earl of *Flanders*, upon ſmall occaſions, and *Lewis* the *Groſs*, King of *France*, upon none but ſuch as envy ſuggeſted, ſeeking to place *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in his Right to *Normandy*, aſſaulted the Kings Dominions, perhaps to try whether greatneſs had not made him unwieldy; but King *Henry*, to ſhew that greatneſs had made him more active, went over into *Normandy* with a mighty Army, and at *Nice* encountred the *French* King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding valour on both ſides: but at laſt King *Henry* repelled the *French* King, and recovered *Nice*, and after many other Conflicts between them, with variety of Fortune, at laſt the King made peace with the Earl of *Anjou*, confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son *William*; and upon this alſo the two Kings grew to a peace, in which *William*, Son to King *Henry*, being about ſeventeen years of age, was inveſted into the Dutchy of *Normandy*, doing homage for the ſame to the King of *France*. From whence it was afterward a cuſtom, that the King of *England*'s eldeſt Son (as long as *Normandy* remained in their hands) was made alwayes Duke of *Normandy*. After this, *Charles* Earl of *Flanders*, being ſlain at *Bruxels* by a conſpiracy of his own people, and leaving no iſſue behinde him, *Lewis* King of *France* inveſted *William*, Son to Duke *Robert*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, deſcended from Earl *Baldwyn*, whoſe Daughter *Maude* was Wife to King *William* the firſt, and Grandmother to this *William*. So as *William* now having gotten this ſtep of advancement, ſeeks to go on, and to recover *Normandy*, and was thereof by the aſſiſtance of the King of *France* in a fair poſſibility, when in a certain light conflict, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his fair poſſibility was upon a ſudden cut off; and of that light wound he ſhortly after died.

1119.

King *Henry*'s Son *William* marries the Earl of *Anjou*'s Daughter.

The King of *England*'s eldeſt Son always Duke of *Normandy*.

William Son to Duke *Robert* is wounded and dieth.

King *Henry* now in perfect peace abroad, was not without ſome little diſquietings at home, and marching through *Powiſ-land* in South *Wales* to repreſs ſome Inſurrections of the *Welſh*, he came to certain ſtraits, where his main Army could not paſs, in which place the King was ſmitten with an Arrow full upon the breaſt, whereat he ſwore by our Lord's death (his uſual Oath) that it was no *Welſh* arm had ſhot that Arrow; yet in his diſtreſs, for a thouſand head of Cattel, he had the paſſage left open, and came ſafely off. And theſe were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

King *Henry* in diſtreſs in *Wales*.

His Taxations and wayes for raiſing of Money.

TOwards the marriage of his Daughter *Maude* with the Emperour, he obtained at his firſt Parliament at *Salisbury*, three ſhillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn to a cuſtom, to receive aid from the Subjects, whenſoever the King gave his eldeſt Daughter in marriage. Beſides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one ſupply for his Wars in *France*, but he kept Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, void in his hands; and that of *Canterbury*, five years together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Biſhops holden at *London*, he was authorized to puniſh marriage, and incontinency of Prieſts, which the Biſhops afterwards repented; for he ſuffered Prieſts to have Wives for Fines, or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no, becauſe they might have them if they would. Puniſhments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Proviſions of his houſe, which were uſed to be paid in kinde, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapter and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be cauſe of the other; the firſt perhaps of the ſecond, but certainly the ſecond of the firſt.

The cuſtom of giving aid for marrying the Kings eldeſt daughter, when it firſt began.

Puniſhments made pecuniary.

His Rents paid now in money.

Laws firſt Inſtituted in his time.

HE firſt inſtituted the form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his time, only certain of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realm were called to conſultation, about the moſt important Affairs of State: but he cauſed the Commons alſo to be aſſembled, by Knights and Burgeſſes of their own appointment, and made the Court to conſiſt of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common People, repreſenting the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to ſit in ſeveral Chambers; the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another; to confer together by themſelves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in uſe at this day. The firſt Council of this ſort was held at *Salisbury*, on the 19. day of *April*, in the 16. year of his Reign. He forbad the wearing of long Hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the *French*. He commanded Robbers upon the High-way, to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one *Dunne*, and of him, the place where he moſt uſed, by reaſon of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called *Dunſtable*, where the King built the Borough as now it ſtandeth.

The Court of Parliament firſt inſtituted by King *Henry*.

Long hair forbidden.

Dunſtable why ſo called.

Counterfeiters of money how punished.

ſtandeth. Counterfeiters of money he puniſhed with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members; a puniſhment both leſs then death, and greater.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Contention between the King and the Pope about inveſtiture of Biſhops.

AT his firſt coming to the Crown, he forbore his claim to the inveſtitures of Biſhops; but after he had been King ſome time, he claimed that both to inveſt Biſhops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to *Rome*, belonged to him. In theſe *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was now returned into *England*, oppoſed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at laſt was brought to the Pope, to whom King *Henry* ſent *William Warleſtwaſt*, elect Biſhop of *Exeter*, who saying to the Pope, that his Maſter would not for the Crown of his Realm, loſe the Authority of inveſting his Prelates; the Pope ſtarted up, and anſwered, Neither will I loſe the diſpoſing of Spiritual Promotions in *England*, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (ſaid he) I avow it. So the contention grew long and hot, and many meſſengers were ſent to and fro about it: The concluſion was (which proved no concluſion) that the King ſhould receive homage of the Biſhops elect; but ſhould not inveſt them by Staff and Ring: to which the King ſaid nothing for the preſent, but forbore not to do it ever the leſs. For five years after the death of *Anſelm*, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, was by the King made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and notwithſtanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Inveſtiture of the King. About this time a Council of Biſhops was held at *London*, at which the Temporal Lords were preſent; to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man deſire to know more of the paſſages between the King and *Anſelm*; and of the many great vertues of *Anſelm*, let him read *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who was as his Secretary, and hath written of purpoſe to ſet forth his praiſes.

* *Eadmerus.*

Marriage of Prieſts forbidden.

About this time a Canon was made againſt the marriage of Prieſts, to which purpoſe *Johannes Cremenſis*, a Prieſt Cardinal, by the Kings licenſe came into *England*, and held a ſolemn Synod at *London*; where inveighing ſharply againſt it, affirming it to be no better then profeſt Adultery, he was himſelf the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even *Anſelm* himſelf, the moſt earneſt enforcer of ſingle life, dyed not, it ſeems, a Virgin; for elſe he would never in his writings make ſuch lamentation for the loſs thereof. A little before this, *Anſelm* being at *Roan*, *Boemundus* one of the chief Princes that had been at *Jeruſalem*, came thither; and amongſt other holy Reliques, gave unto him certain hairs of the Bleſſed Virgin *Mary*, which *Anſelm* held alwayes in great veneration: and * my ſelf having the cuſtody of them committed to me, haue found by experience great holineſs to be in them. About this time *Anſelm* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, held a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where divers Conſtitutions, were made; of which theſe were two, That Prieſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to have Wives: and that there ſhould be no more buying and ſelling of men in *England*, which was hitherto accuſtomed, as if they had been Kine or Oxen. *Anſelm* about this time dying at the age of 76. years, *Rodolph* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, but not till five years after the death of *Anſelm*; and *Thomas* dying, *Thurſtane* ſucceeded him in the Archbiſhoprick of *York*: between which two Prelates there aroſe great contention. *Rodolph* would not Conſecrate *Thurſtane*, unleſs he would profeſs obedience; *Thurſtane* was content to embrace his Benediction, but profeſs obedience he would not. In this contention the King take takes part with *Rodolph*, the Pope with *Thurſtane*; after many paſſages, in the buſineſs, upon the Popes threatning to Excommunicate the King, *Thurſtane* entred upon his Biſhoprick, and the King connived. In the tenth year of his reign, the Abbey of *Ely* was made a Biſhops See, and *Cambridgeſhire* was appointed for the Dioceſs thereof, which becauſe it belonged before to the Juriſdiction of *Lincoln*, the King gave the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, in recompenſe thereof, the manner of *Spalding*. This King alſo created a Biſhoprick at *Carliſle*, and endowed it with many honours. In his time, the Order of the *Templars* began, in the 27. year of his reign, the *Grey-Fryers* by the procurement of the King, came firſt into *England*, and had their firſt houſe builded at *Canterbury*. Alſo in this Kings time, the firſt Legat to ſupply the Popes room came into *England*, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two ſtories of Church-men, for refreſhing of the Reader. *Guymond* the Kings Chaplain, obſerving that unworthy men for the moſt part were advanced to the beſt Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read theſe words out of St. *James*, [It rained not upon the Earth, III years, and VI months] he read it thus, It rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one years, and five one months. The King obſerved his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but *Guymond* anſwered, that he did it of purpoſe, for that ſuch Readers were ſooneſt preferred by his Majeſty. The King ſmiled, and in ſhort time after preferred him to the Government of St. *Frideſwids* in *Oxford*. The other is this, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *York* falling ſick, his Phyſicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to company with a woman; to whom he anſwered, that the Remedy was worſe then the Diſeaſe, and ſo dyed a Virgin, This King granted to the Church of *Canterbury*, and to *William* and his ſucceſſors, the cuſtody of Conſtable-ſhip of the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* for ever. In this Kings time the errours of *Gilbertus Porretus*, were condemned in a Council holden at *Rheimes*, by Pope *Calixtus*; alſo in his time *Innocentius* and *Anacletus* contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schiſm aroſe in the Church.

Contention between the two Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*.

Ely made a Biſhops See.

Carliſle made a Biſhops See.

The order of the Templars begins.

Preferment for Ignorance.

A rare chaſtity.

The errors of *Gilbertus Porretus* condemned.

Cardinal *Cremenſis* taken in bed with a harlot.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by others in his time.

THis King founded and erected the Priory of *Dunſtable*, the Abbey of *Cirenceſter*, the Abbey of *Reading*, the Abbey of *Hide*, with-

out the Walls of *Winchester*, the Abbey of *Shirborn*. He also new builded the Castle of *Windsor*, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between *Yorkesey* and *Lincoln*, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen *Maud*, passing over the River of *Lue*, was somewhat endangered; whereupon she caused two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of *Stratford*, the other over another stream there, called *Channel-Bridge*, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called *Wyggon* Mill, for repairing the same Bridges, and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in *England*, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of *Stratford* was afterward called *Bow*. This Queen also founded the Priory of the *Holy Trinity*, now called *Christs Church*, within the East Gate of *London* called *Aldgate*; and an Hospital of St. *Giles* in the Field, without the West part of the City. In this Kings time *Jordan Briset* Baron, founded the House of St. *John* of *Hierusalem* near to *Smithfield*, in *London*, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to *Clerkenwel*, to build thereupon a House of Nuns, wherein he with *Myriel* his Wife, were buried in the Chapter House. *Robert Fitsham*, who came out of *Normandy* with the Conquerour, founded a new the Church of *Teukesbury*, and was there buried. *Herbert* Bishop of *Norwich*, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of St. *Bartholomew* in *Smithfield*, was founded by a Minstrel of the Kings, named *Reior*, who became first Prior there. Before this time *Smithfield* was a Loystal of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. *Hugh Lacy* founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Lanthony* near to *Gloucester*. *Juga Baynard*, Lady of little *Dunmow*, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady *Juga* was late Wife to *Baynard*, that first built *Baynards* Castle in *London*. *Eudo* the Kings Sewer, founded the Monastery of St. *John* at *Colchester*, of black Canons, and those were the first of that Order in *England*. *Simon* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Maude* his Wife, founded the Monastery of St. *Andrew* in *Northampton*. In the seventh year of this Kings Reign, the first Canons entred into the Church of our Lady in *Southwark*, called St. *Mary Overy*; founded by *William Pountlarge* Knight, and *William Dancies*, *Normans*. *Robert* the first Earl of *Gloucester*, the Kings base Son, builded the Castles of *Bristow* and *Cardyffe*, with the Priory of St. *James* in *Bristow*; and his Son Earl *William* began the Abbey of *Kensham*. *Geoffery Clinton*, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at *Kenelworth*, of Regular Canons. *Henry* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Margaret* his Wife, founded the Colledge of St. *Mary* in the Town of *Warwick*; and *Roger de Belemond*, his Son, and *Ellyne* his Wife, translated the same Colledge into the Castle of *Warwick*, in the year 1123. *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* built the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*; the Castles also of *Malmesbury* and *Shirbourne*, He repaired the Castle of *Salisbury*, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the stately Church of *Salisbury*; destined to a longer life then any of his other works. *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* began to build the Castle of *Norham*, upon the bank of the River *Tweed*. In the 32. year of this Kings Reign, the Priory of *Norton* in *Cheshire*, was founded by one *William* the Son of *Nychel*, and the Abbey of *Cumbermere*, in the same shire. The Colledge of *Secular Canons* also in the Castle of *Leicester*, and the Abbey without the North gate of the same Town, called St. *Mary de Prato*. Also in the Kings Reign was founded the Monastery of *Plimpton* in *Devonshire*, with the Cathedral Church of *Exeter*; the Priory of *Merton*, the Hospital of *Kepar*, the Priory of *Oseney* near *Oxford*, by *Robert de Oylye* Knight: and the Hospital of St. *Crosse* near *Winchester*, by *Henry Blois* Bishop there: also *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival*; and indeed so many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of *England* to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish so many great Buildings in so short time as this Kings Reign.

Windsor Castle first builded.

The first Stone-Bridges in England.

Stratford the reason why so called.

Saint Johns near to Smithfield founded.

Saint Bartholomews Hospital founded by a Minstrel.

Baynards Castle in London by whom built.

The Devises in Wiltshire by whom built.

The Church of Salisbury by whom built.

The Cathedral of Exeter when built.

The Hospital of St. Crosse by whom founded.

Casualties happening in his time:

IN this Kings days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the Water: For King *Henry* returning into *England* after his conquest of *Normandy*, left his Son *William* with his Sister *Mary*, Countess of *Perche*, *Richard* his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of *Chester* with his Wife *Lucy*, the Kings Neece by his Sister *Adela*, and other Lords and Ladies, and passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him; who taking shipping (and the best Ship the King had) whether by carelessness, or drunkenness of the Sailers were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of danger: but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compassion wrought so in him, that he turned about his Boat to take her in, which over-charged with the multitude, over-turned, and they all perished: none escaped but only one Sailor, who had been a Butcher, who by swimming all night upon the Mast, came safe to Land. An accident not more grievous then exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no state is so uncertain as prosperity; no fall so sudden as into adversity: and that the Rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot alwayes be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings dayes wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of *Flanders* was drowned: whereupon a great number of *Flemmings* being suitors to King *Henry* for some place to inhabit; he assigned them a part in *Wales* near the Sea, called *Pembrokeshire*, where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to distressed strangers, and putting a bridle upon unquiet Natives. But the water had another way to do mischief, as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of *October*, the River of *Medway* many miles together did so fail of water, that in the midst of the Chan-

The Kings Children drowned.

Pembrokeshire assigned to the *Flemmings* to inhabit.

nel,

nel, the ſmalleſt Veſſels could not paſs: and the ſame day alſo in the *Thames* between the Tower of *London*, and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the ſpace of two dayes: alſo at another time the River of *Trent* at *Nottingham* was dryed up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves ſometimes when it is to do miſchief, ſpecially being aſſiſted by the Air; as in this Kings dayes, it moved with ſo great a violence, that many buildings were ſhaken down, and *Malmesbury* ſaith, that the houſe wherein he ſate, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time ſettled again in the proper place. Alſo in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noiſe, and caſt forth flames at certain rifts many dayes together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be ſuppreſſed. But yet the active Element of Fire was buſieſt of all, for firſt *Chicheſter* with the principal Monaſtery was burnt down to the ground. From *Weſt Cheap* in *London* to *Aldgate*, a long tract of buildings was conſumed with Fire: *Worceſter* alſo and *Rocheſter*, even in the Kings preſence; then *Wincheſter*, *Bathe*, *Gloceſter*, *Lincoln*, *Peterborough*, and other places did alſo partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to ſpeak of one foreign caſualty, becauſe a ſtrange one; in *Lombardy* this year was an Earthquake that continued forty dayes, and removed a Town from the place where it ſtood, a great way off. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodigies were ſeen; a Pig was farrowed with a face like a Childe, a Chicken was hatched with four legs; and the Sun was ſo deeply eclipſed, that by the reaſon of the darkneſs, many ſtars did plainly appear. In this Kings time *Gerard* Archbiſhop of *York*, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, ſleeping one day in his Garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

A ſtrange Earthquake.

Great Fire in many places.

Hoveden.

A long Earthquake.

Of his Wives and Children.

King *Henry* takes a wife out of a Nunnery.

AT his firſt coming to the Crown, he married *Matild* or *Maude*, Siſter to *Edgar* then King of *Scotland*, and Daughter to *Malcolm* by *Margaret* the Siſter of *Edgar Atheling*. This *Matild*, if ſhe were not a veyled Nun, ſhe was at leaſt brought up in a Nunnery, and thereby grown ſo averſe from Marriage, that when the motion was firſt made her to marry with King *Henry*, ſhe utterly refuſed it, as reſolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at laſt importuned, and even forced by the Authority of her Brother, ſhe rather yielded then conſented; for ſhe did it with ſo ill a will, that it is ſaid, ſhe prayed, if ever ſhe had iſſue by the Marriage, that it might not proſper: and indeed it proſpered but untowardly, as will be ſeen in the ſequel. But though ſhe made this imprecation before ſhe knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when ſhe came to be a Mother, ſhe ſhewed her ſelf no leſs loving and tender of her Children, then loyal and obſequious to her Husband. And to make amends for this ſeeming impiety towards her Children, there is a ſtory related of her real piety towards the poor: for a Brother of hers coming one morning to viſit her in her Chamber, found her ſitting amongſt a company of *Lazar* people, waſhing and dreſſing their Ulcers and Sores: and then kiſſing them after ſhe had done; who wondering at it, and ſaying to her, How could ſhe think the King ſhould like to kiſs that mouth, which had kiſſed ſuch filthy Ulcerous people? ſhe anſwered, ſhe had a greater King to kiſs, who ſhe knew would like her never the worſe for it. By this Queen *Matild*, King *Henry*, according to ſome Writers, had four children; but as the received opinion is, only two, a Son named *William*, and a Daughter called *Maude*: of whom the Son at fourteen years old had fealty ſworn to him by the Nobility of *Shrewsbury*: at ſeventeen married the Daughter of *Fulke* Earl of *Anjou*: and at eighteen was unfortunately drowned, as hath been ſhewed. The Daughter lived to be an Empreſs, and afterwards a Dutcheſs; but could never come to be a Queen, though born to a Kingdom; as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. She ſurvived her ſecond Husband ſeventeen years, living a Widow, and at *Roan* in *Normandy* died, and was buried there in the Abbey of *Bec*, though there be a Tradition that ſhe was buried at *Reading*, in the Abbey there beſide her Father; but it appears to have been a cuſtom in thoſe dayes, for great perſonages to have their Monuments erected in divers places. After the death of this Queen *Matild*, who dyed at *Weſtminſter*, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, King *Henry* married *Adeliza*, the Daughter of *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorain*; who though ſhe were a beautiful and accompliſht Lady, yet had he never any iſſue by her. When ſhe was to be crowned, *Ralph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who was to do the Office, came to King *Henry*, ſitting Crowned in his Chair of State, asking him who had ſet the Crown upon his head? the King anſwering, he had now forgotten, it was ſo long ſince. Well (ſaid the Archbiſhop) whoſoever did it, did me wrong to whom it belonged; and as long as you hold it thus, I will do no office at this Coronation. Then (ſaith the King) do what you think good: whereupon the Archbiſhop took the Crown off from the Kings head; and after at the peoples entreaty, ſet it on again, and then proceeded to Crown the Queen. By Concubines King *Henry* had many Children; it is ſaid ſeven Sons, and as many Daughters; of whom ſome periſhed in the great Shipwrack: of the reſt, two of the Sons, *Reynold* and *Robert*, were made Earls: *Reynold* of *Briſtow*, *Robert* of *Gloceſter*, and was a great aſſiſter of his ſiſter *Maude*, in her troubles with King *Stephen*, who after many acts of valour performed by him, in the twelfth year of King *Stephen* died, and was buried at *Briſtow*. The Daughters were all married to Princes and Noblemen of *England* and *France*, from whom are deſcended many worthy Families: particularly one of thoſe Daughters by *Anne Corbet*, was married to *Fitz Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain to the King: from which *Fitz Herbert*, our Family (*alſit invidia verbo*) is by Females deſcended, paſſing by the names of *Cummin*, *Chenduit*, *Brimpton*, *Stokes*, *Foxcote*, *Dynebey*, and ſo to *Baker* and *Barret*.

Her great humility and devotion.

Monuments for great perſonages erected in divers places.

An inſolent part of Ralph Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Of his Incontinency.

OF this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children basely begotten: but if comparison be made between his Brother *Rufus* and him, it may be said, that howsoever they might be equal in looseness of life; yet in that looseness *William Rufus* was the baser, and King *Henry* the more noble; for King *Henry* had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant, whereas King *William* took only such as he found: constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

His course for establishing the succession in Maud *and her Issue.*

HE married his only Daughter *Maude*, being but six years old, to the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without issue, he married her again to *Geffry Plantagenet*, Son to *Fulk*, Duke of *Anjou*: not the greatest Prince that was a Suitor for her, but the fittest Prince for King *Henries* turn; for *Anjou* is neighbouring upon *Normandy*, a great security to it, if a friend: and as great a danger, if an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her succession in the Crown of *England*; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them *David* King of *Scots*, and causeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her issue: and as thinking he could never make her succession sure enough, he causeth his Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a third time also; as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, as that *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that *Nulla fides Regni*, and therefore no Oath, though never so often iterated, sufficient to warrant Loyalty in persons so deeply interessed, as *Stephen* was: yet Providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance, yet it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Posterity.

King *Henry* causeth his Nobility to swear Allegiance to his Daughter *Maude*.

Of Ireland *in his time.*

THE King of *England* as yet had nothing to do with *Ireland*, the Countrey was governed by its own Kings; and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now began entercourse to be more frequented, and *Mercherdach*, chief King of the *Irish*, bore such awful respect to King *Henry*, that he would do nothing but by his counsel, and with his good liking.

Mercherdach King of *Ireland* is much ruled by King *Henry*.

Whom King Henry *used as his Vicegerent in his absence.*

HE was absent sometimes in *Normandy*, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury*, a politick Prelate; and one as fit to be the second in Government, as King *Henry* to be the first.

His Personage and Conditions.

HE was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh, his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyebrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead, his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, vilified, and thought to have but little in him; but come to the Crown, never any man shewed more excellent abilities, so true is the saying, *Magistratus indicat virum*. His natural affection in a direct line was strong, in an oblique but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Though a King in act, yet he alwayes acted not a King; but in Battels sometimes the part of a common Souldier, though with more then common valour: as at a Battel in *France*, where he so far hazarded himself, that though he lost not his life, yet he lost his blood. He delighted much in Beasts of Foreign Countries; as in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclosed a place at *Woodstock* of purpose to keep them.

Huntington.

King *Henries* valour.

Of his Death and Burial.

A Discontent of minde upon some differences between him and his Son-in-law, the Earl of *Anjou*, brought upon him a distemper, which encreased by eating against his Physicians advice, of a Lamprey, a meat alwayes pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a Feaver, which in few dayes put a period to his life: So certain it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King *Henry* it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was hungry, never did drink but when he was a thirst: yet this but once yielding to his sensual appetite, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence, though some write he took his death by a fall off his Horse. He dyed upon the first of *December* at night, in the year 1135. when he had reigned five and thirty years, lived threescore and seven. His Bowels, Brains, and Eyes, were buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* where he dyed: the rest of his body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Oxe Hides, and brought over into *England*, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of *Reading*, which himself had founded. The Physician that took out his Brains, with the intolerable stench shortly after died. In this King *Henry* ended the Line of the *Normans*, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the *French* by the title of Heirs General.

King *Henry* surfeiteth of eating of a Lamprey.

1135.

The time of the *Norman* Kings ends.

Men

Men of note in his time.

MEN of Learning in his time were many; first, *Stephen-Harding*, a Benedictine Monk, who was founder to the Cistercian Order. Then *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who besides his activeness in matters of State, writ many great and learned Books. Then *Walter Calene*, Archdeacon of *Oxford*, who delivered a History written in the *Brittish* tongue, from *Brute* to *Cadwallader*, to *Geffery* of *Monmouth* to translate; and added forty years of his own time. Also *Florentius* a Monk of *Worcester*, who writ *De rebus Gestis Anglorum*. Also *Eadmerus* a Monk of *Canterbury*, who besides other works, writ the History of his own time, under the two *Williams*, and *Henry* the first.

THE

The REIGN of KING STEPHEN.

Anno Dom. 1135.

AFter the deceaſe of King *Henry*, preſently ſteps upon the Stage of Royalty, *Stephen* Earl of *Boleyne*, Son to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by *Adela*, Daughter of King *William* the Conqueror; and though there were two other before him, *Maude* the Empereſs, and *Theobald* his elder Brother, She in a ſubſtantial right, He in a colourable, yet taking advantage of being *primus Occupans*, the firſt Invader, (as being quickly here after King *Henry*'s death, where the other ſtaid lingring about other affairs) he ſolicits all the Orders of the Realm, Biſhops, and Lords, and People, to receive him for their Soveraign: wherein beſides his own large promiſes, what great matters he would do for them all, he had alſo the aſſiſtance of *Henry* his Brother, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Popes Legate, and of *Roger* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, his great friend, (two the moſt powerful men at that time in the State) who partly by force of Reaſons, but more indeed by Force then Reaſons, procure the State to accept him for their King, and ſo upon St. *Stephen*'s day, in *Anno* 1135. he was Crowned at *Weſtminſter*, in the preſence of but three Biſhops, few of the Nobility, and not one Abbot, by *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with great ſolemnity. That which put a ſcruple in mens minds, and made them averſe at firſt, from conſenting to *Stephen*, was the Oath they had taken to receive King *Henry*'s Daughter *Maude* to be their Queen, after his deceaſe; but the weight of this ſcruple was ſomething abated, when it was urged, that no Precedent could be ſhewed, that ever the Crown had been ſet upon a womans head. And *Robert* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, brought another Reaſon, becauſe they had taken that Oath but upon Condition, that the King ſhould not marry her out of the Realm without their conſents; and the King having broken the condition, was juſt cauſe to nullifie their Obligation. To which was added that the Oath having been exacted by Authority, which is a kinde of forced, it might have the Plea of *Per minas*, and therefore void. And yet more then all theſe, *Hugh Bigot*, ſometime Steward to King *Henry* immediately after his deceaſe, came over into *England*, and took a voluntary Oath before divers Lords of the Land, that he was preſent a little before King *Henry*'s death, when he adopted and choſe his Nephew *Stephen* to be his ſucceſſor, becauſe his Daughter *Maude* had grievouſly at that time diſpleaſed him. But howſoever their breach of Oath was thus palliated, it is certain that many of them, as well Biſhops as other Lords, came afterward to an evil end, at leaſt to many calamities before their end.

K. *Stephen* is Crowned.

Upon what reaſon the Oath before taken to *Maude* was ſlighted.

What courſe he took to eſtabliſh himſelf in the Kingdom.

IT is a true ſaying, *Iis rebus optime ſervatur Imperium, quibus paratur*; and this was *Stephen*'s courſe, he got the Kingdom by promiſes, and he eſtabliſht it by performances; He pleaſed the People with eaſing them of Taxes and Impoſitions: He pleaſed the Clergy with forbearing to keep Biſhopricks and Abbeys vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magiſtrate; He pleaſed the Nobility with allowing them to build Caſtles upon their own Lands; he pleaſed the Gentry with giving them Liberty to hunt the Kings Deer in their own Woods; and beſides with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his brother *Theobald*, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleaſed him with a Grant to pay him two thouſand Marks a year; and then to ſtrengthen himſelf abroad no leſs then at home, he married his Son *Euſtace* to *Conſtace* a Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, which alliance alone might be thought a ſufficient ſecurity againſt all oppoſition. And yet one thing more, which eſtabliſht him more then theſe, at leaſt theſe the more for this, that he had ſeiſed upon King *Henries* treaſure, which amounted to one hundred thouſand pounds, beſides Plate and Jewels of ineſtimable value, which he ſpent not in vain riot, but imployed to his beſt advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of *Britany* and *Flanders*.

He marries his Son *Euſtace*, to the King of *France*'s Daughter. King *Henry* had left a hundred thouſand pounds in ready money.

Of his Troubles in his Reign.

THere may well be made a Chapter of the troubles of his Reign, ſeeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at leaſt no longer intermiſſion, then as to give him breath againſt new encounters; till at laſt, when he grew towards his laſt, he rather left to be in trouble, then was at quiet, being forced to make his adverſary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his life. For he was no ſooner ſet in his Chair of State, but he was preſently diſquieted and made to riſe, by the provocation of *David* King of *Scots*, who ſolicited by ſome Lords of *England*, but chiefly by *Maude* the Empereſs (whoſe right he had ſworn to defend) with a mighty Army entred *Northumberland*, took *Carliſle* and *Newcaſtle*, and was proceeding further, till King *Stephen* with a greater Army coming againſt him, yet rather bought his peace then won it; for to recover *Newcaſtle* out of his hands, he

An. Reg. 4. 1139.

The King of *Scots* in *Maudes* cauſe, enters *England* with an Army: but is compounded with.

was

was fain to let King *David* hold *Cumberland*, and his Son *Henry* the Earldom of *Huntington*, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King *Stephen*.

Upon a bruit of King *Stephen's* death, the Lords poſſeſs themſelves of ſeveral Caſtles.

No ſooner was this trouble over, but he was preſently under another; for being ſain ſomewhat ill at eaſe, it was bruited abroad that he was dead; which ſo diſtracted mens minds, that every one thought it wiſdome to ſhift for himſelf; and the great Lords made a contrary uſe of Caſtles, to that which King *Stephen* intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended them for his own defence againſt his Enemies, and they made uſe of them in their own defence againſt the King; for now *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk* poſſeſſeth himſelf of *Norwich*, *Baldwyn Rivers* of *Oxford*, and *Robert Queſquerius* of other Caſtles. In theſe difficulties King *Stephen*, though he could not in perſon be in all places at once, yet in care he was; and there moſt, where was moſt danger, imploying others againſt the reſt. Againſt *Baldwyn* he went himſelf, whom, driven before out of *Oxford*, and gotten to the Iſle of *Wight*, the King followed and drove him alſo from thence, and at laſt into Exile.

Geoffry Duke of *Anjou* enters into *Normandy*: but is Compounded withall.

And now *England* afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then *Normandy* preſently begins with him afreſh: For now *Geoffery Plantagenet* Duke of *Anjou*, in right of *Maude* his Wife enters upon his Towns there, and ſeeks to get poſſeſſion of the Countrey; when K. *Stephen* paſſeth over with an Army, and arreſts his proceedings: and after ſome ſmall defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at laſt to a pecuniary Compoſition: He to pay the Duke five thouſand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquiſh his claim to *Normandy*. This done, he returns into *England*, where new commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his abſence, reſenting his breach of promiſes upon which they had admitted him to the Crown, make uſe every one of their Caſtles, and ſtand upon their Guard: The Lord *Talbot* held *Hereford*; Earl *Robert Mauds* Brother, *Briſtow*; *William Lovell*, the Caſtle of *Cary*; *Paganell*, the Caſtle of *Ludlow*; *William Mounc*, the Caſtle of *Dunſter*; *Robert* of *Nichol* now called *Lincolne*, the Caſtle of *Warham*; *Euſtace* the Son of *John*, the Caſtle of *Melton*; *William* the Son of *Alan*, the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*; and withall *David* King of *Scots*, never regarding his former agreement, enters *Northumberland* with an Army, committing ſo great cruelty, in raviſhing of Maids, murthering of Infants, ſlaughtering of Prieſts, even at the Altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combuſtion; that if the King had had as many hands as *Briareus*, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this diſmay'd not the King, but as having learned this leſſon, *Tu ne cede malis, ſed contrà audentior ito*, grows the more in confidence, the leſs he was in aſſurance; and as if danger were the fuell of courage, the more erected in himſelf, the leſs he was upheld by others: and ſo, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his abſence, he paſſeth himſelf in perſon againſt *David* King of *Scots*; as being moſt dangerous, and therefore the firſt to be repreſſed: but finding it hard to draw him to a battel, and impoſſible without a battel to do any good upon him, he leaves the care of that quarrel to *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York*, and returns himſelf home, if it may be called home, where he ſcarce had a ſafe place to put his head in. But though many Lords were rebellious againſt him, yet ſome there were that ſtuck firmly to him, by whoſe aſſiſtance and his own induſtry, partly by inticements, partly by inforcements, he reduced moſt of them to obedience, and all of them to ſubmiſſion. When in the mean time *Thurſtane* Archbiſhop of *York*, and in his ſickneſs, *Ralph* Biſhop of *Durham*, aſſiſted with *William* Earl, of *Aumerle*, *William Piperell* of *Nottingham*, and *Hubert de Lacy*, fought a memorable battel againſt *David* King of *Scots*; wherein though King *David* himſelf, and his Son *Henry* performed wonderful Acts of Proweſs, yet the *Engliſh* got the Victory, with the ſlaughter of eleven thouſand *Scots* in the Fight, beſides many other ſlain in the flight; where of the *Engliſh* none of account were ſlain, but only a Brother of *Hubert Lacyes*, and ſome ſmall number of common Souldiers. This Victory infinitely pleaſed and comforted King *Stephen*, who not long after to make an abſolute ſuppreſſion of the *Scots*, paſſeth again with an Army, and inforceth King *David* to demand a Peace, delivering his Son *Henry* into King *Stephen's* hands for a pledge; and coming homeward, by the way he beſieged *Ludlow* one of Rebels neſts, where Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* had been taken Priſoner, if King *Stephen* in his own Perſon had not reſcued him,

He goes in perſon againſt the King of *Scots*.

The rebel Lords are reduced to obedience.

Eleven thouſand *Scots* ſlain, and but very few *Engliſh*.

King *Stephen's* good nature and valour.

The Empereſs *Maude* comes now into play, and hath many adherents.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now *Maude* the Empereſs her ſelf in Perſon comes into play, in whom the Oath before taken was to have its tryal; for till now, though never ſo really intended, yet it could not actually be performed; for how could they receive her for Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that ſhe came in Perſon, now was the time of tryal, how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that ſtrongly. For *Maude* coming into *England* with *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, her baſe Brother was moſt joyfully received at *Arundel* Caſtle, by *William de Aubigny*, who had marryed *Adeliza* the Queen Dowager, of the late King *Henry*, and had the ſaid Caſtle and County aſſigned for her Dower. King *Stephen* having intelligence hereof, cometh to *Arundel* Caſtle with an Army, and beſiegeth it; but either diverted by counſel, or elſe finding the Caſtle to be inexpugnable, he left the ſiege, and ſuffered the Empereſs to paſs to *Briſtow*. The King hearing, that *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*, Son in Law to *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, had poſſeſt himſelf of the City of *Lincoln*, thither he goeth with an Army, and beſiegeth it: thither alſo came the ſaid Earl of *Cheſter*, and *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* to raiſe the ſiege; at which time a moſt fierce battel was fought between them upon *Candlemaſs*-day; wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valour King *Stephen* performed, For when all men about him were either

1141. King *Stephens* valour. Is taken prisoner and carried to *Maud.*

either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone, no man daring to come near him, *Horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum ejus immanitatem*, saith *Hoveden*: yet overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to *Maud* the Empress; who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of *Bristow*, where he remained till *All-hollantide* after. And now the Empress having gotten King *Stephen* into her hands, she takes her journey to *London*; received in all places, as she went, peaceably, and at *London* joyfully. Where Queen *Matild* made humble sute unto her, for the liberty of King *Stephen* her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private life; the *Londoners* also made suit to have the Laws of King *Edward* restored: but the Empress not only rejected both their suits, but returned them answers in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unseasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes. For Queen *Matild* finding thereby how high the Empresses pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son *Eustace*, being then in *Kent*, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the *Londoners* as much discontented as she, do afterwards joyn; and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, as much discontented as either of them, fortifies his Castles at *Waltham* and *Farnham*, and especially *Winchester*, where he stayes himself, attending upon what Coast the next wind of the Empress would blow. Of all these things the Empress had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to *Oxford*, sending straight charge, to have King *Stephen* more narrowly watched, more hardly used, but (as some write) in Fetters, and fed with very bare and poor commons; withall she sends to her Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, to come unto her with all speed possible, who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done. The lot falls upon *Winchester*, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appearance then in power: so *Winchester* they besiege which Queen *Matild* hearing, she with her Son *Eustace* and the *Londoners*, came presently to the succour, where a fierce battel being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen *Matild* prevailed, and the Empress to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horse-back in manner of a dead Corps, and so conveyed to *Gloucester*; while Earl *Robert* her Brother disdaining to flie, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen *Matild* caused to be used the more hardly, in retaliation of the hard usage which the Empress before had shewed to King *Stephen*. Things standing in these terms, propositions were made by the Lords for pacification; but such were the high spirits of the Empress and her brother *Robert*, that no conditions would please them, unless the Empress might injoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by agreement between themselves, or by connivence of the Keepers, both King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* got to be at liberty. When the first thing King *Stephen* did, was to look out the Empress to requite the kindness she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at *Oxford*, he layes siege to the Town, and brings the Empress to such distress that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to flie but with manifest danger: yet she effected it by this device. It was in the Winter season, when frost and snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white clothes, which being of the colour of snow, made her pass the Watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her friends at *Wallingford*. Yet *Malmesbury*, who lived at that time, confesseth he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger; yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appear upon this Stage of War: but left the prosecution of it to her Son *Henry*, who was now about sixteen years of age; and being forward of his age and able to bear Arms, was by his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots* Knighted, to make him more forward.

Maud is received of the *Londoners.*

She is beaten by *Matild* King *Stephen*'s wife, and her Brother the Earl of *Gloucester* taken prisoner King *Stephen* and Earl *Robert* both get to be at liberty.

1142.

Maud besieged at *Oxford*, flieth away secretly.

Henry Mauds son, now sixteen years of age prosecuteth the war against King *Stephen*

1144.

It was now the ninth year of King *Stephen's* Reign, when *Ralph* Earl of *Chester*, keeping possession of the City of *Lincoln*, was in night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the King Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King; and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when perfidiously he was detained by the King, and not set at liberty, till he had surrendred into the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession; which though it brought the King some present benefit, yet it wrought him a greater future loss; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

King *Stephen* discredits himself.

1152.

Prince *Henry* marries the heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen.*

1153.

Now was Duke *Henry* come to the age of nineteen years, and was in possession of the Dukedom of *Anjou*, by the death of his Father *Geoffery Plantagenet*: and not long after this, he married *Eleanor*, the Daughter and Heir of *William* Duke of *Guyen*, by whom he had that Dutchy, and also the Earldom of *Poicton Normandy* he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being possest now of four great Principalities, this greatness of Estate adding to the greatness of his spirit, made him aspire to recover his right in *England*; and over he comes, bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great, from the people of this Kingdom. And many indeed resorted to him; with whom he fell presently, and besieged *Marleborough*: but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

Eustace King *Stephens* son dyeth.

After this, their Armies continued in the field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, then doing any thing; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; til at last it was like come to a set Battel, when suddenly *Eustace* King *Stephen's* only Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the Kingdom; for now King *Stephen* being left destitute of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Empress *Maud*, having lately lost her Brother *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, and *Miles* Earl of *Hereford*, (her two best Champions) was no less willing then he: which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions,

King Stephen and Prince Henry agree.

tions that *Stephen* ſhould hold the Kingdom of *England* during his life, and adopt Duke *Henry* as his Heir to ſucceed him. And this agreement thus made, and in a Parliament at *Winchester* confirmed, Duke *Henry* ever after accounted King *Stephen* no leſs then a Father; and King *Stephen*: Duke *Henry* no leſs then a Son, and well he might, if it be true which ſome write, that the Empereſs, when a Battel was to be fought between King *Stephen* and her Son, went privily to him, asking him how he could finde in his heart to fight againſt him that was his own Son? Could he forget the familiarity he had with her in her Widow-hood! But this was no matter for the Writers of that time to deliver. It touched too near the Intereſt of Princes then in being, and Princes muſt not be touched while they live; nor when they are dead neither, with uncertainties, as this could be no other: But howſoever it was, certain it is, that after this agreement between King *Stephen*, and Duke *Henry*, they continued in mutual love and concord, as long after as they lived.

Prince Henry thought by ſome to be King Stephens Son.

1154.

No mention what became of *Maud* at this time.

But what became of *Maud* the Empereſs at this time? For that ſhe was alive, and lived many years after this agreement between King *Stephen* and her Son *Henry*, all Writers agree; and to ſay that ſhe conſented to the agreement, without any proviſion made for her ſelf, is to make her too much a woman, a very weak veſſel: and to ſay there might be proviſion made, though it be not Recorded, is to make all Writers defective in great exceſs: And beſides, being ſo ſtirring a woman as ſhe was, that upon a ſudden ſhe ſhould be ſo quiet, as not to deſerve to have one word ſpoken of her in all the long time ſhe lived after, (being no leſs then twelve or thirteen years) is as ſtrange as the reſt. And if ſhe placed her contentment ſo wholly in her Son, that in regard of him ſhe regarded not her ſelf at all, it deſerves at leaſt the *Encomium* of ſuch a motherly love as is very unuſual, and not alwayes ſafe. Whatſoever it was, I muſt be fain to leave it as a Gordian knot, which no Writer helps me to unty. *Matthew Paris* makes her to live one and thirty years after the death of King *Stephen*; and makes this her Epitaph.

Ortu magna, viro major, ſed maxima partu
Hic jacet Henrici *filia, ſponſa, parens.*

Of his Taxations and wayes for raiſing of Monies.

OF Taxations in his time, there is no mention made; for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, whereas the ſtate all this Kings time was altogether in Factions. But what he wanted in Taxations, he ſupplied with Confiſcations, which by reaſon of the many revoltings of men of all ſorts, could not chuſe but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in nature of a purchaſe to him; for whatſoever became of the perſons, their Lands and Goods were ſure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiſcations came in but ſlowly, he had then devices to haſten their pace; for upon light ſuggeſtions (not ſo much oftentimes as juſt ſuſpicions) he would call men into queſtion, and ſeiſe upon their Goods, as in the caſe particularly of *Ralph* Biſhop of *Salisbury*; and it may not be unpleaſing to hear from what beginning this Biſhop grew to ſuch a height of greatneſs, which was thus. In the time of King *William Rufus* he was a poor Prieſt, ſerving a Cure in a Village near to *Caen* in *Normandy*, when the Kings younger Brother *Henry* chanced to paſs that way, and to make ſome ſtay in the ſaid Village, who being deſirous to hear a Maſs, this *Roger* being Curate, was the man to ſay it; which he diſpatched with ſuch celerity, that the Souldiers (who commonly love not long Maſſes) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a fitter Prieſt be found for men of War then he. Whereupon *Henry* appointed him to follow him; and when he came to be King, preferred him to many great places, and at laſt to be Chancellour of *England*, and Biſhop of *Salisbury*. You have heard his riſing, now hear his fall. When King *Stephen* came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predeceſſour King *Henry* had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great begger of Suits, the King would ſay of him, If this man wil never give over asking, neither ſhall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell firſt through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine. For King *Stephen* having given liberty to build Caſtles, this man did ſo far exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Caſtles of *Salisbury*, the *Vyes*, *Sherburn*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newark*, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that theſe Caſtles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of *Maud* the Empereſs. Which ſo poſſeſſed the King, or he would be thought to be ſo poſſeſſed, that taking this for a juſt cauſe, he ſeiſed them all into his hands, and forty thouſand Marks beſides, which he had in money; and not contented with this, he took the like courſe alſo with *Alexander*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, only becauſe he was his Nephew, and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money; for in the firſt year of his Reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Foreſts, he afterwards at *Oxford* cauſed many to be impleaded for that liberty: a trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, firſt, to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave muſt be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Ralph Biſhop of Salisbury by what meanes he came to his greatneſs.

By what meanes to his fall.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HE gave licence to the City of *Norwich* to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37. year of King *Henry* the Third, they had licenſe to incloſe the Town with Ditches.

Norwich is allowed to have Coroners and Bailiffs.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

UPon the Kings ſeiſing into his hands, the Biſhop of *Salisburies* Caſtles, and Goods, complaint was made, and a Synod was called by

the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legate, to right the Bishop, where the King was cited to appear; who sending to know the cause, answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christian King he ought not to do. The King Replies by his Lawyer, *Aurris de Vir*, that he had not arrested the Bishop of *Salisbury* as a Bishop, but as his Servant that was to make him accompt of his Imployment. To this the Bishop answereth, that he was never Servant or Accomptant to the King. And many Allegations and Probations were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not Excommunicate the King without the Popes power; so in the end they fell from Authority to submission: and in the Kings Chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pity the Church, and not suffer dissension to be between the Kingdom and the Priesthood. And this was no small magnanimity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high stomachs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his Reign, a Synod was held in *London* by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, where it was decreed, that whosoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergyman, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself; and from this time forward, Clergy men were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his Reign, by the soliciting of Saint *Bernard*, many took upon them the Cross, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom some English Lords also.

Clergy men exempt from secular power.

Works of Piety by him, or by others in his time.

HE founded the Abbeys of *Cogshall* in *Essex*, of *Furneys* in *Lancashire*; of *Hurgailles* and *Feversham* in *Kent*; at *Heigham* in *Kent*, a house of Black Nuns, also an house for Nuns at *Carrow*. His Queen *Matild* builded the Hospital of St. *Katharines* by the Tower of *London*: A Knight called Sir *William* of *Mounts Fitchet*, founded the Abbey of *Stratford Langthorn*, within four miles of *London*; *William* of *Ypre* founded *Boxeley* Abbey in *Kent*: *Robert* Earl of *Ferrers* founded the Abbey of *Merival* in *Warwickshire*, and in the same Shire, *Robert* Earl of *Gloucester*, the Abbey of *Nun Eaton*. *Thurstane* Archbishop of *York* founded the Monastery of *Yeates* in *Yorkshire*. Also by others were founded the Abbeys of *Tiltey*, of *Rival*, of *Nedeburgh* and *Beeland*, of *Garedon* in *Leicestershire*, of *Kirkstead* in *Yorkshire*; and divers others in other places: so that more Abbeys were erected in his dayes, then had been wild in the space of a hundred years before.

A Knight founded the Abbey of Stratford Langthorn.

Divers Abbeys founded.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

NEwbrigensis and also *Huntingdon* reporteth of one *Raynerus*, a wicked Minister of a more wicked Author, that crossing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his iniquity overweighed the Ship, that in the midst of the Stream, it was not able to stir; at which the Mariners astonished, cast lots, and the lot fell upon *Raynerus*: and lest this should be thought to happen by chance, they cast the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon *Raynerus*: whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and presently the Ship as eased of her burthen, sailed away. Certainly a great Judgement of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one that is no fabulous Author. In this Kings time also, there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in Green, in a stuffe unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange diet; whereof the Boy being Baptized, dyed shortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were, she answered, They were of the Land of St. *Martyn*, where there are Christian Churches erected; but that no Sun did ever rise unto them: but where that Land is, and how she came hither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, then those which to us are known: and this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses as it is, In the fifteenth year of this King, the the River of Thames was so hard frozen, that Horse and Cart passed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived *Johannes de Temporibus*, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years. He was one of *Charlemain* the Emperours Guard, and died in the Reign of *Conradus* the third, *Anno Dom.* 1139.

Newbrigensis.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married by his Uncle King *Henries* means, *Matild*, Daughter and Heir of *Eustace*, Earl of *Boleyne*, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In Adversity not dejected, in Prosperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance as it were a Man; acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named *Eustace*, a Prince more then of hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much valour, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not alwayes be rejected, for though many of them be forged, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kinde, which some Writers relate of this Prince, That being at the Abbey of *Bury* in *Norfolk*, and denied some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Corn Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit dyed? Certainly, the persons of Princes are for more observation then ordinary people: and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Examples. This Prince *Eustace* was so beloved of his Father, that he had a purpose to have joyned him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in *Feversham* Abbey, where his Mother

Queen *Matilds* commendation.

The strange death of *Eustace*.

Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate iſſue King *Stephen* had none, but by a Concubine he had a Son named *William*, whom he made Earl of *Norfolk*; which honour was confirmed upon him, by a ſpecial Article, in the agreement made between King *Stephen* and Duke *Henry*; only a *French* Chronicle ſpeaks of another Son of his, named *Gervaſe*, made Abbot of *Weſtminſter*; and that he died in the year 1160. and was there buried.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, of great ſtrength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his minde, there was apparent in him a juſt mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not had both, he could never have held out with ſuch weak friends as he did, againſt ſuch potent adverſaries as he had. And ſpecially it muſt be confeſt, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, ſeeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as *Anthony* did *Cicero*; nor any friend in hot blood, as *Alexander* did *Clitus*. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the ſhort time between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his death. Which ſeeing he ſpent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and ſeeking to ſtitch up the breaches which the violence of War had made, we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good proofs of his Juſtice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a ſufficient example in one action of his, which was this: Duke *Henry* being on a time, in ſome ſtreights for money, ſent to his Mother *Maud* the Empereſs, deſiring her to furniſh him, but ſhe anſwered that ſhe was in as great ſtraits her ſelf, and therefore could not do it: then he ſent to his Uncle Earl *Robert* to furniſh him, and he anſwered he had little enough to ſerve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: at laſt he ſent to King *Stephen*, and he though an Adverſary, and ſtanding in terms of oppoſition, yet ſent preſently, and ſupplied him with it. He was withal a great oppugner of ſuperſtition, which made him on a time to ride into *Lincoln* with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a ſuperſtitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in ſuch manner, but that ſome great diſaſter would fall upon him. One ſpecial Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any ſpecial Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been ſilent.

A good temper for a Souldier.

King Stephen's good nature.

A ſuperſtitious opinion held of *Lincoln*.

Of his Death and Burial.

AS a Fiſh cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Deſtiny of this King, to live out of trouble. As ſoon as he came to enjoy quietneſs, he left to enjoy life. No time left him between his agreement with Duke *Henry* and his Death, but only ſo much as might reaſonably ſerve him to take his laſt leave of all his Friends: For it was but from *January* to *October*; and the laſt friend he took leave of was *Theodorick*, Earl of *Flanders*, whom he met at *Dover*, and as ſoon as he had diſmiſſed him, he was ſuddenly taken with the Iliack Paſſion and with an old Diſeaſe of the Emrods; and died in the Monaſtery there, the five and twentieth of *October*, in the year 1154. when he had reigned almoſt nineteen years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abbey of *Feverſham*, which he had founded. 1154.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy-men there was *Thurſtane*, Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Henry* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* the Kings Brother; alſo *William* another Archbiſhop of *York*, whom we may finde in the Calendar of Saints, as likewiſe St. *Bernard*, who lived in this time, though not of this Countrey. And if we may reckon ſtrangers, there lived at this time *Peter Lombard*, Maſter of the Sentences; *Peter Comeſtor*, writer of the Eccleſiaſtical Story; and *Gratian*, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Baſtards: alſo *Avicen*, *Averroes*, *Meſue*, and Rabbi *Solomon* were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was *Ranulph* Earl of *Cheſter*; *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Hugh Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*; but eſpecially *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Kings baſe Son, whoſe praiſes, if any deſire to hear founded out to the full, let him read *William* of *Malmesbury*, who writ the Hiſtory of theſe times, of purpoſe to be his Trumpet. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry Huntington*, *Simeon Dunelmenſis*, *William Rovellenſis*; and *Geoffry* of *Monmouth*, Biſhop of St. *Aſaph* in *Wales*. Alſo *Hugo Carthuſianus*, a *Burgundian*, but made Biſhop of *Lincoln* here in *England*.

Three ſtout Clerks all Baſtards.

The chief Hiſtorical Writers of this time.

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE SECOND.

1155. He [illegible] is Crowned.

KING *Stephen* being dead, *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, by his Father *Geoffry Plantagenet*, succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, by agreement, whom he preceded by right, as being Son and Heir of *Maud*, sole Daughter and Heir of King *Henry* the first; and was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on the seventeenth of *December*, in the year 1155. and was now a greater Prince then any of his Ancestors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of *England*, the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and the Dukedom of *Anjou* in his own right, and in the right of his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, the Dutchy of *Guyen*, and the Earldom of *Poicton*, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent then any Christian King had at that time.

A greater Prince then any of his Ancestors.

Born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*.

He was born at *Mentz* in *Normandy*, in the year 1132. a great joy to his Father *Geoffry*, Duke of *Anjou*, a greater to his Mother *Maud* the Empereſs; but so great to his Grandfather King *Henry*, the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son *William*, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwrack. The years of his childehood were spent at home under the care of his Parents. At nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter* into *England*, and placed at *Briſtow*, where under the tuition of one *Matthew* his Schoolmaſter, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years; after which time he was sent into *Scotland*, to his great Uncle *David* King of *Scots*, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the principles of State, but chiefly of his own Estate. And being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted; and though scarce ripe for Arms, yet as a fruit gathered before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle *Robert*, one of the best Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to endure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of whose longing, Earl *Robert* provided him of passage, and conducted him himself to Sea side, where he took his last farewel of him. Being come into *Anjou*, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after died, leaving him in present possession of that Dukedom, being now about nineteen years of age: when shortly after he married *Eleanor* the late Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into *England*, where after some velitations with King *Stephen* they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of *England*, ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into *France*, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the *French* King. In the time of which siege, news was brought him of King *Stephen's* death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his Journey into *England*; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle. Which resolution of his being known to the Defendants, they surrendred the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into *England*, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

Is Created at [illegible].

Is Sent into *Scotland*.

Is carried into *Anjou*.

He marries the Lady *Eleanor*, the divorced Wife of *Lewis* King of *France*.

His first Acts after he came to the Crown.

HE began his Reign as *Solomon* would have begun it, if he had been in his place. For first he made choice of wise and discreet men to be his Counsellours; then he banished out of the Realm all strangers, and especially *Flemmings*, with whom the Kingdom swarmed: as of whom King *Stephen* had made use in his Wars, amongst whom was *William* of *Ypres*, lately before made Earl of *Kent*. Castles which by King *Stephen's* allowance had been built, he caused to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather nurseries of Rebellion to the Subject, then of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Laws, which disorder of the Wars had brought in. He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King *Stephen* against him, as thinking that men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the people with Taxations, he resumed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to displease a few then many; and many other things he did, which in a disjoynted State were no less profitable and expedient, then requisite and necessary.

He causeth Castles to be demolished.

He reforms the Laws.

He resumed Crown-Lands.

His troubles during his Reign.

HE had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not *in Capite*, strook not at the root, as King *Stephen's* did: but were only some certain niblings at inferiour parts, till at last he brought them himself into his own bowels. For what was the trouble in his first year

His troubles with the Welsh soon ended

first year with the *Welsh*; but as an exercise rather to keep him in motion, then that it needed to disquiet his rest? For though they were mutinous for a time, while they looked upon their own Bucklers, their Woods and Mountainous passages; yet as soon as King *Henry* did but shew his Sword amongst them, they were soon reduced to obedience for the present, and to a greater awfulness for the future. It is true *Henry* Earl of *Essex* that bore the Kings Standard, was so assaulted by the *Welsh*, that he let the Standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the *Welsh*, and put the *English* in some fear, as supposing the King had been slain; but this was soon frustrated to the *Welsh*, and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be shorn a Monk, and put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his lands seised into the Kings hand. And what was his trouble with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, but a work of his own beginning? for if he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, *Cumberland* and *Huntingtonshire*, by the grant of King *Stephen*, and *Northumberland*, by the gift of his Mother *Maud* the Empereſs, he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all to have stirred his foot: but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his Kingdom; and therefore went with an Army into the North, where he won not, but took *Northumberland* from him, with the City of *Carliſle*, and the Castles of *Newcastle* and *Bamberg*: and meerly out of gratefulness, in remembrance of the many curtesies done to him before, by *David* King of *Scots*, he left him the County of *Huntington*; but yet his with condition to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his Brother *Geoffry*, but a Bird of his own hatching. For his Father *Geoffry* Duke of *Anjou*, had three Sons, *Henry*, *Geoffry* and *William*; and dying, he left his Dukedom of *Anjou* to his eldest son *Henry*, but to hold no longer then till he should come to be King of *England*, and then to deliver it up to his second Son *Geoffry*. And he made his Lords to swear, not to suffer his body to be buried, until his Son *Henry* had taken his Oath to do it. Which Oath *Henry* afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take: but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, for a dispensation of his Oath. Which granted, he enters *Anjou* with an Army, and takes from his Brother *Geoffry*, being little able to make resistance, not only the Dukedom of *Anjou*, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindness was content to allow him a Pension of a thousand pounds a year. Which brotherly kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother *Geoffry*, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after he dyed.

1157. Henry Earl of *Essex* how punished for letting the Kings Standard fall:

Malcolm King of *Scots* repressed.

King *Henries* unkindness to his brother *Geoffry*.

And thus these troubles begun by *Henry* himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is comming on, begun by *Lewis* King of *France*, and this is like to stick longer by him. For King *Lewis* not having yet digested King *Henries* marriage with his divorced Wife *Eleanor*, seeks all opportunities to express his spleen, by doing him displeasure; and a fit opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a difference between *Raymond* Earl of St. *Giles*, and *Henry* King of *England*, about the Earldom of *Tholouse*, which *Raymond* possest, and *Henry* claimed: in this difference, King *Lewis* takes part with *Raymond*, as pretending to be the juster side. Hereupon are great Forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battel: but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made; and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between *Henry*, King *Henries* eldest Son, scarce yet seven years of age, and *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Lewis* not past three, who was delivered to King *Henry* to bring up till fit years for consummation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friendship, but it proved afterward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when a Son is once matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good wish; seeing the Daughter thus matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none, at least, none so well, as by the ruine of his Father: yet this brake not out till some years after. It was now about the sixteenth year of King *Henries* Reign and his Son *Henry* grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings minde to have his Son *Henry* crowned King, and Reign with himself in his own time; partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for succession are commonly eluded: but Oaths for present Allegiance, as being *Verba de præsenti*, can have no evasion. And pleasing himself with this conceit, he acquaints his Lords with his purpose, and causeth his Son *Henry* to be crowned King by the hands of *Roger* Archbishop of *York*; and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him. At the Feast of which solemnity King *Henry* to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dish to his Table; whereupon the Archbishop *Roger* standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, What an honour is this to you, to have such a waiter at your Table? Why (saith he) what great matter is it for him that was but the Son of a Duke, to do service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing, began to repent him now it was too late, of that he had done For indeed the honour which by Gods commandement, children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equals, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them stomachs to take more upon them then is fit. But King *Henry* passed it over, and meant to set the best side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King *Henry*, yet King *Lewis* of *France* soon after, did the like to his Son *Philip*, and caused him to be crowned King in his own life time, *Paris*, *Anno* 1179.

1160. But pacified by a marriage of their children.

An. Reg. 16 1170. King Henry causeth his Son Henry to be crowned King with himself.

The sons honour (saith he) as great as his Father.

And now King *Lewis* took displeasure that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to satisfie him in that point, King *Henry* sendeth his Son *Henry* and his Wife *Margaret* into *England*, and causeth them both to be crowned by *Walter* Archbishop of *Roan*: and shortly after, the young King *Henry* and his

his Wife go back to King *Lewis* her Father, and by him with great joy, and variety of sports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King *Lewis* partly out his old spleen to King *Henry*, and partly to make his Son-in-law more absolute, falls oftentimes into conference with him; and finding his hot spirit to be fit tinder for such fire, tells him, it was a shame he should suffer himself to be made a stale; have the title of a King, and not the authority: and that as long as he stood in such terms, that which seemed an honour was indeed a disgrace. With which words of King *Lewis*, the young King *Henry* was set a float, and from that time forward, stuck not openly to oppose his Father. Whereof his Father having intelligence, sent messengers to King *Lewis*, desiring him from the King their Master, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King *Lewis* hearing the Embassadours name their Master King, with an angry countenance said unto them; What mean you by this to call him King, who hath passed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this answer sent them away. To this evil, another worse was added: That Queen *Eleanor* his Wife enraged with jealousie of her Husbands Concubines, both incenseth her Son *Henry*, & perswadeth also two other of her Sons, *Richard* and *Geoffry*, to joyn against their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow them better maintenance, then their Father did. With these perswasions they pass over into *Normandy*, and joyn with their Brother *Henry*, who emboldened by their assistance, grows now more insolent then he was before; that when messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made answer, that his Father must not look he would lay down his Arms, unless himself first would lay down his authority, and resign the Kingdom. And now *Lewis* King of *France*, calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them *William* King of *Scots*, *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, *Roger Mowbray*, *Hugh Bigot*, and others of his Sons party, they all take their Oaths to assist the young King *Henry* with all their power, and thereupon all in one day, the *French* invade *Normandy*, *Aquitain* and *Britain*; the King of *Scots*, *Northumberland*; and King *Lewis* the City of *Vernoil*, which he brought to that distress, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succoured within three daies, then to surrender it. King *Henry* hearing of this agreement, promiseth to succour them by that day. But here King *Lewis* useth a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he sends to King *Henry*, that if he were willing to have a peace with his Sons, he should meet him at a place appointed, at such a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King *Henry* glad of such an offer, and with that gladness perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any deceit, promiseth to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he should have succoured *Vernoil*, he stayed there all day looking for King *Lewis* coming, who in stead of coming, sent word to *Vernoil*, that King *Henry* was defeated; and therefore their hope of succour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came not according to his promise, surrendred the Town; which King *Lewis* finding himself unable to hold, set it on fire, and so departed. But King *Henry* when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the slaughter of many of his men. At the same time also King *Henries* Forces encountred *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, and *Robert Fulger*, who had taken *Dole* in *Britain*, took them Prisoners, and brought them to King *Henry*. And about the same time likewise in *England Robert* Earl of *Leicester* thinking to surprise *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwall*, and *Richard Lacy*, King *Henry's* Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of *Leicester* taken; which only the site of the place defended from being battered to the ground. *Robert* Earl of *Leicester* being thus defeated, passeth over into *France*, and being supplied by King *Lewis* with greater forces then before, is together with *Hugh Bigot* sent back into *England*, to draw the countrey to *Henry* the Sons party, who at first assault take *Norwich*; and then sitting down before *Bury*, they are in a great battel, by *Richard Lacy*, and other of King *Henry's* Captains, overthrown with the slaughter of ten thousand men, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom Earl *Robert* himself. Yet were not *Roger Mowbray*, and *Hugh Bigot* so daunted with this overthrow, but that together with *David* the King of *Scots* Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade *Northumberland* and *Yorkshire*, when *Robert Scoccee*, *Ralph Granula*, *William Vesci*, and *Barnard Bayliol* (of whom *Baynards* Castle in *London* first took the name) Knights of those parts assembled together, and fighting a great battel with them, overthrew them, and took the King of *Scots* prisoner, with many others. Yet is not *Hugh Bigot* daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes *Norwich*; and *Robert Ferris*, *Nottingham*. The news whereof, when King *Henry* the Son heard, he recovered new spirits, and obtaining new assistance from King *Lewis*, prepares himself afresh for War: which King *Henry* the Father hearing, returns speedily into *England*; and to appease St. *Thomas Becket's* Ghost, goes to visit his Tombe, and there askes him forgiveness. This done, he goes into *Suffolk*, and at *Framingham* Castle, which belonged to *Hugh Bigot*, staies with his Army, when suddenly moved, by what instinct no man knows, (unless the appeasing of Saint *Thomas's* Ghost did work it,) both *Hugh Bigot* delivers up his Castle into King *Henry's* hands, and likewise *Robert Mowbray*, *Robert Ferris*, and many others of that party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the Kings mercy. Hereupon King *Henry* returns to *London*, about which time he comitted his Wife Queen *Eleanor* to prison, for her practices against him. In the mean time, King *Lewis* understanding that *Normandy* was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King *Henry*, and *Philip* Earl of *Flanders*, he besiegeth *Roan*, which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in person; and thereupon King *Lewis* despairing of any good to be done, sends messengers to King *Henry*

The young King [illegible] incited by [illegible] Father in law King *Lewis* to oppose his Father.

Queen *Eleanor* also.

The young King requires his Father to resign the Kingdom.

King *Lewis* and the Lords of *France* assist him.

King *Lewis* his fraud to get *Vernoil*.

Leicester a strong Site.

Hugh Bigots resolute persisting in assisting young King *Henry*.

Baynards Castle of whom so called.

1174.

King *Henry* visits the Tomb of *Thomas Becket*.

Hugh Bigot and others submit themselves to King *Henry*.

Queen *Eleanor* committed to prison.

Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at *Gysors*, where he doubted not to make a reconcilement between his Sons and him; K. *Henry* agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done. It seems it was but one of K. *Lewis* his old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King *Lewis*, King *Henry* hearing that his Son *Richard* had in the mean time possest himself of a great part of the Province of *Poitou*, goes thither with an Army, where *Richard* at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault. And thereupon K. *Henry* imploies him to King *Lewis*, and his brother *Henry*, to perswade them to peace: who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made. And to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, *Henry* and *Lewis*, his Daughter *Adela* is affianced to King *Henry's* Son *Richard*, as Earl of *Aquitain*; and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King *Henry*, till she should be fit for marriage. Upon this King *Henry* sets *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Hugh* Earl of *Chester*, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and *William* also King of *Scots* paying a certain mulct, for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of *Berwick*, *Roxborough*, and *Sterling* to King *Henry*, and was fined to lose the County of *Huntington*, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his son returns into *England*, where with all joyfulness they were received.

A reconciliation is made on all parts.

Richard King *Henry's* second Son affianceth *Adela* the King of *France's* Daughter.

1179. It was now the year 1179. when King *Lewis* began again to grow discontented with King *Henry*; because his daughter was not yet married to his Son *Richard* as was agreed: but King *Henry* making him promise to have them married within a few daies, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawful familiarity.

With whom King *Henry* is thought to have unlawful familiarity.

An Reg. 30 1184. The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young King *Henry*, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: whose Widow *Margaret* returning into *France*, was afterward married to *Bela* King of *Hungary*. Now King *Henry's* Son *Richard*, no longer enduring to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment. Wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, ye the may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a Wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper; must needs be, if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him do as he did. Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of a Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brother *John*, and a great part of his Fathers Adherents, they all take part with *Philip*, (now after the decease of *Lewis*) King of *France*, who willing to make use of their assistance, before the stream of filial awfulness should return into the natural Channel, takes them along with him, and besiegeth the City of *Mentz*, in which King *Henry* at that time was himself in person. Who apprehending the danger, and therein resenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend it self, till he should return with greater forces; for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into so great a distraction of minde, that it made him break out into these blasphemous words; I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffered a City so dear unto me, to be taken from me: but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed *Mentz* was the City in which he was born, That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had lost this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because she shortly after died: but because the state of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him, for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two Kings had meeting between *Turwyn* and *Arras*, for reconcilement of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light just between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time, to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amazed King *Henry*, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him. Which could be nothing but drops let fall of the Divine anger, and manifest presages of his future disasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of desolation, notwithstanding all his greatness; forsaken of his friends, forsaken of his Wife, forsaken of his children; and (if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the loss of *Ments*) forsaken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epilogue of all greatness.

Mentz taken by the King of *France*.

A blasphemous speech of King *Henry*.

A strange accident.

King *Henry* forsaken of his own fortune.

The young King *Henry* dieth.

Richard discontented with the delay of his marriage rebels: and draws in his brother *John*.

Of his Acquest of Ireland.

ROBERT *Fitz-Stephen* was the first of all *English* men after the conquest that entred *Ireland*, the first day of *May*, in the year 1170. with 390 men: and there took *Wexford*, in the behalf of *Dermutius*, Son of *Murcherdach*, called *Mac Murg*, King of *Lemster*. In *September* following, *Richard* Earl of *Chepstow*, surnamed *Strong bow*, sayled into *Ireland* with twelve hundred men, where he took *Waterford* and *Dublin*; and married *Eve* the Daughter of *Dermutius*, as he was promised. From these beginnings, King *Henry* being then at rest from all Hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of *Ireland*, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the *French*; and therefore purposing with himself

Who first of all *English* men entred *Ireland*.

Ireland submits it self to King *Henry*.

by

by all means to subdue it, he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season saileth thither, taking Shipping at *Pembroke*, and landing near to *Waterford*. Where entring into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprise, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Countrey came in, and submitted themselves unto him, only *Rodorick* King of *Connacth* stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation, but King *Henry* forbearing him for the present, who kept himself in the fastness of Boggs and Woods, and was not to be followed in the winter season, takes his journey to *Dublin*, the chief City of the Countrey; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King: which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves, the King sent presently to *Adrian* the then Pope, an *English* man, requiring his assent, which upon divers good considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of *Dublin*; and having thus without blood possest himself of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into *England*. About four years after *Rodorick* also sends his Chancellor to King *Henry*, to offer his submission, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beasts, one sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he sent his Son *John* to be the Governour there.

The Pope confirms that Donation. King *Henry* builds a stately Palace in *Dublin*.

He sends his Son *John* Governour into *Ireland*.

His Taxations and waies for raising of Money.

TAxations in his time, were chiefly once; when he took Escuage of *English* men, towards his wars in *France*, which amounted to 12400 pounds: but confiscations were many, because many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a Mine. Also vacancies of Bishopricks and Abbeys, kept in his hands sometimes many at once; no time without some. He resumed also all Lands which had either been sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors: but a principal cause that made him plentiful in money, was his Parsimony; as when he was enjoyned for a Penance, to build three Abbeys, he performed it, by changing Secular Priests into Regular Canons, only to spare cost: And it was not the least cause of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parsimony while he lived, which brought it to pass, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

He keeps Abbeys vacant in his hands.

He resumes Crown-Lands. His Parsimony

He left behind him nine hundred thousand pounds in money.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Laws of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people then they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six several Circuits; appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this Kings dayes the number *Jews* all *England* over was great: yet, whersoever they dwelt, they might not bury any of their dead any where but in *London*; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies oftentimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in several places where they lived. It was in this Kings dayes also ordained, that Clergy men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lions should be kept in the Tower of *London*. Also this King made a Statute, concerning Armour and Weapons; that every man that held a Knights-Fee, should be bound to have a pair of Curasses, an Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Laity, having Goods and Revenues to the value of sixteen Marks, should have one pair of Curasses, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Marks should have an Habergeon, a Steel Cap, and a Spear.

Judges circuits appointed.

Jews wheresoever dwelling might bury no where but in *London*, till this King gave them liberty.

Clergy men punishable by the Civil Magistrate.

Lions ordained to be kept in the Tower.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THis Kings reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince; and though it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we shall finde it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speak of the Contention, it is fit to say something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was *Thomas Becket* born in *London*, his Father, one *Gilbert Becket*, his Mother an outlandish woman, of the Countrey of *Syria*. His first rising was under *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who taking a liking to him, (as one saith, no man knew for what) made him first Archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor; after that to be Chancellour of *England*; and after the decease of the said *Theobald*, was himself made Archbishop of *Canterbury* in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrendred his place being Chancellour; as not thinking it fit to sit at the Helm of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him. The difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy men who were malefactors, should be tryed before the Secular Magistrate as Lay-men were: This *Becket* opposed, saying it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops stood with the King, some few with *Becket*; the Contention grew long, and with the length still hotter, till at last *Becket* was content to assent to the Ordinance with this clause, *Salvo Ordine suo*. the King liked not the clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute assent, without any clause of Reservation. At last, after many debatings and demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his hand unto it: But

Thomas Becket his parentage and rising.

The contention between the King and him.

going

going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer, and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their words, or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly repented his former deed, retracts his subscription, and sends to the Pope for absolution of his fault: which the Pope not only granted, but incouraged him to persist in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that one time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishops Horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like Horses: and that this continued long in their Posterity, though now long since ceased, and perhaps their families too. But King *Henry* finding there was no prevailing with *Becket* by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalties; and withal a censure was spoken of to be intended against his person. Which *Becket* understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm; and thereupon passing under the name of *Dereman*, he passeth over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of *France*, was maintained as it were of Alms: in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King *Henry* sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King *Henry* finding that *Becket* stood much upon his Legantin Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishop of *York*; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legate, and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legatship, for the diligent service of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was by a special Decree of Pope *Innocent* the second, to remain to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; so that they were intituled *Legati nati*, Legats born.

Children born with Horses tails; and the cause.

Becket flees the Realm.

The Pope offers to make King *Henry* his Legat.

In this mean time, the King of *France* prevailed with King *Henry* to afford *Becket* a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, King *Henry* alleaged before the King of *France*, that he required nothing of *Becket*, but his assent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grand-father King *Henry* the first's time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* that then was, did give their Assent: yet this moved not *Bekcet* at all, but he continued his former Tenet; it was against the honour of God, and therefore desired to be excused. See now (saith King *Henry*) the perverseness of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, *Becket* had gotten him more friends at *Rome*, and by their means prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in *England* that had done him wrong; and the Pope spared not to threaten Excommunication to King *Henry* himself, if he restored not *Becket* to his dignity. But whether awed with threatnings, or won by the King of *France*'s importunity; or else perhaps relenting in himself, he was contented at last that *Becket* should return home and enjoy his Bishoprick. Who being come to *Canterbury*, the Bishops whom he had interdicted for Crowning the young King *Henry*, (which he said was his right to have done) made humble suit unto him, to be released of the censure. Which, when the Archbishop would not grant, but with certain cautions and exceptions, the Bishops discontented went over to the King, complaining of the hard measure that was offered them by the Archbishop: whereat the King being much moved, Shall I never (saith he) be at quiet for this Priest? If I had any about me that loved me, they would finde some way or other to rid me of this trouble. Whereupon four Knights standing by, that heard the King make this complaint, namely *Reynold Fitz-urse*, or *Bereson*, *Hugh Morvill*, *William Tracy*, and *Richard Britton*, thinking they should do an acceptable service to the King, went shortly after into *England*; and going to *Canterbury*, found the Archbishop then at Church, when upon the steps there, they struck him upon the head with their Swords and slew him the thirtyeth day of *December*, in the year 1172. Afterward with much ado, by King *Henries* means they were pardoned by the Pope, only enjoyned Penance to go on Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, as some write: but others more probably, that the King abhorred them ever after; and that within three years after they all dyed miserably. You have heard his persecution, and (as some would have it called) his Martyrdom: now hear the honours that have been done him, and the visitations to his Tombe. And first King *Henry* himself coming to *Canterbury*, as soon as he came within sight of *Beckets* Church, lighting of his Horse, and putting off his hose and shooes, he went barefoot to his Tombe; and for a further penance suffered himself to be beaten with Rods, by every Monk of the Cloister. A few years after, King *Lewis* of *France* comes into *England* of purpose to visit the Shrine of St. *Thomas*; where having paid his Vows, he makes Oblations with many rich Presents. The like many Princes since that time have done; and many Miracles are reported to have been done at his Tombe, which yet may be unbelieved without unbelief, and with Faith enough. It is worth observing, how some dayes are to some men more fortunate then other dayes: as *Mathew Paris* writes of this *Becket*, that Tuesday was observed to be a fortunate day to him; for upon Tuesday he was born: upon a Tuesday he was banished; upon a Tuesday he was recalled from Banishment: upon a Tuesday he suffered Martyrdom; upon a Tuesday 50 years after his death, his body with great solemnity was translated.

King *Henry* complains of *Becket* to the King of *France*.

Becket returns home.

The Bishops complain of *Becket* to the King.

Becket is slain.

His murtherers how punished.

The honours done to *Beckets* Tombe.

Another difference in this Kings dayes, was between the two Archbishops of *England*, about the jurisdiction of *Canterbury* over *York*, which being referred to the Pope, he gave judgement on *Canterburies* side. Also in this Kings dayes there was a Schism in the Church of *Rome*, two Popes up at once, of whom *Alexander* the third was one; which schism continued the space of almost 20. years. Also in this Kings dayes, one *Nicholas Breakspear*, born at St. *Albans*, or

Contention between the two Archbishops.

Two Popes at once.

A bondman comes to be Pope, called *Adrian* the fourth.

as others write, at *Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of *Alba*, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the *Norwayes*, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to *Rome*, was chosen Pope by the name of *Adrian* the Fourth, and dyed, being choaked with a Fly in his drink. In his dayes also *Heraclius* Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, came to King *Henry*, desiring aid for the *Holy-Land*, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was: to whom King *Henry* answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him. With which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not Great King, that Pretences will excuse you before God; but take this from me, that as you forsake Gods cause now, so he hereafter will forsake you in your greatest need. But (saith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replyed, No marvail, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings dayes there came into *England*, thirty *Germans*, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denyed Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles: who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot Iron in the forehead, and be whipped; which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called *Gerard*) going before them singing, *Blessed are ye when men hate you.* After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of *Ireland*, imposed the tribute of *Peter* pence upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in *Ireland* should yearly pay a penny to St. *Peter*. In this Kings time, was held by Pope *Alexander* the third, the General Council of *Lateran* consisting of 310 Bishops; where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the 33 year of his Reign *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Turks*.

Choaked with a Fly.

Heraclius the Patriarch of *Jerusalem* his insolent speech to King *Henry*.

The patience of Heretiсks.

Peter pence imposed upon *Ireland*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded the Church of *Bristow*, which King *Henry* the eighth afterward erected into a Cathedral. He also founded the Priories of *Dover*, of *Stonely*, of *Basinwork*, and the Castle of *Rudlan*; and began the Stone-bridge over the Thames at *London*. He caused also the Castle of *Warwick* to be builded. *Maud* the Empereſs, his Mother, founded the Abbey of *Bordesly*. In his time also *Hugh Mortimer* founded *Wigmore* Abbey: *Richard Lucy* the Kings Chief Justice laid the Foundation of the Conventual Church, in the honour of St. *Thomas*, in a place which is called *Westwood*, otherwise *Lesnes*, in the Territory of *Rochester* in the new Parish of *Southfleet*. He also builded the Castle of *Anger* in *Essex*. *Robert Harding* a Burgeſs of *Bristow*, to whom King *Henry* gave the Barony of *Barkley*, builded the Monastery of St. *Augustines* in *Bristow*. In the tenth of his reign, *London* Bridge was new made of Timber, by *Peter* of *Cole-church* a Priest. *Robert de Boscu* Earl of *Leicester*, founded the Monastery of *Gorendon*, of Monks; and of *Leicester*, called St. *Mary de Pater*, of Canons Regular; and his Wife *Amicia*, Daughter of *Ralph Montford*, founded *Eaton*, of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign, after the foundation of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, the Stone Bridge over the *Thames* at *London*, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* gave a thousand Marks. *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* founded a Monastery at *Gloceſter* of Benedictine Monks.

The Stone-bridge in *London*.

London Bridge new made of Timber.

Casualties that happened in his time.

IN the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the six and twentieth day of *January*, was so great an Earth-quake in *Ely*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Bels to ring in the Steeples. In the seventeenth year of his reign, there was seen at St. *Osyths* in *Essex*, a Dragon of marvellous bigness, which by moving burned houses; and the whole City of *Canterbury* was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of *Norwich* with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At *Andover*, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewise one *Clerk* and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year, a showre of blood rained in the Isle of *Wight* two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of *York* was burnt; and on *Christmas* day, in the Territory of *Derlington*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the Earth lifted up her self in manner of an high Tower, and so remained unmovable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that it frighted the Inhabitants thereabouts and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep pit, which is seen at this day: for a Testimony whereof *Leyland* saith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called *Hell-kettles*. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of *April*, the Church of St. *Andrews* in *Rochester* was consumed with fire. In the eight and twentieth year of his reign, *Barnwell* with the Priory, near unto *Cambridge*, was burnt. In the thirtieth year, the Abbey of *Glanstenbury* was burnt, with the Church of St. *Julian*. In the year 1180. a great Earth-quake threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of *Lincoln* was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of *April*: and on the twentieth of *October*, the Cathedral Church of *Chichester*, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto *Orford* in *Suffolk*, certain Fishers took in their Nets a Fish, having the shape of a man in all points, which Fish was kept by *Bartholomew de Glandevile* in the Castle of *Orford* six moneths and more; he spake not a word; all manner of meats he did gladly eat, but most greedily raw Fish, when he had pressed out the juyce; oftentimes he was brought to the Church, but never shewed any sign

A great Earthquake.

A showre of blood.

Hell-kettles in the County of *Durham* made by an Earthquake.

A Fish taken in the shape of a man.

sign of adoration: at length, beeing not well looked to, he stole to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the year 1188. on the twentieth of *September*, the Town of *Beverley* with the Church of St. *John* there was burnt. And in this Kings time the bones of King *Arthur*, and his Wife *Guynevour*, were found in the Vale of *Avolan*, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground; the hair of the said *Guynevour* being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as *Fabian* relateth.

The bones of King *Arthur* found.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor* Daughter and heir of *William* Duke of *Guien*, late Wife of *Lewis* the seventh King of *France*, but then divorced; but for what cause divorced, is diversly related. Some say King *Lewis* carried her with him into the Holy Land, where she carried her self not very holily, but led a licentious life; and which is the worst kinde of licentiousnes, in carnal familiarity with a *Turk*. Which King *Lewis* though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that cause, as which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke *Henry* marries her, with whom it was never known, but she led a modest and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen *Eleanor* he had five Sons, *William*, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geoffry*, and *John*; and three Daughters, *Maud* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*; *Eleanor* married to *Alphonso* the Eight of that name, King of *Castile*; and *Jane* or *Jone* married to *William* King of *Sicily*. Of his Sons, *William* died young. *Henry* born the second year of his reign, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at *Roan*; married to *Margaret*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, but left no issue. *Richard* born at *Oxford* (in the Kings Palace there called *Beau-mont*) in the fourth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. *Geoffry* born the fifth year of his Fathers reign, married *Constance* Daughter and Heir of *Conan*, Earl of Little *Britain*, in the fourteenth year, and in the two and thirtieth year died; leaving by his Wife *Constance*, two Daughters, and a *Posthumus* Son named *Arthur*. *John* his youngest, called *John* without Land, because he had no Land assigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth year of his Fathers reign, and succeeded his brother *Richard* in the Kingdom. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Concubines he had many, but two more famous then the rest; and one of these two more famous then the other; and this was *Rosamund*, Daughter of *Walter*, Lord *Cliffird*, whom he kept at *Woodstock*, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could finde the way in; yet Queen *Eleanor* did, being guided by a threed: so much is the eye of jealousie quicker in finding out, then the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to *Rosamund* when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that *Rosamund* lived but a short time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of *Godstow* near to *Oxford*. By this *Rosamund* King *Henry* had two Sons, *William* called *Long-sword*; who was Earl of *Salisbury* in right of his Wife *Ela*, Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of that Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named *Geoffry*, who was first bishop of *Lincoln*, and afterward Archbishop of *York*, and after five years banishment in his Brother King *John's* time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concubine of this King *Henry*, was the Wife of *Ralph Blewet* a Knight; by whom he had a Son named *Morgan*, who was Provost of *Beverley*, and being to be elected Bishop of *Durham*, went to *Rome* for a dispensation, because being a Bastard he was else uncapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unless he would pass as the Son of *Blewet*, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the Place, then of his Blood, as being the Son, though but the base Son of a King.

A strange licentiousnes of Qu. *Eleanor*.

But false.

John without land.

Rosamund one of his Concubines.

The Wife of *Blewet* another of his Concubines.

An honour to descend from a King though born base.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much exercise and little meat. He was commonly called *Henry* Short-mantel, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of *Anjou* into *England*. Concerning endowments of minde, he was of spirit in the highest degree Generous; which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputation of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made *Alphonsus* King of *Castile*, and *Garsyas* King of *Navarre* refer a difference that was between them, to his Arbitrament; who so judiciously determined the cause that he gave contentment to both parties: a harder matter then to cut cloth even by a threed. His custome was to be alwaies in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have faigned; and would transport Forces either into *Normandy* or *Britain*, and go with them himself, whereby he was alwaies prepared of an Army: and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for out of indulgence he caused his Son *Henry* to be Crowned King in his own time; and out of hardness he caused his younger Sons to rebel against him. He was rather Superstitious then not Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage toward *Becket* being dead then while he lived. His Incontinency was not so much that he used other women beside his Wife, but the affianced wife of his own Son: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his wife Queen *Eleanor*, and to take the said *Adela* to be his wife. Yet generally to speak of him: he was an excellent Prince; and if in some particulars he were defective, it must be considered he was a man.

Why called *Shortmantel*.

Always in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His incontinency.

Of his Death and Burial.

HE was not well at eaſe before, but when the King of *France* ſent him a liſt of thoſe that had conſpired againſt him, and that he found the firſt man in the Liſt to be his Son *John*, he then fell ſuddenly into a fit of fainting, which ſo encreaſed upon him, that within four daies after he ended his life. So ſtrong a Corroſive is grief of minde, when it meets with a body weakened before with ſickneſs. He died in *Normandy*, in the year 1189. when he had lived three ſcore and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at *Fount-Everard* in *France*; the manner of whoſe burial was thus. He was cloathed in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his ſide, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son *Richard* in great haſt ran to ſee him, who no ſooner was come near the body, but ſuddenly at his Noſtrils he fell a bleeding afreſh; which though it were in Prince *Richard* no good ſign of Innocency, yet his breaking preſently into bitter tears upon the ſeeing it, was a good ſign of Repentance. It may not be unſeaſonable to ſpeak in this place of a thing which al Writers ſpeak of, that in the Family of the Earls of *Anjou*, of whom this King *Henry* came, there was once a Princeſs a great Enchantreſs, who being on a time enforced to take the bleſſed Euchariſt, ſhe ſuddenly flew out at the Church window, was never ſeen after. From this Woman theſe latter Earls of *Anjou* were deſcended, which perhaps made the Patriarch *Heraclius* ſay of this King *Henry*'s children, that from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this ſtory out of their Writings.

1189.

His body falls a bleeding at his Son *Richard*'s coming near his corps.

His Anceſtreſs an Enchantreſs.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Clergy men, there was *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Geoffry* of *Ely*, *Robert* of *Bathe*, *Aldred* of *Worceſter*, all learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, *Reynold* Earl of *Cornwal*, *Hugh Bigot*, *Robert Ferrys*, *Richard Lacy*, *Roger Moubray*, *Ralph Fulger*, *Ranulph Granula*, *William Veſci*, and *Raynard Bayliol*; men of great atchievements in War, and of no leſs abilities in Peace.

THE

The LIFE and REIGN of KING RICHARD THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

Anno Dom. 1189. King *Richard* Crowned.

KING *Richard* the first of that name, after his Fathers Funeral, went to *Roan*, where he settled the state of that Province; and from thence came into *England*, where he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Baldwin*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the third day of *September*, in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers then any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where, and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Roan*, *Trier*, and *Dublin*, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, apparelled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Censers carried before them, came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of *Westminster*, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candlesticks with Tapers; after whom came *Geoffry de Lucy*, bearing the Cap of maintenance, and *John Marshal* next to him, bearing a massie pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed *William Marshal*, Earl of *Striguil*, *alias Pembroke*, who bare the Royal Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Cross of Gold; and *William de Patricke*, Earl of *Salisbury* going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, *David*, Brother to the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Huntington*; *John* the Kings Brother, Earl of *Mortaigne*; and *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the Scabberds richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of *Mortaigne* went in the midst betwixt the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon the which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Arms; and then followed *William Mandevil* Earl of *Albemarle*, bearing a Crown of Gold a great heighth before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of *Durham* on the right hand, and *Reynold* Bishop of *Bathe* on the left, over whom a Canopy was borne: and in this order he came into the Church at *Westminster*, where before the high Altar, in the presence of the Clergy and the people, laying his hand upon the Holy Evangelists, and the relicks of certain Saints, he took a solemn Oath that he should observe Peace, Honour, and Reverence to Almighty God, to his Church, and to his Ministers, all the dayes of his life; also that he should exercise upright Justice to the people committed to his charge; and that he should abrogate and disannul all evil Laws, and wrongful Customes, if any were to be found in the precinct of his Realm; and maintain those that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his Garments from his middle upwards, but only his Shirt, which was open on the shoulders that he might be anointed. Then the Archbishop of *Canterbury* anointed him in three places, on the head, on the shoulder, and on the right arm, with Prayers in such cases accustomed. After this, he covered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and set his Cap thereon; and then after he had put on his Royal Garment, and his uppermost Robe, the Archbishop delivered him the Sword, with which he should beat down the enemies of the Church. Which done, two Earls put his Shooes upon his feet, and having his Mantle put on him, the Archbishop forbad him on the behalf of Almighty God, to presume to take upon him this Dignity, except he faithfully meant to perform those things which he had there sworn to perform; whereunto the King made answer, that by Gods Grace he would perform them. Then the King took the Crown beside the Altar, and delivered it to the Archbishop, which he set upon the Kings head, delivering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hand, and the Rod-Royal in his left hand; and thus being Crowned, he was brought back by the Bishops and Barons, with the Cross and Candlesticks, and three Swords, passing forth before him unto his Seat. When the Bishop that sang the Mass, came to the Offertory, the two Bishops that brought him to the Church, led him to the Altar, and brought him back again. The Mass ended, he was brought with solemn Procession into his Chamber; and this was the manner of this Kings Coronation. But at this solemnity there fell out a very disasterous accident. For this Prince not favouring the Jews, as his Father had done, had given a strict charge, that no Jew should be admitted to be a spectator of the solemnity; yet certain Jews, as though it had been the Crowning of King *Herod*, would needs be pressing in: and being put back by Officers set of purpose, it grew to be a brabble, and from words to blows,

Hoveden.

The manner of his Coronation.

His Oath at the Coronation.

so

so as many Jews were hurt, and some slain: and thereupon a rumour was suddenly spread abroad, that the King had commanded to have all the Jews destroyed. Whereupon it is incredible what rifling there was of Jews houses, and what cutting of their throats; and though the King signified by publick Declaration, that he was highly displeased with that which was done: yet there was no staying the multitude till the next day; so often it falls out, that great solemnities are waited on with great disasters, or rather indeed, as being connatural, they can hardly be asunder.

Of his first Acts after he was Crowned.

He sets his Mother Qu. at liberty.

HE began with his Mother Queen *Eleanor* whom upon her Husbands displeasure, having been kept in prison sixteen years, he not only set at liberty, but set in as great authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratifies was his Brother *John*, to whom he made appear how much the bounty of a Brother was better then the hardness of a Father; for he conferred upon him in *England*, the Earldoms of *Cornwal*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, and *Leicester*; and by the marriage of *Isabel*, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Gloucester*, he had that Earldom also, as likewise the Castles of *Marleborough*, and *Lutgarsal*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichil*, and *Eye*, to the value of 4000 Marks a year: an estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate minde into the humour of aspiring, of which Princes should have a care.

His bounty to his Brother *John*.

He refused his affianced Lady *Adela*, and why.

Concerning his affianced Lady *Adela*, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cause was known, and in every mans mouth; that she was now but his Fathers leavings: yet he would not send her home but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loss of her Virginity; though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterward pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his Marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be consummated in *Sicily* with *Berengaria* the Daughter of *Garsyas* King of *Navarre*. And now his minde is wholly set upon his long intended Voyage to the *Holy-Land*; for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but forecasting with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by all the means he can devise. Not long before, *Hugh Pudsey* had been advanced to the Bishoprick of *Durham*; and now for a great sum of money he sold him the Earldom: and then said merrily among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the *Londoners* he drained also great sums of money, and made them recompense in Franchises and Liberties which they had not before. He made also great sales: to the King of *Scots* he sold the Castles of *Berwick* and *Roxborough*, for ten thousand pounds: to *Godfrey de Lucie*, Bishop of *Winchester*, the Mannors of *Weregrave* and *Mentz*: to the Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury*, the Mannor of *Midhal* for one thousand Marks of Silver: to the Bishop of *Durham*, the Mannor of *Sadborough*; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of *London*, if he could finde a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signet, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that whosoever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed by the new: whereby he raised great sums of money to himself, but greater of discontentment in his Subjects. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money; and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the Government of the Kingdom in his absence: and after deliberation he made choice for the North-parts, of *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham*; joyning in Commission with him, *Hugh Baldulph*, and *William Brunel*; and for the South parts he appoints *William Longshampe* Bishop of *Ely*, and Chancellour of *England*, and for his greater strength, causeth the Pope to make him Legat of all *England* and *Scotland*; and for *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; all men eminent for prudence and uprightness, and which is most of all, for loyalty: and indeed to make a man fit for such imployment, all these vertues must concur. As for his Brother *John*, he knew well his aspiring minde, and therefore would have tied him to live in *Normandy*, and not to come into *England* till his return, but that their Mother Queen *Eleanor* interceded, and passed her word for him: and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew *Arthur*, the Son of his Brother *Geoffry* Duke of *Britain* to be his Successour, if himself should fail. And now, *Undique convenere*, *vocat jam carbasus auras*, every man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Winde; only some say that King *Richard* before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true, gave to every of them a blue Riband to be known by; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to begin.

He leaves *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Ely*, Governour of the Kingdom.

He appoints his Nephew *Arthur* to be his Successour if himself should fail.

From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

He marries *Berengaria* the daughter of the King of *Navarre*.

He makes great provision of money for his journey to the *Holy-Land*.

He makes the Bishop of *Durham* an Earl for money.

He sells *Berwick* to the King of *Scots*.

Of his Journey into the Holy Land.

KIng *Richard* having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse; and having appointed to meet *Philip* King of *France* in *Sicilie*, at the latter end of *June*, in the year 1190. sets forward himself by Land to *Marseilles*, and there stayes till his Ships should come about: but his Navy being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long staying, after six weeks, he hireth Shipping for himself & his company, and passeth forward to *Messana* in *Sicilie*, where arrived also the King of *France*, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island the King *William*, now lately dead, had married *Jane*, King *Richard's* Sister, from whom *Tancred* the present King with-held her Dower; and therefore though he shewed King *Richard* fair countenance: yet he dealt secretly with

1190.

King *Richard* takes the City of *Meſſana* in *Sicily*.

with the *Meſſanians* to uſe all means to get him gone: whereupon the *Meſſanians* taking a ſmall occaſion, ſet ſuddenly upon the *Engliſh*, and thruſt them out of their Town. With which King *Richard* juſtly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himſelf to revenge the affront; when *Tancred* ſending to him to ſignifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much againſt his liking, ſo pacified him, that for the preſent he remained ſatisfied: but underſtanding afterward, that the *Meſſanians* did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King *Richard* ſhould be going, he reſenting their intention, ſtayes not their leaſure, but aſſaulting the Town with Fire and Sword, in one dayes labour takes it; and had made great ſlaughter in it, if King *Richard* had not been moved to compaſſion with the *Meſſanians* tears, but chiefly with King *Tancred*'s offers; both to pay his Siſter *Jane* her Dower, and to marry his Daughter to King *Richard*'s Nephew, *Arthur*, Duke of *Britain*, and to give a good part of the portion in hand. But King *Philip* was notwell pleaſed with theſe conditions, yet he breaks not out to open diſſention, till more fewel was afterward caſt upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King *Philip* ſails with his Army to *Ptolemais* (otherwiſe called *Acon*) which the Chriſtians had long beſieged, and with them he joyns; while King *Richard* taking his Siſter *Jane* and *Berengaria* the young Daughter of the King of *Navarre* with him, in 190. Ships, and 50. Gallies, puts to Sea for the *Holy Land*: but is by Tempeſt caſt upon the Coaſt of *Cyprus*, where the Iſlanders ſeeking to hinders his landing, he ſets upon them with his Forces; and invading the Iſland, eaſily ſubdues, and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Priſoner, and intreating King *Richard* not to put him in bonds of Iron, King *Richard* gives him his word, and keeps it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Iſland he ſolemnized his marriage with *Berengaria*, and then leaving *Richard de Canvile*, and *Robert de Thurnham*, his Lieutenants in *Cyprus*, he paſſeth on to *Ptolemais*, which City was defended by *Saladine*, and had been beſieged now two yeart: when the Enemy ſeeing and fearing the encreaſe of the Chriſtian Forces, propounds Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in *Auguſt*, the year 1192.

He ſubdues the Iſland of *Cyprus*.

Here he marries *Berengaria*.

1192.

The firſt offence between King *Richard* and *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria*.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident, ſeeming an honour to King *Richard* for the preſent, but proving a diſgrace, at leſt a great trouble and charge to him afterward; For *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtria* had firſt ſet up his colours upon the wall, which K. *Richard* cauſed to be thrown down, and his own to be ſet up: but this was no place to ſtand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till ſome time after. When *Ptolemais* was taken, *Saladine* fearing the Chriſtians further proceeding, diſmantles all the beſt Towns that were near it; as *Porphyria*, *Caſarea*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*: but of *Joppa* King *Richard* takes a care, and placeth it in a Colony of Chriſtians. For *Joppa* is a City of *Paleſtine*, that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the King of *France*, though valiant enough himſelf, yet thinking his own great acts to be obſcured by greater of King *Richard*'s, he began, beſides his old hating him, now to envy him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the ſtronger knot of love and affection: but when it is in Glory, it makes a ſeparation, and turns into the paſſion of envy and malice. And ſo did it with King *Philip*, who pretending the air of the Countrey, did not agree with his body; but was indeed becauſe the air of King *Richard's* Glory did not agree with his minde, obtained King *Richard*'s conſent to return home, ſwearing firſt ſolemnly not to moleſt his Territories in his abſence. But this fell out for the preſent enterpriſe moſt unſeaſonably: For the departure of the King of *France*, though it diminiſhed not much the ſtrength, (for he left *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy* in his place) yet it diminiſhed much the ſhew of aſſiſtance. And indeed *Saladine*, who was at this time in terms of ſurrendring *Jeruſalem*, when he ſaw the King of *France* departed, as knowing there muſt needs be a concluſion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the reſt would follow ſoon after; and thereupon ſtayed his hands, and grew more confident then he was before. At this time *Guy* of *Luſignan* was poſſeſt of the City of *Tyre*, and with it of the right of the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*: with him King *Richard* makes an exchange, that *Guy* ſhould have the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which King *Richard* had won, and King *Richard* ſhould have the Kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, to which *Guy* had a right; and upon this title the Kings of *England* were ſtiled Kings of *Jeruſalem* a long time after: as likewiſe the poſterity of the ſaid *Guy* hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of *Cyprus* to this day. Now was King *Richard* more hot upon taking *Jeruſalem* then ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that by ill counſel diverted, becauſe the Winter drew on; and indeed by the drawing back of *Odo* Duke of *Burgundy*, who envied that King *Richard* ſhould have the honor of taking it, he removed for that ſeaſon to *Aſcalon*; after which time, the Enemy growing ſtronger, and the Chriſtians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly loſt, and they could never come to the like again. And ſhortly after King *Richard* was advertiſed of the King of *France* his invading *Normandy*, contrary to his Oath at his departure; which forced King *Richard*, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with *Saladine*, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Chriſtians: and himſelf preſently to return home. And ſo ſending his wife *Berengaria*, and his ſiſter *Jane*, with a great part of his Army into *Sicilie*, and from thence into *England*, he paſſeth himſelf with ſome few in his company, by the way of *Thrace*, and was by tempeſt brought into *Dalmatia*; from whence being to paſs through *Germany*, and particularly through Duke *Leopolds* Countrey of *Auſtria*, he remembring the old grudge, changed his apparel, and travelling ſometimes afoot, and ſometimes on horſeback, he uſed all means poſſible to keep himſelf from being known. But deſtiny is not to be avoided, for as ſoon as he came to *Vienna*, partly by his tongue, and partly by his expences, it was preſently found he was an *Engliſh* man, and withal ſome great man; and by and by a rumour was ſpread, that it was *Richard* King of *England*; who finding himſelf

The Kings of *England* from whence ſtiled Kings of *Jeruſalem*.

The King of *France* invading King *Richards* Territories in his abſence, makes him return.

He returns home through *Germany*.

Is taken priſoner by Duke *Leopold*.

to

Joppa a City built before the Flood.

to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he puts off his disguise, putting on his Princely apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke *Leopold* understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: but King *Richard* refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself: the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soon as *Henry* the Emperour heard, he sent with great instance to Duke *Leopold* to send King *Richard* over to him, under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withal that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperour, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had, called *Trivallis*, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but *in terrorem*, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King *Richard* was charged, beside the wrong done to *Leopold*, in throwing down his Colours at *Ptolemais*, was the death of *Conrade* Duke of *Tyre*, whom they pretended King *Richard* had murthered. Wherein though King *Richard* made his innocency appear by the testimony of *Limboldus*, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Marquesses death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid. Which being a hundred thousand pounds, fourscore thousand was paid in hand, whereof two parts to the Emperour, a third part to Duke *Leopold*; and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of *Roan* was one: though the Hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for *Henry* the Emperour dying shortly after, his Successour had the conscience not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly acted. And indeed the accidents that befel both the Emperour and the Duke *Leopold*, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperour shortly after died, and the Duke *Leopold* in a Tilting for solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen months imprisonment, King *Richard* is released, and returns into *England* four years elder then he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted; that going one day a Hawking about *Joppa*, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep, when suddenly certain *Turks* came upon him to take him: but he awakened with their noise, riseth up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assaults the *Turks*, who feigning to flie, drew the King into an ambush where many *Turks* lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his person; but one of the Kings Servants, called *William de Patrellis*, crying out in the *Saracen* tongue, that he was the King, they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.

Is imprisoned in *Trivallis* by the Emperour.

He is ransomed.

His valour.

A faithful servant.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

KIng *Richard* at his going out of *England*, had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no foresight can hinder from growing having so many hands to water them: where occasions of distaste are no sooner offered then taken; and oftentimes taken before they be offered, as was here to be seen. For King *Richard* had left in chief place of Authority, *William Longshampe*, Bishop of *Ely*; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did were justifiable; yet the pride with which he did them was unsufferable; seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some say a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he list himself. This insolency of governing was soon distasted by many, and especially by *John* the Kings Brother, who counting the greatness of of his birth an equal match at least with any substitute greatness, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs in such sort, that while some adhered to the one, and some to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder; till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at least fearing that he was so, but rather indeed deposed from his Authority by the Kings Letters, and the Archbishop of *Roan* put in his place, thought it best for him to flie the Realm. Whereupon for his greater safety, disguising himself in womans apparel, and carrying a Web of Cloth under his arm, he sought in this manner to take shipping and pass the Seas: But being discovered and known, the women in revenge of the abuse done their cloaths, in making them his instruments of fraud, fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him for ever after. This disgrace made him glad to get into *Normandy*, his native Countrey, where to little purpose he wooed King *Richard*, and Queen *Eleanor* for reparation. But this was but a sport in comparison of the mischiefs done in *Normandy* by *Philip* King of *France*; for first he invades *Normandy*, where he takes many Towns, and amongst others *Gysorts*, and draws the Kings Brother *John* to combine with him, promising to assist him in winning the Kingdom of *England*, and to have his Sister *Adela*, whom King *Richard* had repudiated, to be his Wife: with which promise Duke *John* had been ensnared, if his Mother Queen *Eleanor* had not disswaded him. But in *England* Duke *John* took upon him as King, persuading the people that his Brother King *Richard* was not living; and indeed it was easie to remove, they knowing him to be a prisoner, to the affirming him to be dead: but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of *Roan*, and other the Princes of the Realm to King *Richard*, that they opposed Duke *John*, and frustrated all his practices; and the Bishop of *Ely* had told him plainly, that though King *Richard* were dead, yet the succession in the King-

Longshampe's proud carriage.

Which the Lord *John* opposeth.

Longshampe seeketh to flie the Realm in disguise.

Is discovered and beaten by the women.

The Duke *John* takes upon him as King.

Kingdom belonged not to him, but to *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, Son of *Geoffry* his Elder Brother. And in these terms King *Richard* found his State when he returned from the Holy-Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy-Land.

AT his coming home from the Holy-Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to him in his absence, and then for their readiness in supplying him for his Ransome. But as for his Brother *John* in whom ungratefulness seemed to strive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he depriveth him of all those great possessions he had given him: some ado he had to make sound certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of *Marleborough*, *Lancaster*, and a Fortress at Saint *Michaels* Mount in *Cornwal*; but chiefly the Castles of *Nottingham* and *Tichil*, which stood so firmly for Duke *John*, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expence. But his greatest trouble was with *Philip* King of *France*, in whom was so ingraffed a spleen against King *Richard*, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King *Richard* to make it appear he had not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at *Winchester*, (when the King of *Scots* bore one of the three Swords before him) lest the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into *Normandy*; but it was withal, upon this occasion: sitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King *Philip* had besieged *Vernoil*, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath, he would not turn his face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caused the wall right before him to be presently beaten down, that so he might pass forward without turning his face; and thus in haste he goes to *Vernoil*, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of *France* made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss, and more disgrace. Here his Brother *John* submits himself to him, and with great shew of penitence intreats his pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, I wish you may as well remember your fault, as I shall forget it. The King of *France* having left *Vernoil*, enters *Turonia*, and near to *Vindocinum* pitcheth his Tents: thither King *Richard* follows him, and with his coming so affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure to a marvellous value, he get him gone, and glad he was so rid of King *Richard*. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired: as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King; yet to the Kingdom. For *Robin Hood*, accompanied with one little *John*, and a hundred stout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the High-way: of whom it is said, that he was of noble blood, at least made noble, no less then an Earl, for some deserving services: but having wasted his estate in riotous courses, very penury forced him to take this course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly dishonest; for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich; till the King setting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in *Yorkshire* called *Birckleys*; and desiring there to be let blood, was betrayed, and bleed to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews; and first at the Town of *Lime* in *Norfolk*, upon this occasion. A Jew being turned Christian, was persecuted by those of his Nation, and assaulted in the street; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted: which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the Jews, of whom they slew a great number, and after pillaged their houses. By this example the like assaults were made upon the Jews at *Stamford*, and after that at *Lincoln*, and lastly at *York*, where infinite number of Jews were massacred; and some of them blocked up in the Castle, cut the throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians heads, and then burnt both the Castle and themselves. Neither could this sedition be stayed, till the King sent his Chancellour the Bishop of *Ely*, with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a punishment of covetousness; for one *Guydomer* having found a great treasure in the Kings Dominions; and for fear of King *Richard*, flying to a Town of the King of *France* for his safeguard, was pursued by the King: but the Town denied him entrance, and he thereupon going about the Walls to finde the fittest place for assaulting it, one *Bertram de Gerdon*, or as others call him *Peter Basile*, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm, of which wound he died within four dayes after, and so ended all his troubles.

King *Richard* at his return deprives his brother *John* of all his possessions.

Is new Crowned.

His strange haste to relieve *Vernoil*

Reconciled to his Brother *John*.

1195. A Truce between the two Kings.

Robin Hood and little *John*.

Are betrayed.

Jews slain in divers places.

King *Richard* is wounded and dieth. 1199.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

OF Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings Reign; but of wayes to draw money from the Subject never more. It is true, the first money raised for his journey, was all out of his own Estate, by selling or pawning of Lands; but then at his coming back, he resumed the Lands into his hands again, without paying back the money he had received. This if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the venome of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the feigning to have lost his Seal, and then enjoyning them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; though it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ransom, was not so properly a Taxation as a Contribution: or if a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no taxations are commonly so pinching, as those which are imposed upon the Subject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Ransome, there was imposed

upon every Knights Fee 20*s.* of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Alſo the Chalices and Treaſure of all Churches were taken to make up the ſum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Plough-land through *England*, he would have two ſhillings, and of the Monks Ciſteaux, all their Wool of that year. And one more greater then this, and was this year impoſed towards his Wars in *Normandy*, that every Hide of Land, as much as to ſay, every hundred Acres of Land, ſhould pay five ſhillings; which computed without deductions will riſe to a ſum that will ſeem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

HIs Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of *London*; for where before his time the City was governed by Portgraves, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Mayor, as now it is. And to give the firſt of theſe Magiſtrates the honour to be remembred, the names of the Sheriffs were *Henry Cornhil*, and *Richard Reyner*; and the name of the firſt Lord Mayor was *Henry Fitz-Alwin*, who continued Mayor during his life, which was four and twenty years. But *Fabian* who was himſelf a Sheriffe of *London*; and by that means moſt likely to know the truth, affirmeth, that the Officers ordained now by King *Richard*, were but only two Bailiffs: and that there was no Mayor nor Sheriff of *London* till the tenth year of King *John*; and therefore at that year I will begin their Catalogue. But howſoever, now began the City firſt to receive the form and ſtate of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Fellowſhips and Corporations, as at this day they are: And this Franchiſe was granted in the year 1189. the firſt year of King *Richard* the firſt. He made alſo divers Ordinances concerning the meaſures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloth; and that no Cloth ſhould any where be dyed of any other colour then black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Alſo he ordained Juſts and Tournaments to be holden for the exerciſe of his Gentry in Arms.

Sheriffs and Mayor of *London* firſt ordained.

Pariſ. fol. 191.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

THE Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no conteſtation with the Pope, no alterations amongſt the Biſhops, no difference between the Clergy and the Laity, or the Clergy amongſt themſelves: they alſo ſeemed to be aſleep, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the ſucceeding King. But abroad in his time, there was an addition of of three orders of Devotion; the Order of the *Auguſtine* Friers, called Friers Mendicants, begun by *William* of *Paris*; then the Orders of Friers Minors begun by St. *Francis*; and laſtly the Orders of Friers Preachers begun by St. *Dominick*, though not confirmed till the firſt year of Pope *Honorius*.

New Orders of Friers.

Works of Piety in his time.

WOrks of Piety are for the moſt part works of plenty. Penury may inwardly have no good wiſhes, but outwardly it can expreſs but little. And indeed all parts of the Kingdom, all ſorts of people were drawn ſo dry, by the two great occaſions of his Journey and his Ranſome, and afterward by other Taxations; that the richeſt men had enough to do to maintain themſelves, without being at the charge to make proviſion for others. All works of Piety were now for the ſervice of the *Holy-Land*; and therefore it may well paſs, if not for a work of Devotion, at leaſt worthy to be remembred, that *William* Biſhop of *Ely* builded the outer Wall of the Tower of *London*, and cauſed a deep ditch to be made about it, with an intention the River of *Thames* ſhould have ſurrounded it, though it could not be effected. Only *Hubert Walter* who at one time was Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Popes Legat, Lord Chancellour, Lord Chief Juſtice, and the immediate Governour under the King, both in *Wales* and *England*, founded a Monaſtery at Weſt *Durham* in *Norfolk*, where he was born; begun another at *Wolverhampton*; and finiſhed a Collegiate Church at *Lambeth*.

Of his Wife and Children.

IN his infancy he was contracted to a Daughter of *Raymond* Earl of *Barcelone*, after that affianced to *Adela*, or *Alice*, Daughter of *Lewis* King of *France*, yet married to neither of them; but he married *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Garſias* King of *Navarre*, whom his Mother Queen *Eleanor* brought unto him into *Sicily*, from whence paſſing into *Cyprus*, their marriage was there ſolemnized. Afterward going forward to the *Holy-Land*, he carried her and his Siſter *Jane* Queen of *Sicily* along with him, where they remained till his return home, and then ſent them to paſs to *Sicily*, and from thence into *England*: but that ever ſhe came into *England*, no mention is made, neither what became of her after ſhe parted from King *Richard* at the *Holy-Land*. But Children certainly he had none, either by his Wife, or by any Concubine, unleſs we reckon as a Prieſt in *Normandy* did, who told King *Richard* he had three Daughters; and the King marvelling who they ſhould be, ſeeing he knew of none he had; yes (ſaith the Prieſt) you haue three Daughters, Pride, Covetouſneſs, and Lechery. Which the King taking merrily, called to the company about him, and ſaid, I am told by a Prieſt here, that I have three Daughters; and I deſire you to be witneſſes how I would have them beſtowed: My daughter Pride upon the Templars and Hoſpitalers; my daughter Covetouſneſs, upon the Monks of the *Ciſtercian* Order; and my daughter Lechery, upon the Clergy.

Uncertain what became of *Berengaria* King *Richard*'s Wife.

King *Richard*'s metaphorical daughters how diſpoſed.

Of Caſualties happening in his time,

IN his time the Town of *Mawling* in *Kent* with the Nunnery, was conſumed with fire. And in his time the bones of *Arthur* the famous King of *Britain* were found at *Glaſtenbury* in an old Sepulchre, about which ſtood two Pillars, in which Letters were written but could not be read. Upon the Sepulchre was a croſs of Lead, whereon was written; Here lieth the Noble King of *Britain*, *Arthur*. Alſo in this Kings dayes for three or four years together, there reigned

King *Arthur*'s Sepulchre found.

ſo

A great dearth.

so great a dearth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18. shillings 8. pence, and then followed so great a Mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright abourne, of long arms, and nimble in all his joynts, his thighs and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his Body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part, were but only upon suspicion: Incontinency in him much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant, (from whence he had the appellation or surname of *Cœur de Lion*) Wise, liberal, Merciful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindred it. The remorse for his undutifulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his death he remembred it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another world.

King Richard why called *Cœur de Lyon.*

Of his Death and Burial.

HE died of a wound with an Arrow in his arm, shot at him by one *Bertrad*, or *Peter Basile*, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as other say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgeon, in four dayes brought him to his end. But his Charity deserves to have it remembred, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he caused the party that had wounded him to be brought before him: who being asked what moved him to do his Fact? answered, that King *Richard* had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do it if it were to do again. Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have censured him to some terrible punishment; when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him; but gave a special charge he should be set at liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt; commanding besides to give him a hundred shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the *Holy-Land*, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But *Polychronicon* saith, that after King *Richard* was dead, the Duke of *Brabant* who was then present, caused the said *Bertrad* to be flayed quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth day of *April*, in 1199. when he had lived 44. years, reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his body buried at *Font-Everard*, by his Father: his heart at *Roan*, in the remembrance of the hearty love that City had alwayes borne him; and his bowels, at *Chalons*, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness: others say at *Carlile* in *England*. 1199.

King Richard's charitable minde at his death.

Men of Note in his time.

IN his time were famous, *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who followed King *Richard* into the *Holy-Land*, and dyed there; *Hubert* that succeeded him; *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*; *William* Bishop of *Ely*, a man equally famous and infamous; also *Baldwyn* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a learned Writer in Divinity; *Daniel Morley*, a great Mathematician; *John de Herham*, and *Richard de Herham*, two notable Historians; *Guilielmus Stephanides*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, who wrote much in the praise of Archbishop *Becket*; also one *Richard Divisiensis*, *Nicholas Walkington*, and *Robert de Bello Foco*, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; *Ranulph de Fulgers*; two of the *Bardolphs*, *Hugh* and *Henry*; three *Williams*, *Marshal*, *Brunel* and *Mandevil*, with two, *Roberts*, *Ross*, and *Sevevile*.

The REIGN of KING JOHN.

1199. KING *Richard* being dead, the right of succession remained in *Arthur*, Son of *Geoffry Plantagenet*, elder Brother to Earl *John*; but *John* as thinking the title of *Arthur* but a Criticisme in State, and not for every ones capacity, at least in common sense not so plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, ascends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no competitor: Only *Hubert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him a courtesie, he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of succession, he insisted wholly upon their right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might cast him out; of which error when he was told, he said, he did it of purpose to make King *John* the more careful of his Government, by making him sensible upon what an unsure ground his Regality stood. King *John* resented it, but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once served, he could afterward be his own carver of what title he pleased; and so upon Ascension day in the year 1199. he was Crowned King at *Westminster*, with more solemnity then joy: many presaging by their countenances and more in their mindes, that all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumstances Earl *John* had the advantage of his Nephew *Arthur*; for he was a man of years fit to govern, *Arthur* but a childe, not thirteen years old; he a Native, at least alwayes bred up in the Kingdom, *Arthur* a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People, *Arthur* a stranger to both, as one they had never never seen. And besides these moral advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, that he had gotten possession, (of more force in the practical part then all the former) and withal a greater then all these, if it be true which some write, that his Brother King *Richard* had assigned him his Successour after his decease. But yet knowing the Title at last would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge, he imployeth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means possible to strengthen himself with Arms; and thereupon going to *Chinon* and *Roan*, he seiseth upon the Treasure which his Brother had left in those parts, and with it gets Friends and Souldiers, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Assistants, who yet assisted him no less for their own ends then for his. And these were chiefly his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, who knew if her Grand-son *Arthur* should be King, that then his Mother *Constantia* would rule all, at least during his Minority; and thereby her self be put from the stage of all Authority: and the Archbishop *Hubert*, who also knew that if *Arthur* should come to reign, that then the *Anjouin* and *French* should have all the best Offices, and the *English* wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King *William* the Conquerour. And yet a greater friend then both these; for coming to *Roan*, he used means, that *Walter* the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the Ducal Sword of *Normandy*, and Crowned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Dukedom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

King *John* is Crowned.

Why preferred before his Nephew *Arthur*.

Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew Arthur.

THough King *John* had entred upon *Normandy*, and made that Province sure unto him; yet the Province of *Anjou* stood firm for *Arthur*, in observance of their love to his Father their former Prince; which also King *John* soon after invading, reduceth by force of Arms to his obedience. And now *Constantia* the Mother of Prince *Arthur*, finding King *John* too powerful an adversary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to stand out against him without further assistance, conceives it her best way to have recourse to the King of *France*, and thereupon commits her Son *Arthur* to his tuition; who seemed to receive him with the tenderness of a Father, and promiseth to assist him with his uttermost Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in *France* and *England*. Here we may observe upon what hinge the affections of the Kings of *France* were used to turn. For in King *Henry* the Second's time, King *Lewis* of *France* was so great a friend to his Son *Richard*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when *Richard* was King, then *Philip* King of *France* was so great a Friend to *John*, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Brother: And now that *John* is come to be King, he is presently grown so great a Friend of *Arthurs*, that by all means he will help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if *Arthur* should ever have come to be King, he would haye been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were alwayes jealous of their growing too great.

Constantia Prince *Arthur's* mother implores aid of the King of *France*.

And

And indeed this ballancing of States keeps Princes affections alwaies in ſuſpence, and never ſuffers the Glaſs of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflexion. About this time *William* King of *Scots* came to *London* to viſit King *John*, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of *Scotland*, though ſome ſay, but only for the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*: but being required aid againſt the *French*, he excuſed himſelf, ſaying he could not do it without conſent of his Kingdom, and ſo returned home.

The King of *Scots* doth homage to King *John*.

And now *Philip* King of *France* having undertaken the protection of the young Prince *Arthur*, with a mighty Army enters *Normandy*, takes many of the beſt Towns, and purſuing his Victories, enters the Province of *Anjou* alſo, and recovers it from King *John*, which he the year before had gotten from Prince *Arthur*. Upon this King *John* makes a journey into *Normandy*, accuſing King *Philip* for breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King *Richard* for five years. But when he ſhould come to make his Accuſation good by Arms, he falleth to Treaties, and obtaineth a new Truce for fifty daies: with which new Truce, *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, who had profeſſed himſelf of that ſide, was not well pleaſed; and thereupon cometh to King *John* to *Roan*, and entering a new league with him, they there conſult how to proceed, when the fifty dayes ſhould be expired. This conſultation the King of *France* underſtood; and thereupon both ſides prepare for war, but at the end of the Truce, both ſides ſeemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace: and in concluſion, King *John* more deſirous of Peace then he was for his Honour, agreed to theſe conditions, that his Neece *Blanch*, Daughter of *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile* by his ſiſter *Eleanor*, ſhould marry with *Lewis* King *Philip's* Son, who ſhould have with her in Dower, beſides thirty thouſand Marks in Money, all thoſe Cities, except only *Angiers*, which the *French* before that time had taken, which were many and very great. And this Peace thus made, he returns into *England* with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the *Engliſh* Lords, who counted themſelves diſhonoured, in the diſhonourable conditions he had made; and *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders* alſo, when he ſaw the poor ſpirit of King *John*, to deſcend to ſuch baſe conditions, left his party; and entring league with the King of *France*, diſpoſed himſelf for the Holy War.

1200.

The two Kings of *England* and *France* agree upon a peace.

The *Engliſh* Lords are diſcontented with the conditions of peace.

But King *John* having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of eaſe, which agreed much better with his nature then War, ſets his minde wholly upon pleaſures; and for maintaining his pleaſures, upon ſeeking after profit, which he purſues by all manner of injuſtice, under the name of Prerogative: and with ſuch violence, that when his Brother *Geoffry* Archbiſhop of *York*, in the dutifulneſs of a Counſellor, adviſed him not to take ſuch unlawful courſes, he moſt unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbiſhops friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injuſtice, he commits another, he procures a divorce from his Wife *Avis*, the Daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, only for being of kin to him in the third degree; and by advice of the King of *France*, marries *Iſabel* Daughter and Heir of the Earl of *Angouleſme*, Affianced before to *Hugh le Brun* Earl of *March*: and ſhortly after brings her with him into *England*, where he and ſhe together, are both Crowned at *Canterbury*. And here the Earls and Barons of the Realm, being all ſummoned to attend the King into *France* at *Whitſuntide* following, they all by a general conſent ſent him word, that unleſs he would reſtore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no ſervice out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in preſſing their demands at this time then before, no Writers of theſe times do ſufficiently deliver: only ſome of them ſpeak ſcatteringly of certain oppreſſions (beſides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to ſome of the Lords; one to the Earl of *Cheſter*, whom he would have baniſhed, only for adviſing him to leave his cruelty and incontinency; Another, a purſuit in Love to a Daughter of *Robert Fitz-Water*, called *Maud* the Fair, who not conſenting to the Kings luſt, a meſſenger was ſent to give her poyſon in a potched Egg, whereof ſhe died: And a third, offered to *William de Brawſe* and his Lady, for a raſh word ſpoken; for when the King ſent to have *de Brawſe's* Son delivered him for a pledge, the Lady anſwered, We ſhall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept ſo well his own Nephew Prince *Arthur*. This raſh word coſt *de Brawſe* his Countrey, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famiſhed to death in Priſon. For, though theſe directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one ſuffered all might; but whether any of theſe, or all of theſe together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Lords at this time, or whatſoever was the true cauſe, this was plainly the effect, that unleſs the King would reſtore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithſtanding this refuſal of his Lords, he paſſeth over with his Queen into *Normandy*: and from thence to *Paris*, where the King of *France* receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now *Hugh* Earl of *March*, reſenting the injury done him by King *John*, in taking away his affianced Wife, joyns with Prince *Arthur*; and the King of *France* alſo, for all his fair ſhew of amity lately made, joyns with them, as having ſometime before married his youngeſt Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, and theſe with their Forces joyned, invade firſt the *Turones*, and then the *Anjouins*, of which Province, Queen *Eleanor*, the Kings Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her ſelf to *Mirabel* the ſtrongeſt Town of thoſe parts, and ſends to her Son King *John*, acquainting him with the danger ſhe was in, and requiring his ſpeedy ſuccour. When in the mean time Prince *Arthur* takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen *Eleanor*, whom he uſed with greater reverence and reſpect then ſhe expected. But King *John* at the hearing hereof, was ſo moved, calling the *French* King ungrateful and perfidious for ſuccouring Prince *Arthur*, contrary to his League, that ſtudying

marries *Iſabel* affianced to *Hugh le Brun*.

The Lords refuſe to do the King ſervice out of the Kingdom.

King *John's* unjuſt carriage for being denied his ſuit in love.

Hugh de Brun and the King of *France* joyn againſt King *John* in aſſiſting Prince *Arthur*.

1202.

King *John* divorceth his wife *Avis*, and

ſtudying preſently the art of revenge, he fell upon a ſtratagem, of all other the moſt prudent againſt an Enemy. For a Surpriſe in War is like an Apoplexy in the body, which ſtrikes without giving warning for defence. And this Stratagem at this time King *John* put in practice; for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and ſetting upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution then a battel: and they who remained unſlain were taken priſoners, amongſt whom Prince *Arthur* himſelf, who committed preſently to the cuſtody of *Robert de Veypont* in *Roan*, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make eſcape, he fell down from the walls of his Priſon, and was drowned in the River *Seyne*, as ſome ſay: or whether it were that through anguiſh of minde he fell ſick and dyed, as others ſay: or whether indeed he were made away by King *John*, as the common fame went, Certain it is, that he ſurvived his impriſonment but a very few daies. But though he were gone, yet his Siſter *Eleanor*, a preceding Competitor to King *John* was ſtill remaining; Her therefore, at this time alſo King *John* ſeiſed upon, and commits her in ſafe cuſtody to *Briſtow* Caſtle, where after ſhe had lived long, ſhe died.

King *John* by his celerity ſurpriſeth his enemies.

Prince *Arthur* is taken priſoner, and ſoon after died.

Of his Troubles after the death of his Nephew Arthur.

KIng *John* being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he ſhould have ended all his troubles: but like a *Hydra's* head, they rather multiplied upon him. For they who had been ſo ready to aſſiſt Prince *Arthur* in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And firſt, *Conſtance* his Mother comes to King *Philip*, with open exclamations againſt King *John*, accuſing him with the murther of her Son, and with all the inſtance of Tears and Intreaties, ſolicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King *Philip* ſummons King *John* to appear at a day; and becauſe he appeared not according to the tenure of his Homage, it was decreed againſt him, that he had forfeited all the property of his Eſtate in *France*: and thereupon King *Philip* with mighty Forces invades his Territories, takes many Towns of principal conſequence, while King *John* lived idle at *Roan*, no more regarding it, then if it had not at all concerned him. And when ſome of his Lords ſeemed to marvel what he meant, to ſuffer the *French* to rob him of ſuch good Cities. You ſay true indeed (ſaith he) for it is but Robbery; and within a few daies you ſhall ſee, I will make him reſtore them back with uſury. In this ſlighting humour he returns into *England*, where he looks not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raiſing of an Army, as this caſe required, but continues his old courſe for raiſing of money, accuſing ſometimes one of his Lords, ſometimes another, as if it were their fault that he had loſt theſe Towns in *France*. And upon theſe accuſations made many of them pay great ſums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of *France* underſtanding his unworthy courſes, proceeds more violently in his Invaſions then before, getting *Falais*, *Damfront*, and all the good Towns of *Normandy*, but only *Roan*. And at laſt, though *Roan* was a Town ſtrongly fortified with Walls, and more ſtrongly with the faithful hearts of the Inhabitants; yet finding no hope of ſuccour from King *John*, it was forced for want of Victuals to ſubmit it ſelf to the King of *France*. Whoſe example all the other Cities followed, and ſo all *Normandy* returned to the ſubjection of the *French*, after three hundred and ſixteen years that *Rollo* the *Dane* had firſt poſſeſt it

Prince *Arthurs* Mother accuſeth King *John* of murthering her Son to the King of *France*.

King *John's* carelesneſs.

All *Normandy* loſt by King *John*.

It was now the year 1205. and the ſixth of King *John's* reign, about which time, the two props of his Eſtate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperancy died, his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, whoſe virtues had oftentimes qualified the vices of her Son; and *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who repented him at his death of nothing more, then that he had been an Inſtrument of bringing him to the Crown. 1205.

And now King *John* being a ſubſtantive of himſelf, hath a device in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it. For knowing the great diſcontentment they all had for their loſſes in *France*, he gives it out, that he would preſently raiſe an Army for recovery of thoſe loſſes, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more alacrity. And as ſoon as he had it, he inſtantly went to *Portſmouth*, and there took Shipping before it was poſſible for his Lords and others to be in readineſs to accompany him; and ſailing forward ſome certain leagues into the Sea, upon a ſudden he returns back again, and then laies the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him: and for this backwardneſs of theirs, impoſed afterwards great Fines upon them; by which means he got money no leſs by pretence of his not going, then he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died *Geoffry Fits-Peter* Juſtitiar of *England*, who while he lived kept the King in ſome awe; in ſo much, as hearing he was dead, he ſwore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of *England*, and with great rejoycing ſaid to ſome Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him ſalute the Archbiſhop *Hubert*, whom certainly he ſhall finde there. But *Philip* King of *France*, intending to leave the *Engliſh* nothing on that ſide the Sea, invaded *Chinon*, and takes it; and in it the valiant Captain *Roger Lacy*, which had given a period to King *Philip's* victories, had not *Guido*, the husband of *Conſtantia* Prince *Arthur's* Mother, revolted to King *John*. Who with his aſſiſtance once again levies an Army, beſiegeth Mount *Auban*, a Caſtle thought impregnable; and within fifteen daies takes it, which *Charles* the Great could not get with his ſeven years ſiege: where ſo great a number of *French* Lords were taken priſoners, that King *John* ſent a Catalogue of their names into *England*, for a memorial of ſo great a victory. After this, he taketh the ſtrong Town of *Angiers*, and utterly defaceth it; for which afterward he was ſorry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battel, interceſſion was made by friends of both ſides, and thereupon a Peace concluded for two years, and King *John* returned into *England*.

King *John's* device to get money of his Subjects.

King *John* glad of *Geoffry Fits-Peter's* death

King *John* aſſiſted unexpectedly. He was born at *Angiers* in *France*.

A peace between the two Kings.

King

King *John* passeth into *Ireland* and reduceth it to obedience.

King *John* being returned, performs no leſs worthy Acts at home, then he had done in *France*; for firſt he invades the Borders of *Scotland*, and brings *Alexander* King of *Scots* to do him homage; and then underſtanding many of the *Iriſh* to be revolted, he paſſeth over to *Dublin*, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing *John* Biſhop of *Norwich* Governour there, he returns into *England*: where paſſing through *Wales*, he ſubdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty children of the beſt Families for pledges of their future loyalty; but not long after, hearing they grew mutinous and rebelled again, he was ſo incenſed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had ſeen thoſe twenty eight children to be all hanged before his face. So inconſiderate a thing is the deſire of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guiltineſs; though indeed a thing oftentimes muſt be done for example, which conſidered in it ſelf, would be forborne.

He ſubdueth the *Welſh* rebels and takes 28 pledges of them. Upon their rebelling again he hangs up all their pledges.

1214. It was now the year 1214. and the fourteenth of King *John*'s reign, when he going to *Angiers*, ſtrongly repairs it, and the province of *Poictou* revolted to him: which *Lewis* King *Philip*'s Son underſtanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uſes much ſeverity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes priſoners, *Reynolt* Earl of *Boloigne*, and *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, with many other of King *John*'s Captains, and defeated his whole Army. Whereof when King *John* was certified he grew in a manner deſperate; and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of *France*, and returns into *England*: where he findes a worſe buſineſs ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but deluſions, endure no longer to be abuſed: but meeting at St. *Edmundsbury*, they there confer how they may finde a remedy to redreſs this evil; and at laſt concluded to go to the King themſelves in perſon, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King *Henry* the firſt's time. Whereupon coming to the King after *Chriſtmas*, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their Demands, he gives them this fair Anſwer, that within a few daies he would give them ſatisfaction; and cauſeth the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Ely*, with *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Gloceſter* to paſs their words for him that it ſhould be performed. But the King meaning nothing leſs then to do as he ſaid, falls preſently a levying of Souldiers, which the Lords underſtanding, they all did the like; and going to the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and requiring the Kings Anſwer: But the Biſhop ſhewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a ſatisfactory Anſwer, he ſwore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would die before he would yield to any ſuch demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to truſt to) fall to beſiege *Northampton*, and after that, *Bedford*, which is yielded to them; and withall they are ſent to by the *Londoners* to ſignifie their readineſs to joyn with them. At this time the King was at *Windſor* providing an Army, but hearing the *Londoners* were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud: and thereupon ſends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to *Windſor*, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a Military manner, (for they durſt not truſt his word) the King ſaluted them all kindly, and promiſed to give them ſatisfaction in all they demanded; and ſo in a Meadow between *Windſor* and *Staines*, called *Running mead*, he freely conſented to confirm their former Liberties: and was content ſome grave perſonages ſhould be choſen to ſee it performed. But the next day, when it ſhould be done, he gets him gone to *Southampton*, and from thence to the Iſle of *Wight*; where adviſing with his Council, what in this caſe was fitteſt to be done, It was concluded he ſhould ſend to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived ſkulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to finde him: or which is worſe (as ſome write) roving about and practicing Piracy. And now the Lords begin to ſuſpect fraud, when ſhortly after the Kings meſſengers who were *Walter* and *John*, Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Norwich*, return with the Popes Decree; which was, that the Kings grant to the Lords ſhould be void. With this Decree, the King after three moneths that he had ſtayed in the Iſle of *Wight*, coming back to *Windſor*, acquaints the Lords; but they accuſing the Meſſengers for falſe informing the Pope, and the Pope alſo for making a Decree without hearing both ſides, betake them to Arms, and ſware by the holy Altar to be revenged for this ludification and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, ſends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incenſed to have his Decree ſo ſlighted, adjudgeth then all to be held as enemies of Religion: and gives power to *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and to the Abbot of *Reading* to Excommunicate them. In the mean time the King had ſent the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellour of *England*, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning ſhortly after, bringeth along with him out of *Poictou* and *Gaſcony*, *Savery de Malcon*, *Geoffry* and *Oliver Botevile*, Brothers; and under their conduct ſo great a rable, that with theſe Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Caſtles of the Barons, to the borders of *Scotland*. And now he divides his Army, committing part of it to his Brother *William*, Earl of *Salisbury*, and others to ſet upon *London*; and with the other part he goes himſelf into *Yorkſhire*, where moſt of the Lords had poſſeſſion, which in moſt cruel manner he deſtroyed with fire and ſword. The Lords being thus on all ſides diſtreſſed, reſolve upon a courſe, neither honourable nor ſafe; yet ſuch as neceſſity made ſeem both: they ſend to *Philip* King of *France*, requiring him to ſend over his Son *Lewis* to their aid, and promiſing they would ſubmit themſelves to be governed by him, and take him for their Soveraign. To this motion of the Lords, King *Philip* was as forward as themſelves; which King *John* underſtanding, ſends

King *John*'s Army defeated by the *French*, and thereupon a Truce. The Lords require their ancient Liberties.

They deliver him a copy of their demands.

The King reſolutely refuſeth to grant them.

The King promiſeth to grant his Lords their demands.

He ſends to the Pope for help.

The Lords take Arms.

King *John* with the aid of ſtrangers gets all the Barons Caſtles.

The Lords ſend for the King of *France* his Son *Lewis* come and be their King.

fends again to the Pope, requiring him to uſe his authority to ſtay the King of *France* from coming. But King *Philip*, though much regarding the requeſt of the Pope, yet nothing ſo much as the acqueſt of *England*, with all ſpeed provides an Army; and with a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, ſends over his Son *Lewis*: who paſſing into *England*, landeth at *Sandwich*, whither many of the Lords and others reſort unto him; and giving Oaths of Allegiance, joyns themſelves with him. King *John* at that time was at *Dover*, but not daring to ſtay there for fear of the enemy, he commits the Caſtle to *Hubert Burgh*, and goeth himſelf to *Canterbury*; and from thence to *Wincheſter* in the manner of a flight: which Prince *Lewis* underſtanding, went ſtraight to *London*, and by a plauſible Oration makes that City ſure unto him: and thither came to him the King of *Scots* with an Army of choice Souldiers, as alſo the Earls, *Warren*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, with many others. And now Prince *Lewis* paſſeth all the Countrey over without reſiſtance, but not without infinite outrages committed by his Souldiers, which was not in him to hinder: and then coming to *Norwich*, he takes that City eaſily, but *Dover* coſt him a longer ſiege, as being defended by the valiant and loyal Captain *Hubert Burgh*. In this mean while King *John* finding his enemies imployed in theſe difficult ſieges, ſends about and gathers a rabble of all raskal people to him; and with them runneth over all the Countrey, ſpoyling and killing in moſt barbarous manner. And now was the Kingdom made the Stage of all the miſeries of rapine and cruelty, two Armies in it on foot at once, each of them ſeeking to prey upon the other, and both of them upon the Countrey. But the King coming to *Walpoole* in *Norfolk*, where the Waſhes were to be paſſed over, he ſendeth one to ſearch where the Foord was paſſable, and there himſelf with ſome few paſſed over; but the multitude, with all the carriages, paſſing without order, they cared not where, were all drowned: with which diſaſter, the King through anguiſh of minde fell into a Feaver, whereof within a few daies he died. And here was an end of all the troubleſs of this King: In whom it is obſervable, that loving his eaſe ſo well as he did, he ſhould run voluntarily into ſuch troubles, eſpecially at home, upon ſo ſmall occaſions as he did; but it ſhould ſeem there is no greater hinderance to men for accompliſhing their will, then their own wilfulneſs.

1216. Prince *Lewis* comes into *England*, and is received by the Lords; And by the City of *London*. King *John* through anguiſh of minde falls ſick and dieth.

Of his Taxations.

TO ſpeak of his Taxations, it may not unproperly be ſaid that it was but one continued Taxation all his reign through; yet to divide it into two parts: his firſt was the Taxation of three ſhillings upon every Plough-land through the Kingdom, to pay the thirty thouſand Marks, for his Neece *Blanches* Portion; and to mend this Taxation, he ſeiſeth upon all the Temporalties of his Brother *Geoffry* Archbiſhop of *York*, for oppoſing it; and for a continuation, he makes a progreſs ſhortly after, into all the North-parts, where he exacts great Fines of offenders in his Forreſts. Very ſhortly after, ſolicited by the Popes Legate, he grants a Subſidy of the fortieth part of all his Subjects Revenues for one year, to ſuccour the *Holy Land*. Shortly after this, he chargeth his Earls and Barons with the loſſes he ſuſtained in *France*; and thereupon Fines them to pay the ſeventh part of all their Goods: neither ſpared he the Church, or the Commons in this Impoſition. Before this year is ended, another Leavy is made at a Parliament in *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Marks and a half of every Knights Fee, for Military aid; neither are the Clergy exempted from paying their part. And before another year is out, another Impoſition is laid of the thirteenth part of all moveables and other Goods, both of the Clergy and Laity. It may be reckoned among his Taxations, that when the Monks of *Canterbury* had diſpleaſed him about the Election of their Archbiſhop, he ſeiſed upon all their Goods, and converted them to his own uſe: and preſently after this, upon the like diſpleaſure he deputes many Biſhopricks, Abbeys and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, and confiſcates all their Revenues. To theſe may be added, that he took eleven thouſand Marks of Silver, of the King of *Scots*, for granting him peace. Add to theſe alſo great ſums of money exacted and gathered from the *Jews*, among whom there was one that would not be ranſomed, till the King cauſed every day one of his great teeth to be pulled out by the ſpace of ſeven dayes; and then he was content to give the King ten thouſand Marks of ſilver that no more might be pulled out, for he had but one left. Add to theſe, that at his return out of *Ireland*, he ſummoned all the Prelates of the Kingdom to appear before him; of whom he extorted for their redemption, the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Add laſtly to theſe that at his return out of *Wales*, he exacts of every Knight that attended him not in that expedition, two Marks.

A *Jews* teeth pulled out.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE was the firſt that appointed the Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and other Cities, endowing them alſo with their greateſt Franchiſes. The firſt that cauſed ſterling mony to be here coined. The firſt that ordained the honourable Ceremonies in Creation of Earls. The firſt that ſettled the rates and meaſures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and ſuch other neceſſaries of Commerce. The firſt that planted *Engliſh* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*. The firſt that enlarged the Royal ſtyle with the Lord of *Ireland*, and both annexed that Kingdom, and faſtened *Wales* to the Crown of *England*.

Sterling money when firſt.

Engliſh Laws when firſt planted in *Ireland*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFter the death of *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Monks of that Covent ſecretly in the night, elected one *Reginald* their Subprior to ſucceed him; and cauſed him to go to *Rome* for confirmation: but afterward doubting how the King would take it, being done without his knowledge, they crave leave of the

the King to chuſe a fit man, the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himſelf to have the Nomination, and thereupon commends unto them *John Grey* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom he ſpecially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of theſe two elections ſhould ſtand good, after many allegations of both ſides, the Pope to ſhew himſelf indifferent to both, diſallows them both, and nominates a third man, one *Stephen Langton*, Cardinal of St. *Chryſogone*, an *Engliſh* man born, and a man of great learning. The Monks admit him, but the King oppoſeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that uſed the Spiritual Sword, proved ſo much the better Fencer, that he diſarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the firſt Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatned the King to Excommunicate him, and to interdict the Kingdom: ſo the King threatned the Pope to nullifie his authority, and to baniſh the Clergy men out of the Realm. In the ſecond Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatned, (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had ſpoken; (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloiſters) yet at laſt when *Pandulphus* the Popes Legate came into *England*, and made appear to the King in what great danger he ſtood; Firſt, of the King of *France*, by Invaſion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconcilement with the Pope; he ſo touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgiveneſs. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at *Pandulphus* feet, to be diſpoſed of, as the Pope ſhould pleaſe. And *Pandulphus* ſtuck not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four dayes in his hands before he reſtored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Kingdom of the See of *Rome*, at the annual tribute of a Thouſand Marks. And all thoſe three or four dayes, in which *Pandulphus* kept the Crown, it might be truly ſaid the Kingdom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that *Peter* an Hermit in a Prophetical Rapture had given out ſome time before, that by *Aſcenſion* day, there ſhould be no King of *England*. Which though in ſome ſort it was true, yet becauſe in ſome ſort it was not true; and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation, it coſt the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they remain as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of *Ludere cum Sanctis*, and of playing the Criticks in matters of State.

Contention between the Pope and the King about election of a Biſhop.

The King ſurrenders his Crown to the Pope.

Peter the Hermites prediction of no King to be in *England* by a certain day.

The Kingdom Interdicted ſix years together.

But by this means the Kingdom was releaſed of the Interdiction, which had continued ſix years, three months, and fourteen dayes: During all which time, there was no publique exerciſe of Religion; no Churches open, no Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments adminiſtred, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptiſm to children, all that died were buryed like Dogs in Ditches and corners, but only ſuch as had purchaſed or procured licence from the Pope.

In this Kings reign, Saint *Dominick* continued his preaching ten years together againſt the *Albigenſes*; ſo called becauſe they began firſt in the City of *Alba*. Alſo in his time Saint *Francis* renounced the World; and when a Prieſt to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he caſt it away, and entred into a vow of perpetual poverty. Alſo in this Kings time, was held the *Lateran* Council, under Pope *Innocent* the third, in which was eſtabliſhed the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confeſſion, and Tranſubſtantiation.

Auricular confeſſion and Tranſubſtantiation when firſt.

Of his Irreligion.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchriſtian, that having been a little before reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in *France*, in great anger he cryed out, that nothing had proſpered with him ſince the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another ſpeech of his, which though ſpoken merrily, was in good earneſt very irreligious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he ſaid: See how this Deer hath proſpered, and how fat he is, and yet I dare ſwear he never heard Maſs: It is ſufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be true which ſome write) that being in ſome diſtreſs, he ſent *Thomas Hardington* and *Ralph Fitz-Nichols* Knights, in Embaſſage to *Miramumalim* King of *Africk* and *Morocco*, with offer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevailed, he would himſelf become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chriſtian Faith. Though ſome there be that ſay, All theſe were but falſe criminations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not theſe things of him: yet to ſuffer his Kingdom to ſtand interdicted ſo many years together, upon ſo ſmall occaſion as he did, was certainly no good ſign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he ſhewed a reſpect to Religion, by the honour he did to Religious man. For *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, lying very ſick, he not only went to viſit him; but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were *William* King of *Scotland* and the King of *Southwales*,) that carryed his Herſe upon their ſhoulders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbiſhops and Biſhops to carry it into the Quire.

M. Pariſ. fol. 243.

King *John* helps to carry *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincoln* to burying.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

YEt did this King leave more works of Piety behinde him, then all his Subjects that were in his time. For he founded the Abbey of *Bowley* in the new Foreſt in *Hampſhire*: alſo an Abbey of black Monks in the City of *Wincheſter*, and the Monaſtery of *Farindon*, and the Monaſtery of *Hales-Owen* in *Shropſhire*: he re-edified *Godſtow* and *Wroxel*, and enlarged the Chappel of *Knarisborough*. Now for his Subjects, only *Richard Prior* of *Bermondſey* builded an Houſe againſt the wall of the ſaid houſe of *Bermondſey*, called Almar yor Hoſpital of Converts and Children, in honour

of St. *Thomas*. In this Kings time St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark* was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the *Thames*, was by the Merchants of *London* finiſhed. Alſo *Hubert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Founded a Monaſtery at Weſt *Derham* in *Norfolk*, which upon the diſſolution came to the family of the *Derhams*, who hold it to this day.

The Stone bridge of *London* finiſhed.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings time, five and thirty of the moſt ſubſtantial Citizens of *London*, were choſen out, and called the Council of the City, and the King gave the City liberty to alter their Maior and Sheriffs every year, which before continued during life. He cauſed the Laws of *England* to be executed in *Ireland*, and money to be coined there according to the weight of *Engliſh* money.

The Common Council of *London*, when firſt ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *John* lived to have three Wives. His firſt was *Alice* Daughter of *Hubert* Earl of *Morton*, who left him a Widower without iſſue. His ſecond was *Avice* Daughter and Heir of *Robert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, by whom no iſſue neither; divorced from her by reaſon of Conſanguinity in the third degree. His third Wife was *Iſabel* Daughter and Heir of *Aymer* Earl of *Angouleſm*, affianced before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*. By this Wife he had two Sons, *Henry* and *Richard*, and three Daughters, *Jone*, *Eleanor*, and *Iſabel*: *Henry* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; *Richard* was Earl of *Cornwall*, and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had iſſue *Henry* and *John*, that dyed without iſſue: alſo *Edward* Earl of *Cornwal*, and others. *Jone* his eldeſt Daughter marryed to *Alexander* the ſecond, King of *Scots*, dyed without iſſue. *Eleanor* the ſecond Daughter (marryed to *Simon* Earl of *Leiceſter*) had iſſue, *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almarick*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Eleanor*. *Henry* ſlain without iſſue. *Simon* Earl of *Bigorre*, and anceſtour to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick*, firſt a Prieſt, after a Knight. *Guy* Earl of *Angleria* in *Italy*, and Progenitour of the *Mountfords* in *Tuſcany*, and of the Earls of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Richard*, remaining privily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford* to *Wellsbourn*, was anceſtour of the *Wellesbourns* in *England*. *Eleanor*, born in *England*, brought up in *France*, married into *Wales*, to Prince *Lewis ap Griffith*. *Iſabel*, his youngeſt Daughter, marryed to the Emperour *Frederick* the ſecond, had iſſue, *Henry*, appointed to be King of *Sicily*, and *Margaret* Wife of *Albert Lantgrave* of *Thurin*. She dyed in Childbed, after ſhe had been Empereſs ſix years. He had alſo two natural Sons, *Geoffry Fitz-Roy*, and *Richard*, that married the Daughter and Heir of *Fulbert de Dover*, (who built *Childham* Caſtle) and had iſſue by her, of whom ſome Families of good account are deſcended. Alſo one baſe Daughter named *Jone*, married to *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*.

The Family of the *Welles-burns*, from whence deſcended.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of ſtature indifferent tall, and ſomething fat, of a ſowre and angry countenance; and concerning his conditions, it may be ſaid, that his Nature and his Fortune did not well agree: For naturally he loved his eaſe, yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He won more of his enemies by ſurprizes then by battels, which ſhews that he had more of Lightning in him then of Thunder. He was never ſo true of his word as when he threatned, becauſe he meant always as cruelly as he ſpake, not alwayes as graciouſly; and he that would have known what it was he never meant to perform, muſt have looked upon his promiſes. He was neither fit for Proſperity nor Adverſity: For proſperity made him inſolent, and adverſity dejected; a mean fortune would have ſuted beſt with him. He was all that he was by Fits; Sometimes doing nothing without deliberation, and ſometimes doing all upon a ſudden: Sometimes very Religious, and ſometimes ſcarce a Chriſtian. His unſatiableneſs of money was not ſo much, as that no man knew what he did with it; gotten with much noiſe, but ſpent in ſilence: He was but intemperate in his beſt temper, but when diſtempered with ſickneſs moſt of all, as appeared at his laſt; when being in a Feaver, he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and drinking of ſweet Ale. If we look upon his works, we muſt needs think him a worthy Prince; but if upon his actions, nothing leſs: For his works of Piety were very many, as hath been ſhewed before; but as for his actions, he neither came to the Crown by Juſtice, nor held it with honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet having had many good parts in him, and eſpecially having his Royal Poſterity continued to this day, we can do no leſs but honour his memory.

King *John's* intemperance.

Caſualties that happened in his time.

ONe Caſualty we might count diſaſtrous, if it had not had relation to our ſelves: for *Hugh de Bones* coming to aid King *John* with threeſcore thouſand out of *Britain* and *Flanders*, by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom the King had granted *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* for the people he had brought with him to inhabit. In this Kings time were great thunders and lightnings, and ſhowers with hail-ſtones as big as Gooſe-eggs. Fiſhes of ſtrange ſhape were taken in *England*, armed with helmets and ſhields, and were like unto armed Knights, ſaving that they were far greater in proportion. About *Maidſtone* in *Kent* a certain Monſter was found ſtrucken with the lightning, which Monſter had a head like an Aſſe, a belly like a man, and all other parts far differing from any other creature. Alſo in *Suffolk* was taken a fiſh in form like to a man, and was kept ſix months upon land with raw fleſh and fiſh; and then, for that they could have no ſpeech of it, they caſt it into the Sea again.

Hail-ſtones as big as Gooſe-eggs.

A ſtrange Monſter.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHen Prince *Lewis* of *France* was come into *England*, and was received by the Lords and by the *Londoners*, King *John* with an Army went into the North-parts; and coming to *Walpool*, where he was to paſs over the *Waſhes*, he ſent one to ſearch where the water was paſſable,

ſable, and there himſelf with ſome few paſſeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treaſure paſſing without order they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which diſaſter, and perhaps diſtempered in his body before, he fell into a Feaver, and was let blood; but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking ſweet Ale, he fell into a looſenſs, and grew preſently ſo weak, that there was much ado to get him to *Newark*, where ſoon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diverſly related; *Caxton* ſaith, he was poyſoned at *Swineſheads* Abbey by a Monk of that Covent; the manner and cauſe this. The King being there, and hearing it ſpoken how cheap corn was, ſhould ſay, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be ſold for a ſhilling. At this ſpeech the Monk took ſuch indignation, that he went and put the poyſon of a Toad into a cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was ſuch a cup of Wine as he had never drunk in all his life: and therewithal took the aſſay of it himſelf, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himſelf preſently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; then (ſaith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others ſay the poyſon was given him in a diſh of Pears. But the Phyſitian that diſ-bowelled his body found no ſign of poyſon in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But howſoever the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 19 day of *October*, in the year 1216. when he had reigned ſeventeen years and ſix moneths; lived one and fifty. He was buryed, his bowels at *Croxton* Abbey, his body at *Worceſter*, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowl, which the ſuperſtition of that time accounted ſacred, and a defenſative againſt all evil ſpirits.

King *John* thought by ſome to be poyſoned.

A monks cowl of great vertue.

Of the Prices of things in his time.

NEither is this unfit to be recorded in Chronicles, to the end compariſon may be made between the time paſt and the preſent: as in the time of King *Henry* the ſecond, a Quarter of Wheat was ſold for twelve pence, a Quarter of Beans or Oats for a groat. Neither is the price of ſilver it ſelf much leſs altered; for an ounce of ſilver was then valued at twenty pence, which is now valued at leaſt at five ſhillings. Whereof Philoſophers muſt tell the reaſon; for ſeeing ſcarcity makes things dear? why ſhould not plenty make them cheap?

Of Men of ſpecial Note in his time.

IN Military matters there were many famous men in his time, as *Robert Fitz-Roger*, and *Richard Mount-Fitchet*, with many others; but chiefly two, whoſe acts make them ſpecially memorable: the one was *Hubert Burgh*, whom King *John* had left Governour of *Dover*-Caſtle; of whom it is related, that when Prince *Lewis* of *France* came to take the Town, and found it difficult to be taken by force, he ſent to *Hubert*, whoſe Brother *Thomas* he had taken Priſoner a little before; that unleſs he would ſurrender the Caſtle, he ſhould preſently ſee his Brother *Thomas* be put to death with exquiſite torments before his eyes: but this threatning moved not *Hubert* at all, who more regarded his own loyalty, then his Brothers life. Then Prince *Lewis* ſent again, offering him a great ſum of money; but neither did this move but he kept his loyalty as inexpugnable as his Caſtle. The other was *Robert Fitz Water*, of whom it is related, that King *John* being with an Army in *France*, one of his Knights in a great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the *French* Camp, that durſt encounter him in a Combat; when preſently comes forth this *Robert Fitz-Water*, and in the encounter threw Horſe and Man down to the ground: whereof when King *John* heard, By Gods tooth (ſaith he) he were a King indeed that had ſuch a Champion; whereupon ſome that ſtood by, ſaying to him, He is Sir, a ſervant of your own, it is *Robert Fitz-Water*, whom you have baniſhed. Whereupon his ſentence of baniſhment was preſently reverſed, and the King received him, as he well deſerved, into ſpecial favour. In matter of Literature alſo there lived many famous men in this Kigns reign; as *Geoffry Vineſaufe*, *Simon Fraxinus*, *aliàs Aſh*, *Adam Dorenſis*, *John de Oxford*, *Colman* ſurnamed the Wiſe, *Richard Canonicus*, *William Peregrine*; *Alane Tewksbury*, *Gervaſius Dorobernenſis*, *John Hanwill*, *Nigel Worker*, *Gilbert Holland*, *Benet de Peterborough*, *William Parvus* a Monk of *Newburgh*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Hubert Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander Theologus*, *Gervaſius Tilburienſis*, *Gyraldus Cambrenſis*, *Johannes Devonius*, *Walter Mapis*, *Radulphus de Diceto*, *Gilbert Legly*, *Mauricius Morganius*, *John de Fordeham*, *William Leiceſter*, *Joceline Brakeland*, *Roger* of *Crowland*, *Hugh White*, *alias Candidus*, who wrote an Hiſtory, intituled, *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*? *John de* Saint *Omer*, *Adam Barking*, *John Gray*, an Hiſtoriographer, and Biſhop of *Norwich*, *Walter* of *Coventry*, *Radulphus Niger*, and laſtly *Simon Thurvay*, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his blaſphemies againſt *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, became at laſt ſo utterly ignorant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that muſt not be forgotten, *Hugo Carthuſianus* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, whoſe Miracles, as *Matthew Pariſ.* writes, made him famous in thoſe dayes: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in theſe.

Hubert Burgh, a moſt loyal ſervant to King *John*.

Robert Fitz Water his valour.

Simon Turvay of a great Scholar becomes an Iliot.

To this time the City of *London* had been governed by two Bailiffs, but the King in his tenth year taking diſpleaſure againſt them for denying his Purveyers wheat, cauſed them to be impriſoned, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what ſmall ſtore the City had, how the Commons were ready to make inſurrection about it, he was then ſatisfied; and moreover at their ſuit, granted them to have a Maior and two Sheriffs to be yearly choſen nine dayes before *Michaelmas*; which Order hath continued, though with ſome alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. And ſo,

In his Tenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was firſt Maior.
Peter Duke, *Thomas Neal*, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
Peter le Joſue, *William Blounde*, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
Adam Whitley, *Stephen le Graſs*, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
John Fitz-Peter, *John Garland*, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year,
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
Randolph Eyland, *Conſtantine Joſue*, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
Martin Fitz-Alice, *Peter Bate*, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year,
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Maior.
Solomon Baſing, *Hugh Baſing* Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year,
William Hardel was Maior.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

THE

The LIFE and REIGN of KING HENRY THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.

An. Dom. 1216.

KING *John* being dead, his eldeſt Son *Henry* was next to ſucceed: who being but nine years old, though he were capable of having his Right; yet he was ſcarce capable of underſtanding his right; eſpecially there being another at that time, to whom a great part of the Kingdom had ſworn Allegiance. But thoſe Lords who had been conſtant to the Father, notwithſtanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whoſe gracious aſpect gave no ſmall hope of a better diſpoſition. Amongſt all which Lords, there was none ſo eminent in worthineſs, none ſo near him in Alliance, as *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the reſt of the Lords together, with a ſolemn Oration, in behalf of the young Prince, ſo confirmed them, and ſo ordered the matter, that on the twenty eighth day of *October*, in the year 1216. he was Crowned at *Glaceſter*, by *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Joceline* Biſhop of *Bathe*, in the preſence of *Guallo* the Popes Legate, and many Lords and Biſhops. Where beſides the Oath uſually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do right and juſtice to all his people, he did homage beſides to the Church of *Rome*, and to Pope *Innocent*, for his Kingdom of *England* and *Ireland*; and took his Oath for the true payment of the thouſand Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of *Rome*. This done, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, by a general conſent was aſſigned Protector of the Realm during the Kings minority. In which place, the firſt thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and proclaim pardon to all offenders that within a time limited ſhould come and ſubmit themſelves to him. In the mean time Prince *Lewis* of *France*, who at his hearing of King *John*'s death, thought himſelf then ſure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he ſhould need to fear no more oppoſition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that ſo ſolemnly, and with ſo unanimous a conſent, he begins to think himſelf in worſe caſe then before: and to grow jealous of the *Engliſh* Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their mindes, which of the two obligations ſhould be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince *Lewis*: or that of their Allegiance to King *Henry*. They could not but think it extream ungratefulneſs to forſake Prince *Lewis*, whom they had themſelves invited to come; and they could not but think it extream undutifulneſs to ſtand out in oppoſition againſt King *Henry* their natural Sovereign. And that which added no ſmall weight to this ſcale, was a diſcovery lately made by the Viſcount *Melon* a *French* Lord, at the time of his death, who confeſſed, as a matter of conſcience; that Prince *Lewis* had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extirpate all the *Engliſh* Nobility, and to admit none but *French* to any place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the leaſt cauſe that moved many to leave the party of Prince *Lewis*, that *Guallo* the Popes Legat had threatned to Excommunicate him, and as many as ſhould adhere unto him. But whether any of theſe reaſons, or any other were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *Salisbury*, and *William* the eldeſt Son of the Protector, ſhrunk from Prince *Lewis*, and went to King *Henry*, as thinking no obligation ſo great as Allegiance: And many again continued conſtant to Prince *Lewis*, as thinking no obligation ſo great as an Oath. And now Prince *Lewis*, to caſt the dice of fortune, before his Enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, ſhould gather to a head, and draw more forces together, ſtaying himſelf at *London*, ſent his Lieutenants with an Army of twenty thouſand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with ſmall oppoſition: but coming to *Lincoln*, where though they had the Town it ſelf, yet the Caſtle ſtood out, and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before, they found ſuch reſiſtance, that their proceeding was there arreſted. For thither came preſently *William* the Protector, with his Son *William*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Salisbury*, and *Cheſter*; the Earls of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albemarle*, *William de Albinet*, *William de Cantilup*, *Falcaſius*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Robert Vipont*, *Brent de Liſle*, *Geoffry Lacy*, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King; who with wonderful violence aſſault the City. At which time it was propounded by the *French*, to ſally forth and give them Battel, but conceiving their Army to be greater then indeed it was (for the *Engliſh* had ſet double Enſigns to every Company, which

King Henry is Crowned.

The Lords doubt to whom they ſhould adhere.

Many Lords ſhrink from Prince *Lewis*.

which made a ſhew of twice as many as they were) they forbear that courſe, and kept themſelves within the Town: by which means being cooped up, and ſtraitned in place, ſo as they could not make uſe of their Forces, as otherwiſe they might, they were in concluſion all defeated; and all the principal men of the *Engliſh* that had adhered to Prince *Lewis*, were taken Priſoners: as namely, *Saer*, Earl of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gaunt*, lately made Earl of *Lincoln*, by Prince *Lewis*; *Robert Fitz-Water*, *Richard Mount Fitchet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*; *William Mandet*, *Oliver Harcourt*, *Roger de Creſſey*, *William Colvile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropeſley*, *Ralph Chenduit*, Barons; beſides four hundred Knights, or men at Arms. Only the Earl of *Perch* their General, being compaſſed about, and willed to render himſelf, ſwore he would never become a priſoner to any *Engliſh*: and thereupon was run through the ſight of his Helmet into the Brains, and inſtantly died. This was a main blow to Prince *Lewis*, and the laſt of his Battels in *England*; and becauſe the City was very rich in Merchandiſe, the *Engliſh* in deriſion called it *Lewis* Fair. But Prince *Lewis* was not yet diſcouraged, for he had ſent to King *Philip* his Father to ſend him new ſupplies out of *France*; and new ſupplies were indeed ſent: but *Hubert de Burgh*, Governour of *Dover*, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a Sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few eſcaped. And now this blow at Sea was ſo much greater then that at Land; that where that made him only doubt, this made him deſpair, at leaſt made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by compoſition. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, that Prince *Lewis* ſhould have fifteen thouſand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any intereſt in the Kingdome; and withal to work his Father for reſtitution of ſuch Provinces in *France* as appertained to this Crown: and that when himſelf ſhould be King, he ſhould reſign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King *Henry* takes his Oath; and from him the Legate *Guallo*, and the Protector, to reſtore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects of all their Rights and Priviledges, for which the diſcord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince *Lewis* is honourably attended to *Dover*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*, above two years after his firſt arrival.

The chief men that adhered to Prince *Lewis* are taken priſoners.

Lewis Fair.

1217. Prince *Lewis* ſupplies defeated at Sea.

Prince *Lewis* is compounded with to depart the Realm.

Prince *Lewis* departs.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within it ſelf, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was but little to be done, only ſome few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendred, and who being born in a ſtorm, could not live in a calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Vipount*, *Fowke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle*, and *Hugh de Baliol*. Who buſtling about, got poſſeſſion of Caſtles: with what intention all men knew, but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were eaſily ſuppreſſed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or elſe puniſhed for not acknowledging them. It was now the fourth year of King *Henry*'s Reign; at which time *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at *London*; in whoſe place came the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. And now was the King the ſecond time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Eſcuage, two Marks of Silver, of every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Tranſmarine Dominions which is now deſigned: and *Malleon de Saveroy*, the *Poictovin*, with *William Long-Sword*, Earl of *Salisbury*, ſent over to try the affections of that people, whom they finde for the moſt part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of *France* being required peaceably to deliver them, made anſwer, that having gotten them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to ſome years of underſtanding, was in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of the Oath he had taken for confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which though oppugned by ſome (and eſpecially by *William Brewer*, and *Hubert de Burgh*, whom the King had now made his chief Juſticiar) as having been an Act of conſtraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights or other Legatmen of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they ſhould return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament reſumeth into his hands ſuch Alienations as had been made by his Anceſtors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Laity, for the recovery of thoſe parts in *France*, with-held from the Crown by *Lewis*, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promiſe made here in *England* at his departure; which though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Eſtates of moſt of the Nobility; yet would it be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the ſame words and form as King *John* had granted them in the two Charters before: and twelve Knights are choſen in every Shire to diſpart the old Foreſts from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

Some Lords ſtand out ſtill.

An. Reg. 4. 1220. The Protector dieth.

In his place the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* is choſen.

King *Henry* is the ſecond time Crowned.

King *Henry* confirms the Liberties of the Kingdom.

He reſumeth crown Land.

An. Reg. 9. 1225.

He confirms the two Chatters granted by King *John*, *Magna Charta*, and *Charta Foreſtæ*.

Of his Acts after he came to be of age.

IT was now the tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, and being about nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will preſently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counſel, and a Prince that will do all of himſelf, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector, all paſſed as it were in a calm, without noiſe or clamour; but as ſoon as he took upon him the Government himſelf, there grew preſently ſtorms and tumults; no quietneſs either to the Subject

An. Reg. 10. 1226. He takes the Government upon himſelf.

or

or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at *Oxford*, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nonage; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Protector had used, he makes a new, and causeth Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first grievance.

He annuls the Charters which he had granted before.

He makes a new Seal.

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of *Barkhamstead* Castle, to one *Walleran* a *Dutchman*, which Castle belonged to his Brother *Richard* of *Cornwal*; but when Earl *Richard* required to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by *Hubert Burgh* Chief Justice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to commit him to prison; which the Earl understanding, or at least suspecting, flies presently to *Marlborough*, where he findes *William* Earl Marshal his vowed Friend, with whom he hastens to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earls of *Chester*, *Gloucester*, *Warren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwick*, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and send to the King, that unless he restore the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at *Oxford*, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon King *Henry* to pacifie his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great possessions which the Earl of *Britain*, and the Earl of *Boleign* lately deceased, had in *England*: but to the Petition of the Lords he makes a dilatory answer: and this was another grievance.

The Lords confederate against K. *Henry*, and why.

Not long after King *Henry* is perswaded by *Hugh le Brun*, Earl of *March*, who had married his Mother, to make a Journey into *France*, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl perswaded it for ends of his own, which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some colours upon his work; and it was colour enough that the action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of succeeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King *Henry*, and their great averseness from King *Lewis*. Upon these colours King *Henry* undertaking the action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the *Londoners*, for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the *Jews*: but when he returned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his treasure and his time; and that which was more worth then both these, the lives of many Noble men and others; this was another grievance.

K. *Henry* makes a journey into *France*, but without success.

And now King *Henry* bringing many *Poictovins* over with him, who had served him in his Wars, he was to reward them here; which he could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his Officers. First therefore he calleth *Ralph Bretton* Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and grievously fines him for defrauding him in his Office. Then likewise is *Hubert de Burgh*, chief Justitiar, and his chief Counsellour, called to account for such treasure as passed his Office; who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of *Merton* for sanctuary: from whence when the King commanded him to be drawn out by violence, the Bishop of *London* hearing of it, commanded him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King commanding him to be kept from sustenance, hunger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods which were very great, confiscate. Also *Walter* Bishop of *Carlile* is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight, from his place of Marshal of the Kings House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrusted; and only strangers preferred to their rooms. Of which course, *Peter de Rupibus* a *Poictovin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, and one *Peter de Rivalis*, the Kings special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

He displaceth many of his great Officers.

Poictovins placed in their rooms.

Nine years had thus passed, with divers grievances in his Government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old, a Consultation was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propounded a Sister of *Alexander* King of *Scots*, but it was not thought fit the King should marry the younger Sister, when *Hubert de Burgh* had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries *Eleanor*, daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*; by which match he neither had portion by his Wife, nor strength of alliance by Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by distance; only he had by her a number of poor Kindred, who to his great cost lay hanging upon him: yet was the Marriage solemnized with as great charges as if he had been to have Mountains with her: and this was another grievance.

An. Reg. 19. 1235.

K. *Henry* marries to more charge then benefit.

And now is the score of these grievances called upon to be paid; for the Lords could no longer endure so many indignities, to see themselves slighted, and only strangers advanced, as *Foulk de Brent*, who held the Earldoms of *Nottingham*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to danger, and their estates to ruine; for which no remedy could be, but only the Kings confirming their Charter of Liberties: wherein it is strange to observe upon what different grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought that to confirm that Charter, were to make himself to be less then a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was denied, they were no better then slaves: and as the King could endure no diminution, so the Lords could endure no slavery; but the King might keep his own with sitting still, the Lords could not recover their own but by motion. And seeing their strength must be in their number, by commotion, hereupon they confederate together; and of his confederacy, *Richard* now Earl Marshal, upon the death of his Brother *William*, is chief; who repair to the King, and boldly shew him his errour, and require satisfaction. Hereupon the King sends presently

The Lords confederate again for their Charters.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament refuse to come.

sently over for whole Legions of *Poictovins*, and withal summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whither the Lords refuse to come. After this a Parliament is called at *Westminster*, whither likewise they refuse to come, unless the King would remove the Bishop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictovins* from the Court: and more then this, they send him word, that unless he did this, they would expel both himself and his evil Counsellours out of the Land, and create a new King. Upon this threatning, Pledges are required of the Nobility for securing their Allegiance, and Writs are sent out to all who held by Knights-service to repair to the King at *Gloucester* by a certain day; which the Earl Marshal and his associates refusing, the King without the judgement of his Court and their Peers, causeth them to be proclaimed Out-Laws, seiseth upon all their Lands, which he gives to his *Poictovins*; and directs out Writs to attach their bodies wheresoever in the Kingdom. But now of these confederate Lords the Bishop of *Winchester* won the Earls of *Chester* and *Lincoln* with a thousand Marks; and the King had so pleased his Brother the Earl of *Cornwal*, that he likewise left them. Whereupon they withdrew into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* Prince of *Wales*; whither also came *Hubert de Burgh*, escaped out of Prison, and joyns with them; taking intermutual Oaths, that no one without other should make their accord. Hereupon the King goeth himself in person into *Wales*, where not prevailing, he returns to *Gloucester*, implores new Forces of strangers, but all without success. At last a Frier is imployed to perswade the Earl Marshal to submit himself to the King, but all in vain; till at length a train is laid to draw him over into *Ireland*, to defend his state there, being seised upon by the King; where by treachery circumvented he lost his life, *Militiæ flos temporum modernorum*, saith *Matthew Paris*. Yet the King disavows the sending of any such Commission into *Ireland*, protesting he never knew thereof; and layes the fault upon his Officers. An easie way for Princes, never to be found in any fault.

They threaten to chuse a new King.

The Lords proclaimed Out-laws, and their [illegible]

The Earl Marshal, by a train drawn into *Ireland*, is there by treachery slain.

After two years affliction, a Parliament is assembled at *Westminster*, wherein the Bishops admonish the King by his Fathers example, to be at unity with his people, and to remove from him strangers, and to govern the Kingdom by Natives of the Realm, and by the Laws: otherwise they would proceed by Ecclesiastical censure, both against his Counsellours and himself. The King seeing no way to subsist but by temporizing, consents to call home those Lords out of *Wales*; restores them to their places and possessions; removes all strangers from about him; and calls his new Officers to account. Hereupon the Bishop of *Winchester*, *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave* take Sanctuary; but afterward by mediation they obtained with great Fines their Liberty, dearly paying for their two years greatness. After this a Parliament is again called, which the King would have to be kept in the Tower, whither the Lords refusing to come, another place of more freedom is appointed; in which Parliament, order is taken for removing all Sheriffs from their places, upon complaint of corruption: and here the King displaceth his Steward, and offers to take from the Bishop of *Chichester*, then Chancellour, the great Seal, which he refuseth to deliver, as having received it by the Common-Council of the Kingdom; and now *Peter de Rivalis*, and *Stephen Seagrave*, are received again into grace, by which may appear the vicissitude of fortune in Princes favours. After this, in the one and twentieth year of his Reign, another Parliament is held at *London*, where the King requires the thirteenth part of all the moveables as well of the Clergy as Laity; which being directly opposed, the King promiseth by Oath, never more to injure the Nobility, so they would but relieve him at that present. After four dayes Consultation, the King promising to use only the Counsel of his natural Subjects, and protesting against the Revocation lately propounded, and freely granting the inviolable observation of their Liberties, under pain of Excommunication, a Subsidy is granted him; but so, that four Knights be appointed in every Shire to receive and deliver the same, either to some Abbey or Castle, where it may be safely kept; that if the King fail in performance of his Grants, it may be restored to the Countrey from whence it was collected. And now the King to make a shew of true reconciliation for his part, suddenly causes the Earls *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz-Geoffry* to be sworn his Counsellours: yet was neither of the points either for removing of strangers, or for disposing the money observed afterward by the King; for the money he made bold to take at his pleasure: and for strangers they were so far from removing, that they were drawn nearer to him. For now *William Valentine*, Uncle to the Queen, is grown the most inward man with him, and nothing done but by his counsel; also the Earl of *Provence*, the young Queens Father, a poor Prince, had a good share of the money that was collected: and *Simon de Mountford*, a *French* man born, is entertained by the King, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eleanor* the Kings Sister, widow of *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, the great Marshal, and is made Earl of *Leicester*, by right of his Mother *Avice*, daughter of *Blanchman* Earl of *Leicester*: Which courses so incense the Nobility, that it put them out into a new commotion; and *Richard* the Kings Brother becomes one of the party, whom the other Lords make their spokesman to the King, to aggravate his breach of promise, and to acquaint him with all the disorders of the Kingdom; with whose remonstrance the King is so moved, that after he had tried the *Londoners*, and found them also to partake with the Lords, he calls a Parliament at *London*, whither the Lords came armed for their own safety. Where after long debating, the King taking his Oath to refer the matter to certain grave men of the Kingdom, Articles are drawn, sealed, and publickly set up to the view of all, with the Seals of the Legate, and divers great men: but before it came to be effected, the Earl of *Cornwal*, by the working of *Simon Mountford*, hath his edge rebated, and is brought to be unwilling to meddle in the matter any more; which the other Lords seeing

The Bishops threaten to excommunicate the King.

The King calls home the Lords and removes strangers.

The Chancellour refuseth to deliver the Seal.

Anno Dom. 1237. *An. Reg.* 21.

The King grants their Liberties, and thereupon hath a Subsidy granted, but with conditions.

But the conditions not performed.

The Lords thereupon confederate again.

They come armed to the Parliament.

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ing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it rested, and no more was done in it. About this time, a certain fanatick fellow, had got into the Kings Chamber in the night, having a naked knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to kill him: but finding him not there, (for the King lay that night with the Queen) he then went looking about to finde him out: but being taken and confessing, who were his complices, he was afterward drawn in pieces with wilde Horses. So provident a care hath God to protect his Anointed.

An. Re. 22. 1238.

The King oppresseth the Lords.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in using his Authority, which he fails not to do to the uttermost; for upon a small occasion he causeth the Gates of *Gilbert* now Earl of *Pembroke* (the third son of *William* the great Marshal) to be shut against him at *Winchester*: whereupon the Earl retires into the North. Also *Simon Norman*, Master of the Kings Seal, and his greatest Favourite, is thrown out with disgrace, and his Brother *Geoffry* a Knight Templar, is put out of the Council; both of them for not yielding to pass a Grant from the King made unto *Thomas* Earl of *Flanders*, the Queens Uncle, of four pence upon every sack of Wool. And now that load enough is laid upon those of the Laity, comes a new load to be laid upon the Clergy. For the Pope nothing dainty to make use of the Power he had in the King, sends over three hundred *Romans*, requiring to have the first Benefices that should be vacant, bestowed upon them: which seemed so unreasonable a request, and to the Clergy of *England* so damageable, that it made *Edmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to give over all, and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Abbey of *Pontiniac* in *France*; yet to shew his respect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred Marks before his departure. And to lay more weight upon the Clergy, great sums are also required of them for maintenance of the Popes Warre against the Emperour; which though the Clergy opposed, and shewed many good reasons of their opposition both to the King and the Legat: yet by promises or threatnings, they were won or forced to yield unto it. And now comes the Earl of *March*, and once again solicits the King to make another journey into *France*; which being yielded to by the King, and assented to in Parliament, an aid presently was demanded towards it: but this demand was not only opposed, but all the Kings Taxations and Aids before granted, were now repealed; and thereupon an absolute denial to grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to the Parliament himself in person; earnestly, and indeed, humbly craving their aid for this once: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow to the contrary; and the King is driven to get what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gift, and partly by loan, he gets so much, that he carries over with him thirty Barrels of Sterling money. This expedition had no better success then the former; for after a whole years stay, the King was driven to make a dishonourable Truce with the King of *France*, and return home. At his return he put the *Jews* to another redemption, and the *Londoners* to another exaction; and to help on his charge,

The Pope sends over 300 *Romans* to have the first Benefices vacant.

The King once again makes a Journey into *France*.

He comes to the Parliament to demand a Subsidy, but is denyed.

He returns out of *France* without success.

his Wives Mother, the Countess of *Provence*, comes now to visit him, who bringing her Daughter *Zanchia* with her, a marriage is solemnized between her and *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, whose Wife was lately dead, and he returned from the Holy Wars. The old Countess at her return, is presented with many rich gifts, having besides received an annual pension of four thousand Marks out of *England*, for five years past, in consideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* after her decease should have the Earldom of *Provence*: but shortly after her return, she disappoints him of that, and bestows it upon her youngest Daughter *Beatrix*, married to *Charles* the *French* Kings Brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicilie*: so as this Countess lived to see all her four Daughters Queens: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, coming after to be elected King of the *Romans*. Upon these profusions, a consultation is had for new supplies, and no way thought so fit as by Parliament; hereupon a Parliament is again assembled at *Westminster*, whither the King comes again himself in person, urging his necessities; yet nothing would be granted without the assurance of reformation and due execution of the Laws. And here they desire to have it ordained, that four of the most grave and discreet Peers should be chosen as Conservators of the Kingdom, and sworn of the Kings Council, both to see Justice administred, and the treasure issued; and these or two of them at least, should ever attend about the King. Also that the Lord Chief Justiciar, and the Lord Chancellour should be chosen by the general voices of the States assembled, or else be one of the number of those four. Besides they propound, that there might be two Justices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Justice for the *Jews*; and those likewise to be chosen by Parliament. But while these things were in debating, comes one *Martin*, a new Legat from the Pope, with a larger Commission then ever any before, to exact upon the State; but at the same time, Letters coming from the Emperour *Frederick*, to entreat that the Pope might have no more supplies out of *England*, The Popes Mandate is rejected, and his Agent *Martin* disgracefully sent home. This business took up so much time, that nothing else was done in this Parliament, but only an aid granted to the King for the marriage of his Daughter to *Alexander* King of *Scots*; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and that with much ado, and repetition of his former aids.

The King again in person demands a Subsidy, but is denied, without granting the Lords demands.

That the Chief Justice and Lord Chancellour should be chosen by the Parliament.

The Popes Legate for money rejected.

Aid to marry the Kings daughter granted.

The Winter following he assembles another Parliament, wherein he moves for an aid upon a design he had upon *Wales*, and to pay his debts, which were urged to be so great that he could not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite clamour of such, to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other necessaries of house; but they all to his face, refused to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courses are taken, an ancient quarrel is found out against the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteen thousand Marks; and *Passeleve* the Clerk is imployed, with others, in a most peremptory Commission, to enquire of all such Lands as had been inforested, and either

The King sheweth his necessity and requires relief, but is denied.

Hereupon he raiseth money by violent courses.

to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleaſure, or elſe to take it from them and ſell the ſame to others; wherein ſuch rigour was uſed, that multitudes of people were undone. But now to ſhew the King the eſtate of his Kingdom, and the oppreſſion of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the *Romans* and *Italians* had in *England*; which were found to be annually ſixty thouſand Marks; being more then the yearly Revenues of the Crown. Which ſo moved the King, that he cauſed the ſame to be notified, with all other exactions, to the General Council now aſſembled at *Lions*. And this (with the ill uſage of his Agent *Martin*) ſo vexed the Pope, that he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words, It is time to make an end with the Emperour, that we may cruſh theſe petty Kings; for the Dragon once appeaſed, or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer Snakes will ſoon be trodden down. But upon the Popes rejecting the conſideration of theſe grievances of *England*, and deſpiſing the Kings meſſage (who he ſaid began to *Frederize*) it was abſolutely here ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution of money ſhould be given to the Pope by any Subject of *England*: And the King for a time aſſents unto it. But being of an irreſolute and wavering nature, and afraid of threats, he ſoon gave over what he undertook, ſo as the Pope continued his former rapine; and though he had promiſed never to ſend any more Legates into *England*, yet ſent he other Miniſters under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legats, and effected as much.

The King aſſents that no more contribution be given to the Pope.

But ſoon revokes.

And now for the other part of the State, new occaſions alſo of complaint were offered. *Peter* of *Savoy*, Earl of *Richmond*, comes into *England*, bringing with him certain maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Countrey, the Kings Wards, of whom *Edmund* Earl of *Lincoln* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another; and the ſame year three of the Kings Brothers by the Mother, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar Clark*, are ſent over to be provided of Eſtates in *England*. Alſo *Thomas* of *Savoy* (ſometimes Earl of *Flanders*, by right of his Wife) comes with his Siſter *Beatrix*, Counteſs of *Provence*, the Queens Mother, who are again feaſted, and gifted; for whom the King is taxed the next Parliament in *Candlemas* Term, and beſides ſharply reprehended for his breach of promiſe, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kinde: alſo for his violent taking up of Proviſion of Wax, Silk, Robes, and eſpecially of Wine, contrary to the will of the ſellers, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his deſire; but yet nothing is effected: and the Parliament being prorogued till *Midſummer* following, and the King growing more obdurate then before, it afterward brake up in diſcontent. But the Parliament not ſupplying him, he is adviſed to furniſh his wants with ſale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were ſold, yet they would revert again unto him; and having with great loſs received money for them, he asks who had bought them: anſwer is made, the City of *London*. That City (ſaid he) is an inexhauſtible Gulph, If *Octavius* Treaſure were to be ſold, they ſurely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year, a Parliament was held, which by ſome was called, *Inſanum Parliamentum*, the mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great retinues of armed men) many things were enacted contrary to the Kings pleaſure, and his Royal Prerogative.

The King furniſheth his wants with ſale of his Plate and Jewels.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at *Weſtminſter*, forbidding under great penalty, all exerciſe of Merchandize within *London*, for fifteen dayes, and all other Fairs in *England*; and namely that of *Ely*: but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulneſs of the weather, brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders. That *Chriſtmas* alſo he requires New-years-Gifts of the *Londoners*, and ſhortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiouſly deprecatory to aid him with money; and thereby gets of them twenty thouſand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithſtanding his continual taking up all Proviſions for his houſe, yet he leſſons his houſe-keeping in no honourable manner. And then ſeeing he could get nothing of the States together, he calls unto him, or writes unto every Nobleman apart, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thouſand pounds to thoſe of *Burdeaux*, and his *Gaſcoyns* (who otherwiſe would not have ſuffered him to depart home) at his laſt being in *France*: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addreſſeth his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he findes as little relief; by much importunity and his own preſence, he got of the Abbot of *Ramſey* a hundred pound, but the Abbot of *Burrough* had the face to deny him, though the King told him, it was more Alms to give money to him, then to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of Saint *Albans* yet was more kinde, and gave him threeſcore Marks. To ſuch lowneſs did the neceſſity of this indigent King (through his profuſion) bring him. The *Jews* ever expoſed to his will, feel the weight of theſe his wants. One *Abraham*, found a Delinquent, redeems himſelf for ſeven hundred Marks, and *Aaron* another *Jew* proteſts, the King had ſince his laſt being in *France* taken from him at times, thirty thouſand Marks of Silver, beſides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

He tries to get money of particular men.

But fails in it.

The *Jews* moſt of all taxed.

But now the Lords aſſemble again at *London*, and preſs him with his promiſe made unto them, that the Chief Juſticiar, Chancellour and Treaſurer ſhould be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the abſence of *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, (which was thought to be done of purpoſe) they return fruſtrate of their deſire. And now the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* falling void, the King ſends preſently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother *Athelmar*; and becauſe he would not be denied, he goes thither himſelf in perſon, and there enters the Chapter houſe as a Biſhop or Prior, gets up into the Preſidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, *Juſtice and Peace have kiſſed each other*; and thereupon uſeth theſe words: To me and other Kings

The King preacheth to have his brother *Athelmar* choſen Biſhop of *Wincheſter*.

Kings who are to govern the People, belongs the rigour of Judgement and Juſtice; to you who are men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquility; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my requeſt, with many ſuch like words; whereby the Monks finding the earneſtneſs of his deſire, held it in vain to deny him, and *Athelmar* is elected: but with this reſervation, if the Pope allow it. Shortly after follows the memorable Caſe of Sir *Henry de Bathe*, a Juſticiar of the Kingdom, and a ſpecial Counſellor to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Eſtate, and is ſaid, in one Circuit to have gotten two hundred pound land *per annum*. He is accuſed by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falſhood in the Kings Court; and the King is ſo incenſed againſt him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made, that whoſoever had any Action or Complaint againſt *Henry de Bathe*, ſhould come and be heard. One of his Juſticiars accuſed him of acquitting a Malefactor for a bribe. The King ſeeing *Henry de Bathe's* friends to be many and ſtrong, breaks out into a rage, proteſting, that whoſoever would kill *Henry de Bathe*, ſhould be acquitted for the deed. But afterward by interceſſion of the Earl of *Cornwal*, and the Biſhop of *London*, the King becomes pacified, and Sir *Henry* is releaſed, paying two thouſand Marks; and after is reſtored to his former place and favour. The King keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *York*, the marriage is ſolemnized between *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter; to the Feaſt of which ſolemnity it is ſaid the Archbiſhop gave ſix hundred fat Oxen, which were all ſpent at one meal: and beſides, the Feaſt coſt him four thouſand Marks.

Henry de Bathe chief Juſtice fined for corruption.

Yet afterward reſtored to his place.

A bountiful Feaſt.

About this time the Pope ſolicits King *Henry* to undertake the Croſs, and ſo doth *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*, offering to accompany him in Perſon, to reſcue the King of *France*, who was now held Priſoner by the *Souldan*; and becauſe a ranſome collected for him in *France* was by tempeſt caſt away at Sea, the Captive King offers to reſtore *Normandy* to the King of *England*, ſo he would come to his reſcue. Upon this ſolicitation of the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Laity for three years to come, the King undertakes the Croſs; rather it ſeems, to get the money, then with any purpoſe to perform the Journey: which had it been collected (ſaith *Paris*) would have amounted to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, to utter the impoveriſhing of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there cauſeth the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter* to declare his intentions, and to exhort the people to undertake the Croſs and attend him: but few are are moved by their perſwaſions, only three Knights of ſmall note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbraceth, kiſſeth, and calls his Brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himſelf takes his Oath for performing it, and to ſet forth upon *Midſummer* day next. In taking his Oath, he layes his right hand on his breaſt, according to the manner of a Prieſt; and after on the Book, and kiſt it as a Layman. About this tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called is called at *London*, where the Biſhops are firſt dealt withal, (as being a work of piety) and they abſolutely refuſe it; then the Temporal Lords are ſet upon, and they anſwer as the Biſhops, which put the King into ſo great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perſwade them apart, ſending firſt for the Biſhop of *Ely*, and deals with him in all kinde manner, recounting the many favours he had done him. The Biſhop replies, diſſwading him from the Journey by Example of the King of *France*; and to that purpoſe uſeth many good reaſons: which the King hearing, in great paſſion commanded his Servants to thruſt him out of door, perceiving by this what was to be expected of the reſt, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courſes. And firſt the City of *London* is compelled to the Contribution of a thouſand Marks; and the *Gaſcoyners* being upon revolt, unleſs ſpeedy ſuccour be ſent them, general Muſters are made, and commandement given, that whoſoever could diſpend thirteen pounds *per annum*, ſhould furniſh out a horſeman. This occaſions another Parliament, wherein it ſeems, the State began wiſely to conſider, that all their oppoſitions did no good, the Kings turn muſt be ſerved one way or other. Therefore they agreed to relieve him rather by the uſual way, then force him to thoſe extravagant courſes which he took; but yet ſo, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Liberties, might once again be ſolemnly confirmed. And after fifteen dayes conſultation, to ſatisfie the Kings deſire for his holy Expedition, a Tenth is granted by the Clergy, and Scutage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Laity; and thereupon thoſe often confirmed Charters are again ratified: and that in the moſt ſolemn and ceremonial manner, that State and Religion could poſſibly deviſe. The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Biſhops in their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, aſſemble to hear the terrible ſentence of Excommunication againſt the infringers of the ſame. And at the lighting of thoſe Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, It becomes not me, being no Prieſt, to hold this Candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony; and withal laid his hand ſpread upon his Breaſt all the time the ſentence was read: which was thus pronounced, *Authoritate Dei Omnipotentis, &c.* Which done, he cauſeth the Charter of King *John* his Father, granted by his free conſent, to be openly read. In the end, having thrown away their Candles, which lay ſmoaking on the ground, they cried out, So let them who incur this Sentence, be extinct, and have no better favour then theſe ſnuffs: and the King with a loud voice ſaid, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Anointed, inviolably obſerve all theſe things: and therewithal the Bells rung out, and the people ſhouted for joy.

King Henry undertakes the Croſs.

But can get no money.

Thereupon falls again to violent courſes.

For preventing whereof the Parliament grants him a Subſidy.

But upon condition to confirm their Charters.

Which are confirmed with the greateſt ſolemnity that could be deviſed.

Yet was not all ſo quieted by this Grant, but that there were grievances ſtill, whereof the firſt falls upon his Brother *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwal*: for the King having ſeven and twenty

years before given him the Province of *Gascoine*, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plotted to imprison him; but he escaping out of *Burdeaux*, comes over into *England*. The King to win the Nobility of *Gascoine* to turn him, promiseth them thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by his Oath and Charter to perform it. This distress of theirs the King takes in ill part, and thereupon sends *Simon Mountford* Earl of *Leicester*, a stern man, to be their Governour, who with his insolent Government, so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they send the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, with other great men, to complain of his Insolencies. Whereupon *Mountford* is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the *Gascoiners*; which *Mountford* took so ill, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise: to whom the King in great rage replied, that no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor. At which word *Mountford* riseth up, protesting that he lyed; and were he not protected by his Royal Dignity, he would would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King, is *Mountford* sent over again into *Gascoine*, though with a more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon composeth all differences in the Countrey.

Mountford riseth King *Henry* the lye to his face.

Yet soon reconciled.

King Henry's eldest Son Prince *Edward* marries *Eleanor* the K. of *Spain*'s Sister.

But now the King of *Spain* pretends a title to *Aquitane*; and to take him off, King *Henry* sends to treat of a marriage between Prince *Edward* and his Sister *Eleanor*: which being accepted by the King of *Spain*, the Marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spain* Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to *Aquitane* for him and his Successors for ever: and King *Henry* invests the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Bristow*, *Stamford*, and *Grantham*: and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immediately upon his birth Prince of *Wales*, and Earl of *Chester*. After this King *Henry* prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds; more then all the Lands if they had been sold, were worth: which when the King was told, he is desired there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is desirous, with the King of *France*'s leave to pass through *France*: and coming to *Paris* with a thousand Horse, where he stayed eight dayes, is there most royally feasted by the King of *France*; and he as royally feasts the King of *France* again. But it is the *Londoners* and the *Jews* that are like to pay for all. For coming home about *Christmas*, when the *Londoners* presented him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate, it was so slighted, and so ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them three thousand Marks: Yet was not this enough,

The King's eldest Son immediately Prince of *Wales* from this time.

K. Henry spent seven and twenty hundred thousand pounds in his Journey to *France*.

but he takes good Fleeces from the *Jews*, and then lets them out to Farm, to his Brother *Richard*, for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

The King lets the *Jews* out to Farm.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs be the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of fifteen thousand Marks *per annum* to his Son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fall presently upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charters, and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer, to be chosen by themselves: so nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenor of *Magna Charta*. And now while the King was using means to winde himself out of debt, there happened occasions to put him further in; for now *Thomas* Earl of *Savoy*, the Queens Brother being at war with the City of *Thurin*, must be supplied with money towards it, by the King of *England*. Now the Elect Bishop of *Toledo*, the King of *Spain*'s Brother, comes into *England*, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him. Now *Eleanor* the Princes Wife, arrives with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small presents given them at their departure. Now comes *Rustandus* from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy *Manfred*, Son to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in *York*: but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loseth credit and all; for the Clergy slights him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of *Cornwal* five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not distrain. But King *Henry*'s greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son *Edmund*; for now comes the Bishop of *Bononia* from the Pope, with a ring of Investiture to Prince *Edmund*, in the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, which he pretends to be at his disposing: and King *Henry* takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his Son *Edmund* by no other name then King of *Sicilie*. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King *Henry*'s money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagement of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, that the Pope had defeated all *Manfred*'s Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom; when the truth was, that *Manfred* had defeated the Popes Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The Parliament requires to have the chooling of the chief Justice, Chancellour, and Treasurer.

The Earl of *Cornwal* likes not to lend the Pope mony, and why.

The Pope promiseth to make the Kings younger Son King of *Sicilie*.

The year 1257. the King keeps his *Christmas* at *Winchester*, where new grievances arise. The Merchants of *Gascoine*, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers with-

out

out satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father; and his Father having been informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamour was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour, he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words. See! now my blood, and my Bowels impugn me: but afterwards pacified, he gives order the injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come to be a grievance, who relying upon their Master, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure; and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man travelling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out. And many such pranks plaid by him and his followers in *Wales*, made the *Welsh* break out into open Rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be had towards the doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes in to the Chequer himself, and there laies penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their moneys in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Bushels and Weights, and something he gets; but *London* is his best Chequer, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the *Londoners*, and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the Kingdom. *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal* the Kings brother is elected King of the *Romans*; for although *Alphonsus* King of *Spain*, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl *Richard's* money wrought more then his learning, and the Archbishop of *Colen* comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at *Aquisgrane*. This Earl of *Cornwal* is reported able to dispend a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in *England*. But now as a man that paies dear for an Office, looks that his Office should pay him again: so Earl *Richard* having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into *England*, a poorer King then he went out an Earl.

Disorders committed by the Prince and his followers.

The Earl of *Cornwal* is chosen King of the *Romans*.

The Earl of *Cornwal's* great estate.

He returns into *England* in a poor estate.

Acts done in the contention between the King and his Barons.

NOw King *Henry* very proud to have his younger son a King as well as his brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his son *Edmund* clad in *Sicily* habit; and tells the Parliament, that for advancing this son of his to the Kingdom of *Sicilie*, he had bound himself under a covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of *Magna Charta*; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is holden at *London*, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purpose; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promise, the insolency of his brothers, and especially *William de Valence*, who had given the lye to the Earl of *Leicester*, and no right done him in it; and many such things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by ill counsel been seduced; but promiseth by his Oath which he took on the Tomb of S. *Edward*, to reform all those errours. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided between a desire to satisfie the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the variableness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned to S. *Barnabies* day, and then to assemble at *Oxford*. In which mean time the Earls, *Gloucester*, *Leicester*, *Hereford*, the Earl Marshal, *Bigot*, *Spencer*, and other great men, confederate, and provide by arms to effect their desire; and here is the foundation laid of those bloody wars that ensued between King *Henry*, and his Barons.

King *Henry* can get no money of the Parliament to make his son *Edmund* a King.

The Lords confederate again.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbot of *Westminster* to put his Seal, and that of his Covent to a Deed Obligatory, as a surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant *Simon Passeleve*, being imployed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to perswade them, that the King was Lord of all they had; they only answered, they acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet so, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all he could get of them. The Prince also in no less want then his Father, is driven to morgage his Town of *Stamford*, *Brahan*, and many other things, to *William de Valence*, a *Poictovin*, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, whither the Lords come attended with large trains; and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellour, and Treasurer may be ordained by publick choice; and that the twenty four Conservators of the Kingdom may be confirmed, twelve by the election of the Lords, and twelve by the King: some write there were but twelve in all, and were called, The *Douze Peers*, the twelve Peers, who ruled all things at their pleasure without controlment. The King, seeing their strength, and in what manner they required these things, swears solemnly again to the confirmation of them; and causeth the Prince to take the same Oath. But the Lords left not here, the Kings Brethren, the *Poictovins*, and other strangers must presently be removed: and this also, though with some little opposition, was at last concluded: and thereupon the Kings brethren and their followers are despoiled of all their fortunes, and exiled by proscription under the

King *Henry* useth shifts to get money.

The Liberty of the Subject.

The Lords require that the chief Justice, the Chancellour and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The King and Prince swear unto it.

The Poictovins are removed.

the Kings own hand, directed to the Earls of *Hereford*, and *Surrey*. But now ſickneſs and mortality happening to many great ones, it is imputed to poyſons, ſuppoſed to have been prepared by thoſe ſtrangers proſcribed. The Earl of *Gloceſter* in a ſickneſs ſuddenly loſt his hair, his teeth, his nails; and his Brother hardly eſcaped death: which made many to ſuſpect their neareſt ſervants, and their Cooks. *Walter Scoyny* the Earls Steward, is ſtrictly examined, committed to Priſon, and afterward without confeſſion, is upon preſumptions, only executed at *Wincheſter*. *Elias* a converted *Jew*, is ſaid to have confeſſed, that in his houſe the poyſon was confected; but it was when he was a *Jew*, and not a Chriſtian. Every man that had received any wrong by thoſe ſtrangers, now put up their complaints, and are heard. *Guido de Rochfort*, a *Poictevin*, to whom the King had given the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, is baniſhed, and all his Goods confiſcate. *William Buſſey*, Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and moſt reproachfully uſed. *Richard Grey*, whom the Lords had made Captain of *Dover* Caſtle, is ſent to intercept whatſoever the *Poictovins* conveyed that way out of *England*: and much treaſure of theirs, and of the Elect of *Wincheſter* is by him taken, beſides great ſums committed to the new Temple are found out, and ſeiſed for the King.

And now the chief Juſticiar *Hugh Bigot*, brother to the Earl Marſhal (choſen this laſt Parliament by publick voice) procures that four Knights in every Shire ſhould enquire of the oppreſſions of the poor, done by great men: and certifie the ſame, that redreſs might be made. Alſo order was taken againſt corrupting of Juſtice: when yet notwithſtanding this pretended care of the publick, it is noted by the Writers and Records of that time, how the Lords were themſelves but as *totidem tyranni*, enforcing the ſervices of the Kings Tenants that dwelt near them. But to make their cauſe the more popular, it was rumoured that the King ſtood upon it, that his neceſſity might be ſupplyed out of the Eſtates of his people, whether they would or no: which the King hearing, ſends forth Proclamation, declaring how certain malitious perſons had falſly and ſeditiouſly reported, that he ment unlawfully to charge his Subjects, and ſubvert the Laws, and Liberties of the Kingdom, and by theſe falſe ſuggeſtions averted the hearts of his people from him: and therefore deſires them not to give credit to ſuch perturbers; for that he was ready to defend all Right, and Cuſtomes due unto them: and that they might reſt of this ſecured, he cauſed his Letters to be made Patents. But now *Montford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, inforce the King to call a Parliament at *London*, where they get the authority of the twenty four to be eſtated wholly upon themſelves, and they alone to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of the Caſtles, and other buſineſſes of the Kingdom: and here they bind the King to loſe to their Legal obedience whenſoever he infringed this Charter.

The Lords themſelves tyrannize.

The Liberty of the Subject.

Four and twenty choſen to be Governours of the Kingdom; but *Montford* and *Gloceſter* get all the authority to themſelves.

At this time intelligence was given to the Lords, that *Richard* King of the *Romans* had a purpoſe to come into *England*, and the Lords

Richard King of the *Romans* returning,

ſuſpecting he would come with power to aid the King his Brother, take order for guarding the Ports, which intend to hinder his landing: but finding his train to be but ſmall, accompanyed only with his Queen, two *German* Earls and eight Knights, upon his promiſe to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himſelf to enter into *Dover* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter houſe, where the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſtanding forth in the midſt, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*; who in reverent manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in theſe words. *Hear all men, that I* Richard, *Earl of* Cornwal, *do here ſwear upon the holy Evangeliſts, that I ſhall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of* England, *and be an effectual Coadjutor to expel all Rebels and diſturbers of the ſame; and this Oath will inviolably obſerve, under pain of loſing all the Land I have in* England: *So help me God.* But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and ſeeks all means to vindicate his power, and firſt ſends meſſengers ſecretly to *Rome*, to be abſolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more aſſurance from the King of *France*, he makes an abſolute reſignation of all his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earldoms of *Anjou*, *Poictou*, *Tourene* and *Main*; in regard whereof the King of *France* gives him three hundred thouſand pounds (ſome ſay Crowns) of *Anjovin* money, and grants him to enjoy all *Guyen*, beyond the River *Garoune*, all the Countrey of *Xaintoigne* to the River of *Charente*, the Countrey of *Limouſin* and *Quercie*, for him and his ſucceſſours, doing their homage to the Crown of *France*, as Duke of *Aquitain*.

ſwears to aſſiſt the Lords.

King *Henry* ſends to *Rome* to be abſolved of his oath.

He reſigns his Right in *Normandy* for a ſum of money.

And now was the King of *France* made arbiter of the difference between King *Henry* and his Barons, who gives ſentence againſt the Barons concerning the Proviſions at *Oxford*; but of their ſide concerning King *John*'s Charter: by which nice diſtinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for thoſe Proviſions as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his ſentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongſt whom was *Henry* ſon to the Earl of *Cornwal*, *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de L'eisbourn*, *Haimo*, *L'eſtrange*, and many others. But the Earl of *Leiceſter*, notwithſtanding this revolt, recovers the Town and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, conſtrains the Citizens to pay a thouſand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſeth himſelf of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewsbury*, and comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to *London*, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon theſe conditions; that all the Caſtles of the King ſhould be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Proviſions of *Oxford* ſhould inviolably be kept; all ſtrangers by a certain time ſhould avoid the Kingdom, except only ſuch as were licenſed to ſtay. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle; but *Leiceſter* coming to beſiege it, he treats with him for Peace, which

The King of *France* is made Arbiter of the difference between the King and his Barons.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes many Caſtles.

The King concludes a Peace with his Barons.

which is refuſed, and the Caſtle is rendred to him.

Many Lords return to the King for peace but are denyed.

The King at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince *Richard* his Brother, *Henry* his Son, *William Valence*, with the reſt of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marcheth to *Oxford*, whither divers Lords of *Scotland* repair to him, as *John Commin*, *John Baliol*, Lords of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce*, and others: alſo many Barons of the North; *Clifford*, *Piercy*, *Baſſet*, and others. From *Oxford* he goes to *Northampton*, where he took Priſoners, *Simon Montfort* the younger, with fourteen other principal men; thence to *Nottingham*, making ſpoils of ſuch poſſeſſions as pertained to the Barons in thoſe parts. And now the Kings ſide grows ſtrong, which the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glocester* ſeeing, they write to the King, proteſting their Loyalty; and how they oppoſed only ſuch as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had belyed them. The King returns anſwer that themſelves were the perturbers of him and his State, and ſought his and the Kingdoms deſtruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewiſe, and the Earl of *Cornwal* ſend Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and ſend the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, with offer of thirty thouſand Marks to the King, for the damages done in theſe wars, ſo as the Statutes of *Oxford* may be obſerved; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl ſeeing no remedy, but it muſt be put to a day, takes his time to be earlyer ready then was expected; and ſupplies his want of ſtrength with policy, placing on the one ſide of a hill near *Lewis*, where the battel was fought, certain Enſigns without men, in ſuch ſort, as they might ſeem afar off to be ſquadrons of ſuccours to ſecond thoſe he brought to the encounter: whom he cauſed all to wear white Croſſes, both for their own notice, and the ſignification of his cauſe, which he would have to be thought for Juſtice. Here the fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earl of *Cornwal*, and his ſon *Henry*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Hereford*, with all the *Scottiſh* Lords, are taken priſoners; and of the *Engliſh*, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignan*, the Kings Brother, with *Hugh Bigot* Earl Marſhal, ſave themſelves by flight: five thouſand (ſome ſay twenty thouſand) are ſlain in the battel. A year and half is *Simon Montford* in poſſeſſion of his priſoner, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles in the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Leiceſter's* ſtratagem.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* takes the King, the Prince, and divers other Lords priſoners.

Variance between the Earls of *Leiceſter*, and *Glocester*.

Glocester joyns with Prince.

And now comes *Erinnys* and ſets debate between the two great Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Glocester*, about their Dividend. *Leiceſter* is taxed to do more for his own particular then the common good; his ſons alſo preſuming upon his greatneſs, grew inſolent: whereupon *Glocester* diſcontented forſakes that ſide, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately eſcaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another battel. The revolt of this Earl being great in it ſelf, was greater by its example; for now many others revolted likewiſe; and the Earl of *Leiceſter*, ſeeing the improvement of the Princes Forces, who was now with his Army about *Worceſter*, though he ſaw his own diſadvantage, yet imbattels in a Plain near *Eveſham* to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, ſaid to thoſe about him, Theſe men come bravely on, they learn it not of themſelves, but of me. And ſeeing himſelf likely to be beſet, and overlaid with multitude, he adviſed his friends *Hugh Spencer*, *Ralph Baſſet*, and others to ſhift for themſelves; which when they refuſed to do, then (ſaith he) let us commend our ſouls to God, for our bodies are theirs: and ſo undertaking the main weight of the battel, periſhed under it, and with him are ſlain his ſon *Henry*, eleven Barons, with many thouſands of common Souldiers. And thus ended *Montford* the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, highly honoured in his life, and more highly ſhould have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talkt of miracles enough to make him a Saint.

Montford the great Earl of *Leiceſter* ſlain.

Miracles reported of him being dead.

And now is King *Henry* by this victory of his ſon, at liberty; who together repair to *Wincheſter*, where a Parliament is convoked, and all who adhered to Earl *Montford*, are diſinherited, and their eſtates conferred on others, at the Kings pleaſure; the *Londoners* alſo have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of *Montford* gave a great wound to the party of the Barons: yet it was not mortal, at leaſt not mortal preſently; for there remained reliques that kept it alive a good while after. *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* ſons of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Iſle of *Ely*. The Caſtle of *Killingworth* held out half a year, till their victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods ſaved: and many others there were, reſolute and deſperate perſons, ſtrongly knit and faſtned together, though now ſhortly upon diſſolving. For after the Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the King with an Army going againſt them, and being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Montford* ſubmit themſelves to him: but when the Earl of *Glocester* oppoſed the reſtoring them to their eſtates, they were fain to flie the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countreys, as indeed they did; the younger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was baniſht ſhortly after the battel of *Eveſham*. A Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Siſter of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adverſity, or rather for her making a benefit of adverſity; for by this means ſhe took her ſelf to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at *Montarges* in *France*. About this time a great ſlaughter was made of *Jews* in *London*: and the quarrel was, becauſe a Jew would have forced a Chriſtian to give him more then two pence a week for the uſe of twenty ſhillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Montford's ſons flie the Kingdom.

Three years after this, the diſinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of render are propounded, but here the Council are divided in opinion: *Mortimer* and others ſtated in the poſſeſſions of the diſinherited, are againſt reſtauration, alledging it were injuſtice to take

take from them the rewards of their ſervice. *Gloceſter* and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earneſt for reſtauration; alledging, it were hard meaſure to grant them their lives, and not their livelyhoods: but not prevailing, in great diſcontentment *Gloceſter* retires from Court, ſends Meſſengers to warn the King to remove ſtrangers from his Council, and obſerves the Proviſions at *Oxford*, as he promiſed at *Eveſham*: otherwiſe that he ſhould not marvel if himſelf did what he thought fit. Hereupon *John de Warren*, Earl of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to the Earl of *Gloceſter*; who though they could not perſwade him to ſubmit to the King: yet thus much they got of him under his hand and Seal, that he would never bear arms againſt the King, or his ſon *Edward*, but only defend himſelf and purſue *Roger Mortimer*, and his other enemies. And now a Parliament is convoked at *Bury*, wherein many demands are made by the King and the Legat, and all for money from the Clergy; but all denied, that nothing but denials are done in this Parliament. After this, the Legat imploys Solicitors to perſwade the diſinherited Lords which held the Iſle of *Ely*, to return to the faith and unity of the Church, and to the Peace of the King, according to the form propounded at *Coventry*: to which the Lords make anſwer, that they never oppoſed the unity of the Church, but the avarice of Church-men that were put in authority; and that they never oppoſed the King, but for the good of the Kingdom: and then required, that the Proviſions at *Oxford* might be obſerved, and pledges be given them for their ſecurity. Hereupon the year after, the King prepares a mighty Army, and Prince *Edward* with Bridges entring the Iſle of *Ely*, ſhuts them up ſo, that he conſtrains them at laſt to yield. Alſo the Earl of *Gloceſter* coming to *London* with an Army, is by the Legat once again perſwaded to render himſelf to the King; and upon forfeiture of twelve thouſand Marks, if ever he ſhould raiſe any commotion again, is reconciled. Now remains *Lewellin* and the *Welſh* to be chaſtened for aiding of *Simon Mountford*; but the King going againſt them with an Army, they give him two and thirty pounds ſterling, and ſo make their peace; and here was an end of the firſt wars between the Kings of *England* and their Barons.

The Kings ſons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, undertake the Holy War.

The next year after the Popes Legat *Othobon*, ſigns with the Croyſado both the Kings ſons, *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Earl of *Gloceſter*, and divers Noble men induced to undertake the Holy war by the ſollicitation of him and the *King* of *France*; who notwithſtanding his former calamities endured in that action, would once again adventure it. And becauſe Prince *Edward* wanted means to furniſh himſelf out, the King of *France* lends him thirty thouſand Marks upon a mortgage of *Gaſcoyn*. And now whileſt this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to eſtabliſh the Peace of the Kingdom, and to reform the exceſſes which the war had bred: and the ſame year aſſembles his laſt Parliament at *Marleborough*, where the Statutes of that Title were enacted. Near two years it ſeems to have been after the undertaking the Croſs, before Prince *Edward* ſet forth; but then taking his wife *Eleanor* with him, though young with childe, he ſet forward, and in the voyage, when many of his people ſeemed deſirous to leave him, and return home, he is ſaid to have ſtrucken his breſt, and ſworn; that if all his followers forſook him, he would yet enter *Acon*, or *Ptolemais*, though but only with his horſe-keeper *Fowin*. Shortly after *Richard* King of the *Romans* died, and the year following King *Henry*.

Prince *Edwards* reſolutions to the Holy War.

Theſe ſtatutes of *Marleborough*.

Of his Taxations and wayes for raiſing of money.

NEver ſon was more like a Father in any thing, then King *Henry* was like his Father King *John*, in this point, for raiſing of Money; for he trod directly in all his ſteps, if he added not ſomething of his own. King *John* had great Subſidies granted him by Parliament, for any great action he undertook, ſo had King *Henry*. King *John* reſumed the Lands aliened from the Crown, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* made benefit of the vacancy of Biſhopricks, and Abbeys, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* took great Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only ſuppoſed, ſo did King *Henry*. And *John* made benefit of a new Seal, ſo did King *Henry*. King *John* extorted great ſums from the *Jews*, ſo did King *Henry*. And one way more he had to get money, which perhaps his father had not; and that was by begging, as he told the Abbot of *Borough*, It was more Alms to give money to him, then to the Beggar that went from door to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign may be reckoned amongſt his annual Revenues, for ſcarce any year paſſed without a Parliament; and ſeldom any Parliament without a Tax: or if any ſometimes without, it was then cauſe of the greater Taxation ſome other way; as when he took of the *Londoners* for having aided the Barons, twenty thouſand Mark.

King *Henry* gets money by begging.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN this Kings Reign were ratified and confirmed the two great Charters of *Magna Charta* and *Charta de Foreſta*. Alſo in his time were enacted the Statutes called of *Merton*, of *Oxford* and of *Marleborough*. Alſo ſtealing of cattel, which before was but pecuniary, he made capital: and the firſt ſuffered for the ſame, was one of *Dunſtable*, who having ſtoln twelve Oxen from the Inhabitants of *Colne*, and being purſued to *Redburn*, was by a Bayliff of St. *Albans*, according to the Kings Proclamation, condemned and beheaded. And it may ſeem ſtrange, that in theſe times ſo much blood ſhould be ſhed in the field, and none upon the Scaffold; for till the twenty ſixth year of this King, that one *William Maraiſe*, the ſon of *Geoffry Maraiſe*, a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned for Piracy and Treaſon, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered, there is no example of that kinde of puniſhment to be found in our Hiſtories. Particularly in this Kings Reign was made that Statute, by which the Ward and marriage of the Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King. Alſo in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown were pleaded in the Tower of *London*. All Wears in the Thames are in this Kings time ordained to be pluckt up and deſtroyed. Alſo the Citizens

Wardſhips of Barons given to King *Henry*.

Citizens of *London* are allowed by Charter, to pass Toll-free through all *England*, and to have free Warren about *London*: also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of *London* should continue in his Office longer then one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of *London*, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this Kings time allowed to the City of *London* to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, wheresoever he were. In his time the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this Kings time, *William* Bishop of *Salisbury*, first caused that custome to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their suit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the 32 year of this Kings Reign, the Wharf of *London* called *Queen-Hithe*, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this Kings time a Proclamation was set forth, that all such as might dispend fifteen pound in Land, should receive the Order of Knight-hood; and those that would not, or could not, should pay their Fines.

Aldermen of *London* when first ordained.

Suit of Court when first brought up.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

AFfairs of the Church for matter of Doctrine, were never more quiet then in this Kings Reign; for now all Heresies accounted of the time, especially the *Albigenses*, were in a manner suppressed by the Arms of the King of *France*, not without the vote of the King of *England*, who forbore to make war upon them in tenderness to his service. But for matter of manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbeys were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy-men outraged, Bishops themselvs not spared: and all for greediness of money, or for revenge.

Othabone, the Popes Legat here in *England*, lying at the Abbey at *Osency*, there happened a difference between his servants and the Scholars at *Oxford*; in which contention a brother of his was slain, and the Legat himself fain to flie into the Steeple for the safeguard of his life. Whereupon afterward being gotten thence by the Kings safe conduct, he thundered out curses against the Scholars, and interdicted the University; so as the Colledges grew desolate, and the Students were dispersed abroad into other places, for the space of half a year: till the Monk of *Oseney*, and the Regent Masters of *Oxford* were fain to go bare-footed and bare-headed through *London*, as far as *Durham* house, where the Legate lay, and there upon their humble submission, and great Mens intercession, they were absolved, and the University restored to its former estate. But of this *Othobone*, it may not be impertinent to relate a little further: that going afterward out of *England*, he came by degrees, after the death of *Innocent* the fifth, to be Pope of *Rome* himself, by the name of *Adrian* the fifth, and dyed within fifty dayes after his election. Amongst the affairs of the Church may be reckoned the Ulcers of any member of the Church: such as one as in this Kings time broak out most loathsome. For one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in resemblance to five wounds in Christ's body, took upon him to be Christ; and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin *Mary*: who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjudged to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthiness should spread no further. In this Kings time a little novelty was brought in by Pope *Innocent* the fourth, who ordained that Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this Kings time, the *Grecians* forsook their obedience to the Church of *Rome*; and the Archbishop of *Antioch* claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishop of *Rome*, because the Apostle *Peter* had first governed the Church of *Antioch* seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friers Minors (as some write) came first into *England*; but it is not like they came so soon, for they were Gray Friers of the order of St. *Francis*: and St. *Francis* had no grace till Pope *Honorius* the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related here of St. *Francis*, that fifteen dayes before his death appeared wounds in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Cross; and that as soon as he was dead, there remained not so much as any marks of the said wounds upon him.

Othabone the Popes Legat in fear at *Oxford*.

He interdicteth the University and how pacified.

One takes upon him to be Christ.

Cardinals red Hats when first ordained.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King caused a chest of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King *Edward* the Confessour, in the Church of *Westminster*. He builded a Church for converted *Jews* in *London*: also an Hospital at *Oxford*, for Passengers, and diseased persons: also the new Conventual Church and the Chappel of our Lady at *Westminster*, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of *Black-Friers* in *Canterbury*. In his time, *Elo* Countess of *Salisbury* founded the Abbey of *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*: *Richard* Earl of *Cornwal*, founded *Hails*, a Monastery of Cistercian Monks near to *Winchcomb* in *Glocestershire*: *Reginald de Moun*, Earl of *Somerset*, and Lord of *Dunster*, founded the Abbey of *Newham* in *Devonshire*: *Ranulph* the third Earl of *Chester*, and Lord of little *Britain*, builded the Castles of *Chartley*, *Bestone*, and the Abbey of *De la Cross*: Sir *John Mansel* the King's Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Canons near to *Rumney* in *Kent*: *William de Albineto* Earl of *Arundel*, founded the Priory of *Wimondham*: *William Brunc*, a Citizen of *London*, and *Rosia* his Wife, founded the Hospital of our Lady without *Bishopsgate* in *London*: And *Isabel* Countess of *Arundel* founded the Nunnery of *Marran*, near to *Linne*. *Friers Minors* first arrived at *Dover*, nine in number; whereof five remained at *Canterbury*, and there builded the first Covent of *Friers Minors*, that ever was in *England*: the other four came to *London*, who encreasing in number, had a place alligned them in Saint *Nicholas Shambles*; which *John Iwyn*, Mercer of *London*, appropriated to the use of

Friers Minors when first in England.

the ſaid Friers, and became himſelf a Lay-brother. Alſo in this Kings time the new work of Saint *Paul's* Church in *London* was begun. If it were piety in the *Jew*, who falling into a Privy upon a Saturday, would not be taken out that day, becauſe it was the *Jews* Sabbath: it was as much piety in the Earl of *Gloceſter*, that would not ſuffer him to be taken out the next day, becauſe it was the Chriſtian Sabbath; and when the third day was come, he was taken out dead. Whoſe piety was the greater? A ſtrange accident upon an act of piety, is related in this Kings time; which if true, is a Miracle; if not true, is yet a Legend, and not unworthy to be read: that in a time of dearth, one man in a certain Pariſh, who allowed poor people to relieve themſelves with taking corn upon his ground, had at Harveſt a plentiful crop; where others that denyed them had their corn all blaſted, and nothing worth. In this Kings time alſo, *Hugh Balſamus* Biſhop of *Ely* founded Saint *Peter's* Colledge in *Cambridge*. *Hubert de Burgh* Earl of *Kent*, was buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers in *London*, to which Church he gave his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, which afterward the Archbiſhop of *York* bought, and made it his Inn; ſince commonly called *York*-place, now *White-Hall*.

A Jew fal-ling into a Privy would not be taken out on the Sabbath day.

Charity re-warded from heaven.

St. Peter's Colledge in Cambridge by whom founded.

White-Hall to whom it anciently belonged.

Caſualties happening in his time.

AT one time there fell no Rain in *England*, from the firſt of *March* to the *Aſſumption* of our Lady; and at another time there fell ſo much Rain, that *Holland* and *Holdernes* in *Lincolnſhire* were overflowed and drowned. In the 17. year of his reign, were ſeen, 5 Suns at one time together; after which followed ſo great a dearth, that people were conſtrained to eat Horſe-fleſh, and barks of Trees: and in *London* twenty thouſand were ſtarved for want of food. Alſo in his time the Church of Saint *Mildred* in *Canterbury*, and a great part of the City was burnt. Alſo the Town of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine* was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may ſeem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it muſt be told; that in this Kings time there was ſent by the King of *France*, the firſt Elephant that ever was ſeen in *England*. In this Kings time, *Matthew Paris* relates of a maid in *Leiceſterſhire*, that being exactly watched, was found in ſeven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays ſhe received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Reſurrection, our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Alſo in this Kings time, there was found a plentiful Mine of Tinne in *Germany*, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in *Cornwal*; which much abated the price of Tinne in *England*. In his time alſo the Sea by the ſpace of four or five dayes, flowed not up to her uſual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Alſo in his time a childe was born in *Kent*, that at two years old cured all diſeaſes. Alſo in his 56. year a Lamb was yeaned at *Greenwich* beſide *London*, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Alſo in his time a childe was born in the Iſle of *Wight*, who at 18 years old, was ſcarce grown to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, ſhe carryed him about with her as a Monſter of Nature.

The firſt Elephants brought into *England*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Eleanor*, the ſecond of the five daughters of *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, who lived his Wife thirty ſeven years, his Widow nineteen, dyed a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and was buryed in her Monaſtery. By her he had ſix ſons and three daughters: of his ſons, the four youngeſt dyed young, and were buryed, three of them at *Weſtminſter*, and the fourth in the New Temple by *Fleetſtreet*. His eldeſt ſon *Edward*, ſurnamed *Longſhanke*, of his tall and ſlender body, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. His ſecond ſon *Edmund*, ſurnamed *Crouchback*, of bowing in his back, (as ſome ſay) but more likely of wearing the ſign of the Croſs, (anciently called a *Crouch*) upon his back, which was uſually worn of ſuch as had vowed voyages to *Hieruſalem*, as he had done. He was inveſted titular King of *Sicilie* and *Apulia*, and created Earl of *Lancaſter*; on whoſe perſon originally the great contention of *Lancaſter* and *York* was founded. He had two wives, the firſt was *Avelin* daughter and heir of *William* Earl of *Albemarle*, by whom he left no iſſue. The ſecond was Queen *Blanch*, daughter of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, (brother of St. *Lewis* King of *France*) widow of *Henry* of *Champaigne* King of *Navarre*: by her he had iſſue three ſons and one daughter. His eldeſt ſon *Thomas*, who after his father was Earl of *Lancaſter*, and having married *Alice* daughter and heir of *Henry Lacie* Earl of *Lincoln*, was beheaded at *Pomfret* without iſſue. His ſecond ſon *Henry* Lord of *Monmouth*, who after his brothers death was Earl of *Lancaſter*, and father of *Henry* the firſt Duke of *Lancaſter*: his third ſon *John*, who dyed unmarryed. His daughter *Mary* married to *Henry* Lord *Piercie*, mother of *Henry* the firſt Earl of *Northumberland*. This *Edmund* dyed at *Bay* in *Gaſcoin*, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whoſe body half a year after his death, was brought over into *England*, and entombed at *Weſtminſter*. Of King *Henries* three daughters, the eldeſt *Margaret* was married to *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, by whom ſhe had iſſue, two ſons, *Alexander* and *David*, who dyed both before their father, without iſſue; and one daughter *Margaret* Queen of *Norway*, wife of King *Ericke*, and mother of *Margaret* the heir of *Scotland* and *Norway*, that dyed unmarryed; The ſecond daughter of King *Henry* was *Beatrice*, born at *Burdeaux*, married to *John* the firſt Duke of *Britain*, and had iſſue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, *John* Earl of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip* ſon of *Robert* Earl of *Artois*, *Eleanor* a Nun at *Aimsbury*, and *Mary* married to *Guy*, Earl of St. *Paul*, ſhe deceaſed in *Britain*, and was buryed at *London*, in the Quire of the Gray-Fryers within *Newgate*. The third daughter of King *Henry*, named *Katherine*, dyed young, and lies buried at *Weſtminſter*, in the ſpace between the Chappels of King *Edward* and Saint *Benet*.

Edmund Crouchback, the firſt anceſtour of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Of

of his eye-lids hanging down, and almoſt covering the black of his eye. For his inward indowments, it may be ſaid, he was wiſer for a man, then for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his life then his Subjects. He was rather Pious then Devout, as taking more pleaſure in hearing Maſſes then Sermons, as he ſaid to the King of *France*, He had rather ſee his friend once, then hear from him often. His minde ſeemed not to ſtand firm upon its Baſis, for every ſudden accident put him into paſſion. He was neither conſtant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had ſo great a Favourite whom he caſt not into diſgrace, nor ſo great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was ſeen in his carriage towards *Hubert de Burgh*, who was for a time the greateſt Favourite, yet caſt out afterward in miſerable diſgrace; and then no man held in greater hatred; yet received afterward into grace again. And it is memorable to hear with what crimes this *Hubert* was charged at his arraignment, and ſpecially one: That to diſſwade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had ſaid, the King was a ſquint-eyed Fool, and a kinde of Leaper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted then a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himſelf was preſent, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiſcate, and to be deprived of his Title of Earl; yet after all this was reſtored to his eſtate again, and ſuffered to live in quiet. He was more deſirous of money then of honour, for elſe he would never have ſold his Right to the two great Dukedoms of *Normandy* and *Anjou* to the King of *France* for a ſum of money. Yet he was more deſirous of honour, then of quietneſs; for elſe he would never have contended ſo long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His moſt eminent vertue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any baſe children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

A ſtrange affront to a King.

Of his Death and Burial.

THough he had lived a troubleſome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had ſetled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his conſcience. For being at Saint *Edmunds Bury*, and finding himſelf not well at eaſe, he made the more haſte to *London*, where calling before him his Lords, and ſpecially *Gilbert de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*, he exhorted them to be true and faithful to his ſon Prince *Edward*, who was at that time far from home; and therefore had the more need of their care, which conſiſted chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his ſickneſs increaſing, he yielded up his ſoul to God, on the ſixteenth day of *November*, in the year 1272. when he had lived threeſcore and five years, reigned ſix and fifty; and was buried at *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly builded.

1272.

Of men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three ſpecially who obſcured the reſt: the firſt was *William Marſhal*, Earl of *Pembroke*, memorable for the great care he had of King *Henry* in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that Deſtinie had of his poſterity; for leaving his five Sons behinde him, they all lived to be Earls ſucceſſively, yet all died without iſſue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the *Marſhalls* come wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe *Matthew Paris*) by reaſon of a curſe of an *Iriſh* Biſhop, from whom he had taken two Manors belonging to his Biſhoprick; and neither he, nor all his ſons, upon any intreaties would be gotten to reſtore them. The ſecond was *Richard de Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter* who in a Battel againſt *Baldwyn de Giſnes*, a valiant *Flemming*, imployed by King *Henry*, himſelf alone encountred twelve of his enemies; and having his horſe ſlain under him, he pitcht one of them by the leg out of the ſaddle, and leapt into it himſelf, and continued the fight without giving ground, till his Army came to reſcue him. An act, that may ſeem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, then in a true Narration. The third was *Simon Montford*, a man of ſo audacious a Spirit, that he gave King *Henry* the lie to his face; and that in preſence of all his Lords, and of whom it ſeems, the King ſtood in no ſmall fear. For paſſing one time upon the Thames, and ſuddenly taken with a terrible ſtorm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be ſet on ſhore at the next ſtairs, which happened to be at *Durham* Houſe, where *Montford* then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him ſomewhat frighted with the Thunder, ſaid unto him, Your Majeſty need not fear the Thunder, the danger is now paſt: No *Montford* (ſaid the King) I fear not the Thunder ſo much as I fear thee. Of men famous for ſanctity of life, there were likewiſe many in his time, but three moreeminent then the reſt, *Edmund* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Richard* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and *Thomas* Arch-Deacon of *Hereford*; all three either Canonized, or at leaſt thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To theſe may be added *Robert Groſs-head* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who tranſlated the Teſtaments of the twelve Patriarch, out of Greek into Latine; which through envy of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of Saint *Hierome*, wherein are many Propheſies of our Saviour Chriſt. Of men famous for Learning, there were likewiſe many in his time; of whom ſome left works behind them for Teſtimonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as *Alexander Hales*, a Frier minor, who wrote many Treatiſes in Divinity; *Ralph Coggeſhall*, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of *Ralph Niger*; *Randolph Glanvile*, the Earl of *Cheſter*, the third and laſt of that name, who compiled a book of the Laws of *England*; *Henry Bracton*, who wrote the book commonly called by his name, *de Conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*: and beſides theſe, *Hugh Kirkſtead*, *Richard* of *Ely*, *Peter Henham*, *John Gyles*,

The numerous Family of the *Marſhalls* ſudenly extinct.

The notable valour and activity of *Richard de Clare*, Earl of *Gloceſter*.

the audacious ſpirit of *Simon Montford*.

Bracton wrote a book of the Law.

Gyles, and *Nicholas Fernham*, excellent Phyſitians; *Richard* ſurnamed *Theologus*, and *Robert Bacon*, two notable Divines; *Stephen Langton*, *Richard Fiſaker*, *Simon Stokes*, *John* of *Kent*, *William Shirwood*, *Michael Blaunpain*, *John Godard*, *Vincent* of *Coventry*, *Alberick Veer*, *Richard Wich*, *John Baſing*, *Roger Waltham*, *William Seningham*, and others.

The Maiors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his firſt year,
William Hardel was Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Newland*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Robert Serl was Mayor.
Thomas Bokerell, *Ralph Holyland*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Benet Senturer, *William Blundivers*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
John Wail, or *Veil*, *Joſue le Spicer*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Wimbledon, *John Wail* or *Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Renger, *John Veil*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Robert Serl continued Mayor.
Richard Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Richard Renger was Mayor.
William Joyner, *Thomas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year.
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
John Travers, *Andrew Bokerell*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Renger continued Mayor.
Roger Duke, *Martin Fitz-Williams*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Roger Duke was Mayor.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year.
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
Stephen Bokerel, *Henry Cocham*, Sheriffs,

In his fourteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
William Wincheſter, *Robert-Fitz-John*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Roger Duke continued Mayor.
Richard Walter, *John de Woborn*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel was Mayor.
Michael of St. *Helen*, *Walter de Enfield*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Henry de Edmonton, *Gerard Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Roger Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Ralph Aſhwy, *John Norman* Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
Gerard Bat, *Richard* or *Robert Hardel*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor
Henry Cobham, *Jordan Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Andrew Bokerel continued Mayor.
John Tolaſon, *Gervais* the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Richard Renger was Mayor.
John Codras, *John Whithall*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year.
William Joyner was Mayor.
Reymond Bongy, *Ralph Aſhwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Gerard Bat was Mayor.
John Giſors, *Michael Tony*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Reymond Bongy was Mayor.
Thomas Dureſm, *John Voyl*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Reymond Bongy continued Mayor.
John Fitz-John, *Ralph Aſhwy*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Ralph Aſhwy was Mayor.
Hugh Blunt, *Adam Baſing*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Michael Tony was Mayor.
Ralph Foſter, *Nicholas Bat*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
John Giſors was Mayor.
Robert Cornhill, *Adam* of *Bewley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
John Giſors continued Mayor.
Simon Fitz-Mary, *Lawrence Frowick*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirty second year,
Peter Fitz-Alwin was Mayor.
John Voil, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Michael Tony was Mayor,
Nicholas Fitz-Josue, Geoffry Wincheſter, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Roger Fitz-Roger was Mayor.
Richard Hardel, John Tolaſon, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Giſors was Mayor.
Humfrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Adam Baſing was Mayor.
Lawrence Frowick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
John Tolaſon was Mayor.
William Durham, Thomas Wimborn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Richard Hardel was Mayor.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Ralph Aſhwy, Robert of *Limon*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmond, Sheriffs.

In his forty firſt year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Michael Bokerel, John the *Minor*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſecond year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor,
Richard Otwel, William Aſhwy, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.
Robert Cornhil, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Giſors was Mayor.
John Adrian, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
William Fitz-Richard was Mayor.
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſixth year,
William Fitz-Richard continued Mayor.
John Northampton, Richard Pichard, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſeventh year,
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Mayor.
John Taylor, Richard Walbroke, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth eighth year,
Thomas Fitz Richard continued Mayor.
Robert de Mountpeter, Osbert de Suffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet *Fabian* ſaith, that from this 48. year to the end of his Reign, there were no Mayors of *London*, but only Guardians of the City.

In his forty ninth year,
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard was Mayor.
George Rokeſley, Thomas de Detford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, continued Mayor,
Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fifty firſt year,
William Richards was Mayor.
John Hind, John Walraven, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſecond year,
Alen de la Souch was Mayor.
John Adrian, Lucas de Batencourt, Sheriffs.

In his fifty third year,
T. Wimbourn, Cuſtos, Sir *Stephen Edward*.
Walter Harvey, William Dareſme, Sheriffs.

In his fifty fourth year,
Hugh Fitz Ottonis, Cuſtos of *London*, and Conſtable of the *Tower*.
Thomas Baſing, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

To this time the Mayor and Sheriffs had been choſen, but now the King grants the choice of them to the City it ſelf.

In his fifty fifth year,
John Adrian was Mayor.
Walter Potter, Philip Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſixth year,
John Adrian continued Mayor.
Gregory Rocheſly, Henry Walleis, Sheriffs.

In his fifty ſeventh year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Mayor.
Richard Harris, John de Wadley, Sheriffs.

THE

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE FIRST, Surnamed of *WINCHESTER*.

Of his coming to the Crown.

AS soon as King *Henry* was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son Prince *Edward* to be proclaimed King: and assembling at the new Temple in *London*, they there took order for the quiet Governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return. For at his first coming thither he rescued the Great City of *Acon* from being surrendred to the Souldan; after which out of envy to his Valour, one *Anzazim* a desperate *Saracen*, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the arm-pit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unspeakable love the Lady *Eleanor* his Wife had not suckt out the poison of his wounds with her mouth; and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable. It is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is it self a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in fit places for defence of the Countrey, he with his Wife *Eleanor* takes his journey homewards. And first passing by *Sicilie*, was there most kindely received by *Charles*, King of that Island, where he first heard of his Fathers death; which he took more heavily far, then he had taken the death of his young Son *Henry*, whereof he had heard a little before. At which when King *Charles* marvelled, he answered, that other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through *Italy*, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes; and then descends into *Burgoigne*, where by the Earl of *Challoun*, a stout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a pretence to solemnize his presence: but with a purpose indeed to disgrace his person. And though Prince *Edward* in many respects might justly have refused it; yet the nobleness of his minde would not suffer him to pass by any occasion of shewing his Valour: and in this encounter he so foiled the Earl, as he made it appear, that Fame had been no lyar in the report it had made of him. And here a great part of his *English* Nobility met him, from whence he passed into *France*, where the King *Philip* his near Cousin (as being Sisters Sons) entertains him with great solemnity; and graceth his solemnity with so much courtesie, that it won Prince *Edward* voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in *France*: and this voluntariness in Prince *Edward* won the King of *France* again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in *France* that belonged to him; and so these two great Kings by reciprocal courtesie, effected that which their Predecessours by force could never effect. From hence he passeth through *Aquitain*, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and set all things in order, he set sail and arrived in *England*, above a year after the death of his Father; a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plotters of mischief, if all causes of quietness had not concurred: but such was the worthiness of Prince *Edward*'s person, and such the undoubtedness of his Title; that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providence had shewed a special care over him from his Childehood; whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chess with a Friend, in the midst of his Game, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he sate, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house, a great stone, which if he had stayed in the place but never so little, had beaten out his brains. Another example of the Divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into *Flanders*, and being at *Winchelsey*, where the Ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his horse frighted with the noise of a Wind-mill, which the winde drove violently about, scrambled up and leapt over the Mud-wall of the Town, so as neither the King nor the Horse was to be seen, but every one judged the King could not chuse but be thrown and killed: yet such was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horse lighted

Prince *Edward* poisoned in the Holy-Land.

The poison suckt out of his wounds by his Wife.

He takes the death of his Father more heavily then of his Son.

Prince *Edward* his valour.

Reciprocal courtesies between King *Edward* and the King of *France*.

King *Edward* protected by the Divine hand from his childehood.

lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now passed all the dangers of this tedious Journey; and being safely come to *London*, was on the fifteenth day of *August* in the year 1274. Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, by *Robert Kilwarby* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great then the inward joy was universal; every man rejoycing, not only at a change, which of it self is pleasing: but at a change so much for the better, as this was like to be.

1274. He is Crowned.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

THE Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfitly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords; His Acts with his Clergy; then with *Wales*; then his Acts with *Scotland*: and lastly with *France*. And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties, and granting them easier Laws; for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of *Westminster* the first: so as he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his Reign, as shall be shewed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his fathers reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings; at least to keep them farther from growing: which he did by these means. First, in the sixth year of his Reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Covent of *Westminster*, the return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King *Henry* the third. The next year after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*, to hinder the increase of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, he defaulked the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and grewing more upon on them, he required the moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at *Salisbury*, without admission of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that *Marchlan* his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious Houses, there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of *Mortmain*, that had been made so much to their hinderance, He answered, that this was a Statute made by the whole body of the Realm; and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

He gives contentment to his Lords.

He abates the power of the Clergy.

The Statute of *Mortmain* enacted.

A Parliament without any Clergy-men admitted.

The King cannot undo a Statute

In the next place are the *Welsh*, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince *Leolyn* being summoned to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leasure, being required to come and do him homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubt to be used, as his Father *Griffin* had been: who upon hard usage in the *Tower*, seeking to make escape, fell from the Walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was alwayes a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in *England*, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other, to have a day of it; and to change their yoke of Bondage into Liberty: for which they were never better provided then now, (especially which is the greatest matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time. For the Lady *Eleanor*, a Daughter of the late Earl *Simon Montford*, whom Prince *Leolyn* extreamly loved, passing out of *France* into *Wales*, was by the way upon the Sea taken by *English* Ships, and brought to King *Edward*; and for the love of her Prince, *Leolyn* was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds sterling, and a thousand pounds *per annum* during his life. And upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in *England*; whereat the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years *Leolyn* continued Loyal, and within the bounds of obedience; in which time *David*, one of his Brothers, staying here in *England*, and found by the King to be of a stirring spirit, was much honoured by him, Knighted and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of *Derby*; and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of *Denbigh*, with a thousand pounds *per annum*: though (as it was afterwards found) he lived here but in the nature of a spy. For when Prince *Leolyn's* Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother *David* to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King; and they together enter the *English* Borders, surprize the *Castles* of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford*, sent Justiciar into those parts: and in a great Battel overthrew the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Surrey*, with the slaughter of Sir *William Lindsey*, Sir *Richard Tanny*, and many others. King *Edward* advertised of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the *Vyzes* in *Wiltshire*, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen *Eleanor*, lying at the Nunnery of *Aimsbury*, with whom whilst he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blinde) to have received his sight at the Tomb of King *Henry* the third. Assoon as the King saw the man, he remembred he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wished his Mother in no case to believe him: but his Mother, who much rejoyced

Prince *Leolyn* delayes to do his homage.

For the love of his Lady he submits himself.

She dead, he falls into rebellion.

An impostor discovered by the King.

to

to hear of this Miracle, for the glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father should be a Saint, grew suddenly into such a rage against him, that she commanded him to avoid her Chamber: which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the story of this Impostor, and merrily said, He knew the justice of his Father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight. In this mean time the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had gone of himself to Prince *Leolyn*, and had laboured to bring him and his Brother *David* to a re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other reasons that swayed Prince *Leolyn*, the conceit of a Prophesie of *Merlin*, that he should shortly be Crowned with the Diadem of *Brute*, so over-weighed him, that he had no ear for peace, and shortly after no head. For after the Earl of *Pembroke* had taken *Bere* Castle, which was the seat of Prince *Leolyn*, he was himself slain in Battel; and his head cut off by a common Souldier, was sent to King *Edward*, who caused the same to be crowned with Ivy, and to be set upon the *Tower* of *London*. And this was the end of *Leolyn*, the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the men of *Buelth*. Not long after his Brother *David* also is taken in *Wales*, and judged in *England* to an ignominious death; first drawn at a Horse tail about the City of *Shrewsbury*; then beheaded, the trunk of his Body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany his Brother's on the *Tower* of *London*, his four quarters to four Cities, *Bristol*, *Northampton*, *York*, and *Winchester*. A manifold Execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this Kingdom, in the person of the Son of a Prince, or any other Noble-man that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something which some here observe, that at the sealing of this Conquest, King *Edward* lost his eldest Son *Alphonsus*, of the age of 12. years, (a Prince of great hope) and had only left to succeed him, his Son *Edward* lately born at *Carnarvan*, and the first of the *English*, intituled Prince of *Wales*, but no Prince worthy of either *Wales* or *England*. And thus came *Wales* to be united to the Crown of *England*, in the eleventh year of this King *Edward*'s Reign; who thereupon established the Government thereof, according to the Laws of *England*, as as may be seen by the Statute of *Rutland*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

1283. Prince *Leolyn* deceived by a Prophesie, flies out and is slain.

The last of the *Welsh* Princes.

His Brother *David*'s ignominious death.

Wales united to the Crown of *England*.

The work of *Wales* being settled, King *Edward* passeth over into *France*, upon notice of the death of *Philip the Hardie*, to renew and confirm such conditions as his state in those parts required, with the new King *Philip* the fourth, intituled *the Fair*; to whom he doth homage for *Aquitain*, having before quitted his claim to *Normandy* for ever. After three years and a half, being away in *France*, he returns into *England*; and now in the next place comes the business with *Scotland*, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. *Alexander* the third, King of *Scots*, as he was running his Horse, fell Horse and Man to the ground, and brake his neck, and died immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving no issue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter *Margaret*, who died also soon after, there fell out presently great contention about succession. Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, *Erick* King of *Norway*, *Florence* Earl of *Holland*, *Robert Bruce*, Earl of *Anandale*, *John de Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, *John de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergavenny*, *John Cummin* Lord of *Badenaw*, *Patrick de Dunbarre*, Earl of *March*, *John de Vescie*, *Nicholas de Sules*, *William de Ross*; all or most of them descending from *David* Earl of *Huntington*, younger Brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Uncle to the late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors, over that Kingdom, and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as *Marianus Scotus*, *William* of *Malmsbury*, *Roger de Hoveden*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, *Ralph de Diceto*, and others; which though the *Scottish* Lords who swayed the *Inter-regnum* opposed, yet are they constrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to stand to his award. Two are especially found, between whom the right lay, *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*; the one descended from an elder Daughter: the other from a Son of a younger daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldest Daughter of this *David*, brother to King *William*. The controversie held long. Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the same at *Berwick*, all the best Civilians in the Universities of *France* are solicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts then resolutions. Whereupon King *Edward* the better to sway this business by his presence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as *Lincolnshire*, he lost his beloved Wife Queen *Eleanor*, and thereupon going back to see her Funeral performed at *Westminster*. That done he returns presently to his *Scottish* business. And now six years were passed since the death of King *Alexander*, and yet nothing concluded in this controversie; whereupon King *Edward* deals privately with *Bruce*, (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promiseth him if he would swear fealty and homage to the Crown of *England*, he would invest him in that of *Scotland*. But *Bruce* answers, he was not so desirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Countrey. Whereupon with the like offers he sets upon *Baliol*, who having better right, but less less love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom then Honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at *Scone*; hath fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except *Bruce*; comes to *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, where King *Edward* then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, swears fealty, and doth homage to him as his Sovereign Lord. Which act done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became less. Such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (tender of the preservation of their Countreys Liberty) took stomack against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for his injustice in the case of the Earl of *Fife*, one of the six Governours in the time of the *Inter-regnum*,

The Competitors for the Crown of *Scotland*.

King *Edward* arbiter in whom is the Right.

1291. King *Edward*'s Queen *Eleanor* dieth.

King *Edward* arbitrateth the Crown to *Baliol*.

regnum, who had been ſlain by the Family of *Alberneth*; the Brother of which Earl proſecuting Law before King *Baliol*, in his High Court of Parliament, and having no right done him (King *Baliol* giving judgement of the ſide of the *Albernethi*) he appeals to the Court of the King of *England*. Whereupon *Baliol* is ſummoned, appears, ſits with King *Edward* in his Parliament, till his cauſe was to be heard, and then is cited by an Officer to ariſe, and to ſtand in the place appointed for pleading; then he craves to anſwer by a Procurator, but is denied, and thereupon deſcends to the ordinary place, and defends his cauſe himſelf. Which indignity (as he took it) ſo incenſeth him, that he returns home with a breſt full charged with indignation, meditates revenge, renues the ancient league with *France*, confirms it with marriage of his ſon *Edward* to a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad in regard of late offences taken againſt the King of *England*, to embrace the ſame: which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*, renounceth his Allegiance, as unlawfully done, being not in his power, without conſent of the State, to do any ſuch act. Hereupon brake out the mortal diſſention between the two Nations, which conſumed more Chriſtian blood, and continued longer then ever quarrel we read of did, between any two people in the world. For he that began it could not end it, but it laſted almoſt three hundred years, and was never throughly aboliſhed, till the late bleſſed union wrought by him, in whom Wiſdom and Vertue, Right and Power concurred all to make it firm. And now the fatal Chair in which the Kings of *Scotland* uſed to be inaugurated, ſeems to recover its ſecret operation according to ancient Propheſie, that whitherſoever that Chair ſhould be removed, the Kingdom ſhould be removed with it: and this Chair King *Edward* cauſed to be brought out of *Scotland* to *Weſtminſter*, and to be placed there amongſt the Monuments, where it ſtill continues. But now King *Baliol* being ſummoned to appear at *New-Caſtle*, and refuſing to come; King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army conſiſting of four thouſand horſe, and thirty thouſand foot, beſides five hundred horſe and one thouſand foot of the Biſhop of *Durham*. *Berwick* is firſt won, with the ſlaughter of fifteen thouſand *Scots*, (our Writers ſay more) and after that, the Caſtles of *Dunbar*, *Roxborough*, *Edenburgh*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Johns-Town*: and King *Baliol* ſues for Peace, ſubmits himſelf, takes again his Oath of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Sovereign Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* is held at *Berwick*, where the Nobility likewiſe did homage to him, confirming the ſame by their Charter, under their hand and ſeals; only *William Douglaſs* refuſeth, content rather to endure the miſery of a Priſon, then yield to the ſubjection of the King of *England*. But King *Baliol* notwithſtanding his ſubmiſſion, is ſent Priſoner into *England* after his four years reign in *Scotland*; and King *Edward* returns home, leaving *John Warren* Earl of *Suſſex* and *Surrey*, Warden of all *Scotland*; *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormeſley* Chief Juſtice, with Commiſſion to take in his name, the Homages and Fealties of all ſuch as held lands of that Crown. But this continued not long, for King *Edward* being abſent in *France*, the *Scots* fell upon the Officers he had left, ſlew Sir *Hugh Creſſingham* with ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, recovered many Caſtles, and regained the Town of *Berwick*; and all by the animation and conduct of one *William Walleys*, a poor private Gentleman, (though Nobly deſcended) Who ſeeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or ſubjection) aſſembles certain of as poor and deſperate eſtate as himſelf, and leads them to attempt upon whatſoever advantages they could finde to annoy the *Engliſh*, and having therein good ſucceſs, it ſo increaſed both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom: and was in poſſibility to have abſolutely redeemed his Countrey from the ſubjection of the *Engliſh*, if the ſpeedy coming of King *Edward* had not prevented him. For now King *Edward*, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Juſtice to *York*, where they continued above ſix years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights ſervice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptory day: where there aſſemble three thouſand men at Arms on barded horſes, and four thouſand other armed men on horſe without bards, with an Army of Foot anſwerable, conſiſting moſt of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, beſides five hundred men at Arms out of *Gaſcoign*. And with his power he makes his ſecond expedition into *Scotland*; the Earls of *Herford* and *Norfolk*, with the Earl of *Lincoln*, led his Vaunt-guard at the famous battel of *Fonkirk*, where the ſhouts of the *Scots* were ſo great, that King *Edward's* horſe frighted withal, caſt him off, and brake two of his ribs, which notwithſtanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory; wherein are reported to be ſlain two hundred Knights, and forty thouſand foot of the *Scots*: but *William Walleys*, with ſome few, eſcaped to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might ſeem as if quite overthrown. Moſt of the eſtates of the Earls and Barons of *Scotland* (with their titles) that had ſtood out, were beſtowed on the *Engliſh*; and a Parliament is called at Saint *Andrews*, where all the great men of that Kingdom, except only *Walleys*, once again ſwear Fealty to the King of *England*. It ſeems ſwearing of Fealty was with the *Scots* but a ceremony without ſubſtance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third time they ſwore Fealty to King *Edward*: yet all did not ſerve to make them loyal. For not long after comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in *Scotland*, *Robert Bruce* Earl of *Carrick*, ſon to that *Bruce* who was competitor with *Baliol*, eſcaping out of *England*, becomes Head to the confuſed Body of that Kingdom; and perceiving *John Cummyn* (who had a title himſelf) to go about to bewray his intentions to King *Edward*, he finding him at *Dunfrays*, ſets upon him, and murthers him in the Church. Whereof as ſoon as King *Edward* heard, he ſends *Aymer de Valence* Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Lords *Clifford* and *Piercy*, with a ſtrong power to revenge the death of *Cummyn*, and to relieve his Wardens of *Scotland*; who upon *Bruce's* revolt, were all retired to *Berwick*, whilſt himſelf prepares an army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he cauſed Proclamation to be

Baliol is incenſed againſt King *Edward*, and why.

The fatal Chair of *Scotland* brought into *England*.

Baliol ſues for peace, and ſubmits himſelf.

Baliol is ſent priſoner into *England*.

William Walleys oppoſeth King *Edward*.

The Exchequer and Courts of Juſtice removed to *York*.

1298.
The Battel of *Fonkirk*.

The *Scots* ſwear fealty to King *Edward*.

Robert Bruce attempts for the Crown.

made, that whosoever ought by their Paternal succession, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to *Westminster*, at the Feast of *Pentecost*, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Sindons, Scarfs, wrought with Gold or Silver, according to every mans Estate. For which train (because the Kings house was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple-trees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of *Aquitain*) kept his Vigile with his Train at *Westminster*; and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it. Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of *Cummyn* upon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*; Adjuring his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in this journey, they should carry his corps with them about *Scotland*, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Usurper, and absolutely brought the Countrey to subjection. The Prince and all the Nobles promise upon their faith, to imploy their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewithal he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after Whitsuntide, and makes his last expedition into *Scotland*, in the four and thirtieth year of his reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

The order of Knighthood imposed upon men of means.

King Edward makes a journey into *Scotland* to revenge the death of *Cummyn*.

1306. He defeats the *Scottish* Army.

The Earl of *Pembroke*, with that power sent before, and aid of the *Scottish* party, had before the King arrived in *Scotland*, defeated in a battel near St. *Johns-Town*, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly missed the taking of his person; but he escaping in disguise, and sheltring himself in obscure places, was reserved for greater Battels: his Brothers *Nigel*, *Bruce* and shortly after, *Thomas*, and *Alexander* a Priest, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwick*. And now King *Edward* had done for fighting, all was now for Executions; and indeed his desire of revenge made him inexorable, and vow to spare none of what degree soever. The Earl of *Athol* (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to *London*, where all his preferment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows then the rest. The wife of *Robert Bruce*, taken by the Lord *Ross*, is sent prisoner to *London*, and his daughter to a Monastery in *Lindsey*. The Countess of *Boughan*, who had been aiding at *Bruce's* Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of *Berwick* for people to gaze on. But though *Bruce's* party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privily from place to place in a distressed manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of *Lenox* and *Gilbert Hay*) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which he suddenly assails the Earl of *Pembroke* at unawares, gives him a great defeat, and within three dayes after chaseth the Earl of *Gloucester*, into the Castle of *Aire*, where he besieged him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his former retire. Whereupon King *Edward* who had spent his Winter at *Carlile*, in *July* following, with a fresh Army enters *Scotland* himself; but falling into a Dysentery or Bloody Flux at *Borough* upon the Sands he ended his life. And thus ended King *Edward's* troubles with *Scotland*, but not *Englands* troubles, which are more to come then yet are past.

The Countess of *Boughan's* ignominious punishment.

King Edward enters *Scotland*, and there dieth.

But though this busines of *Scotland* never left King *Edward* till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an ague, sometimes putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with such a vicissitude, that when he had quietness with *Scotland*, he had troubles with *France*, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that *Philip* King of *France*, father of the present King, and *Edward* King of *England* were near Cousins, the sons of two sisters; and it hath been shewed before at King *Edward's* returning from the Holy-Land, and passing through *France*, what extraordinary kindeness and mutual courtesie, passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs should ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as having none to consider but themselves; but Princes hardly, as having besides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftentimes that make the quarrel, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of *England's* Subjects had upon the Coast of *Normandy*, done spoil to some Subjects of the King of *France*: and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of *France* summons King *Edward*, as owing homage to that Crown, to appear and answer it in his Court. And King *Edward*, though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtesie, yet being now imperiously commanded, he refuseth it; upon which refusal, all his Territories in *France* are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently sent to seise upon the same, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neel*, Constable of *France*. *Burdeaux* with divers other pieces of importance, are taken from him. And now King *Edward* well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, seeks to match his son *Edward* with a daughter of *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*; marries one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barre*, who pretended title to *Champaign*; another to *John* Duke of *Brabant*; sends fifteen thousand pound sterling to *Adolph de Nassaw*, the Emperour, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in *France*; and with all these and many other confining Princes, he sets upon the King of *France*, and then sends over his brother *Edmund* Earl of *Lancaster*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, seven hundred men at Arms,

The Kings of *England* and *France* fall out, and why.

and a Navy of three hundred and ſixty ſail. In the mean time the King of *France* having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King *Edward*, and *Guy* Earl of *Flanders*, ſends for the ſaid Earl (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*; where inſtead of feaſting him, he makes him Priſoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he fought (being his Vaſſal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuſeth it the beſt he could; and by much mediation is releaſed himſelf, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl, preſuming upon aid from King *Edward*, takes Arms and defies the King of *France*. Who thereupon comes with an Army of ſixty thouſand againſt him; which cauſed King *Edward* with all ſpeed poſſibly to relieve this diſtreſſed Earl: and ſo leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence, to the Biſhop of *London*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Lords *Raynold*, *Gray*, and *Clifford*, with five hundred ſail, and eighteen thouſand men at Arms he paſſeth over into *France*. But finding the Countrey diſtracted into many popular factions, and the King of *France* daily getting upon them (having already won *Lile*, *Doway*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*) and the Emperour *Adolph* failing to ſend him aid as he had promiſed, he fell into great perplexity; and having ſtayed the whole Winter at *Gaunt*, where by reaſon of many outrages committed by his Souldiers, he was ſo affronted by the *Gauntois*, that his own perſon was not without ſome danger. He thereupon in the Spring of the year concludes a Truce with the King of *France* for two years, takes his ſiſter *Margaret* to wife, and affianceth the daughter of the ſame King to his ſon Prince *Edward*; and ſo returns into *England*. And theſe were all the troubles King *Edward* had with *France*.

A truce is concluded between them. King *Edward* marries his ſon *Edward* to a daughter of the King of *France*.

But now muſt ſomething be ſpoken of the troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning. In a Parliament at *Salisbury*, the five and twentieth year of his reign, the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in *Gaſcoin*; which needed a preſent ſupply, by reaſon of the death of his Brother *Edmund*: but the Lords make all their excuſes, every man for himſelf: Whereupon the King in great rage threatned they ſhould either go, or he would give their Lands to others that ſhould. Upon this *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, High Conſtable, and *Roger Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, Marſhal of *England*, make their Declaration; that if the King went in perſon they would attend him, otherwiſe not. Which anſwer offended the King more, and being urged again, the Earl Marſhal proteſted he would willingly go thither with the King, and march before him in the Vant-guard, as by right of inheritance he ought to do: But the King told him plainly, he ſhould go with any other, though he went not himſelf in perſon. I am not ſo bound (ſaith the Earl) neither will I take that journey without you. The King ſwore by God, Sir Earl, you ſhall either go or hang: And I ſwear by the ſame Oath (ſaid the Earl) I will neither go nor hang; and ſo without leave departs. Shortly after the two Earls aſſemble many Noblemen, and other their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets; ſo as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and ſtood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, proſecutes them not as then; but lets the matter paſs, in regard that his buſineſs called him preſently into *Flanders*. When being ready to take ſhip, the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, ſend him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subſidies, and other Impoſitions, with his ſeeking to force their ſervices by unlawful courſes: to which the King ſends anſwer, that he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Council, who were not now about him; and therefore required them, ſeeing they would not attend him in his journey, (which they abſolutely refuſed to do, though he went in perſon, unleſs he had gone into *France* or *Scotland*) that they would yet do nothing in his abſence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom: and that at his return, he would ſet all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his journey, and being held there with long delayes, to his exceeding great expenſes, he was forced to ſend over for more ſupply of Treaſure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at *York*, by the Prince, and (becauſe of his minority, for he was then but ſixteen years of age) by ſuch as had the managing of the Kingdom in his abſence: and to the end he would not be diſappointed of aid, he condeſcends to all ſuch Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: promiſing from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwiſe then by their conſents in Parliament, and to pardon all ſuch as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27. year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the promiſed confirmation of the two Charters, and the allowance of what diſafforeſtation had heretofore been made, was earneſtly urged, and in the end much ado granted; and that with omiſſion of the clauſe, *Salvo Jure Coronæ noſtræ*, which the King laboured to have inſerted, but the people by no means would agree; and the perambulation of the Foreſts of *England* was then committed to three Biſhops, three Earls, and three Barons. But ſome years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Edward* began to ſhew his reſentment of the ſtubborn behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times paſt; and ſo terrifies *Roger Bigot*, Earl Marſhal, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in poſſeſſion; (though he had a Brother of his own, living) reſerving only to himſelf a thouſand pounds *per annum*, during his life. Of others likewiſe he got great ſums for the ſame offence. The Earl of *Hereford* eſcaped his fine by death; but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, (whom he accuſed to have diſturbed his Peace in his abſence) he ſends over to Pope *Clement* the fifth, (who ſucceeded *Boniface*) that he might be cruſht with a double power. This Pope was Native of *Burdeaux*, and ſo the more regardful of the Kings deſire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increaſe, King *Edward* ſends him a whole furniſh of all Veſſels for his Chamber of clean Gold: which great gift ſo wrought with the Pope, that he untied the King from the Covenant made with his Subjects concerning their Charters, confirm-

The Lords refuſe to attend the King, unleſs he went himſelf in perſon.

King *Edward* condeſcends to the Lords demands.

King *Edward* confirms the two Charters.

Is releaſed of his grant by the Pope.

confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath. A safe time for Princes, when they might tye themselves to any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a bribe to the Pope be untied again.

His Taxations and wayes for raising of Money.

IF Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfitly be said of these three last Kings, that King *John* was in the Positive; his Son *Henry* the Third, in the Comparative; and this King *Edward* in the Superlative: For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: But then under the name of Taxations, we must include the wayes he took for raising of profit: but first in the way of Parliament. In the first year of his Reign was granted him a tenth of the Clergy for two years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporalty. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the *Welsh* Wars. In his seventh the old money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the *Jews*, for which 297. were at one time executed in *London:* and this brought in profit of no small value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtieth of the Temporalty, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in *Wales*. In the thirteenth, Escuage, forty shillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a thousand Marks of certain Merchants fined for false weights. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all moveables of the Clergy, and shortly after a tenth for six years. In his twentieth, *William Marchian*, then Lord Treasurer of *England*, perceiving great riches to be in Churches and Religious Houses, put it so into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treasury. In the eight year of his Reign he sent out his Writ *Quo Warranto*, to examine by what Title men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till *John* Earl of *Warren*, being called to shew his Title, drew out an old rusty Sword, and then said he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to death: which though it made the King desist from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his seventeenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir *Ralph Hengham*, Chief Justice of the higher Bench, in seven thousand Marks; Sir *John Loveton*, Justice of the lower Bench, in three thousand Marks: Sir *William Brompton*, in six thousand Marks: Sir *Solomon Rochester*, in four thousand Marks: Sir *Richard Boyland*, in four thousand: Sir *Walter Hopton* in two thousand: Sir *William Saham*, in three thousand: *Robert Lithbury* Master of the Rolls, in one thousand: *Roger Leicester*, in one thousand: *Henry Bray*, Escheator, and Judge for the *Jews*, in one thousand: but Sir *Adam Stratton* chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand: and *Thomas Wayland* (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest substance) had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King, and himself banished out of the Kingdom. In his eighteenth year he banished the Jews; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thousand in the Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiscate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

John Earl of *Warren* opposeth the Writ of *Quo Warranto*.

The Judges fined for corruption.

He banisheth the *Jews*

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subsidy to be levied upon all sarplars of Wool going out of *England*; as likewise with Fells and Hides. In his five and twentieth year he calls a Parliament at St. *Edmundsbury*, where is granted the eight part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they desire to be excused, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his Reign they payed the moiety of their Goods. And in his three and twentieth year he seised into his hands all Priories, Aliens, and their Goods; besides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred thousand pounds: but notwithstanding upon this refusal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy-men out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts; (A strain of State beyond any of his Predecessors) which so amazed them, that in the end, the Archbishop of *York*, with the Bishops of *Durham*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, and *Lincoln*, yielded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their goods towards the maintainance of the Kings Wars; whereby they appeased his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by whose animation the rest stood out, had all his goods seized on, and all the Monasteries within his Dioceses, taken into the Kings hands; and Wardens appointed to minister only necessaries to the Monks, converting the rest to the Kings use: at length by much suit, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeem themselves, and the Kings favour. In the six and twentieth year of his Reign, at a Parliament holden at *York*, is granted him the ninth penny of the goods of the Temporalty: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Dioceses of *Canterbury*, and of *York* the fifth; and in this year also he raised the Imposition upon every sack of Wool, from a Noble to forty shillings. In his two and thirtieth year he sends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called *Trailbaston*, for intruders on other mens Lands; who to oppress the right owner, would make over their Land to great men; for Batterers hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, false Assisours, and other such Malefactors: which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treasure to the King. As likewise did another Commission at the same time, sent forth to examine the behaviour of Officers, and Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquents, and paid dearly for it. At this time also he called his Lords to account for their stubbornness some years before, in denying to attend him into *Flanders*; which brought him in profit answerable to their greatness that were called. After all this, in his four and thirtieth year, there is granted him the thirtieth penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twentieth of all Merchants towards his journey into *Scotland*. And this may be sufficient to shew his

The Clergy is put out of the Kings protection.

The Writ of *Trailbaston* sent forth.

Taxa-

Taxations to have been in the ſuperlative degree. And yet beſides theſe, he had no ſmall benefit by ſilver Mines, which in his time were found in *Devonſhire*.

Silver mines found in *Devonſhire*.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN the firſt year of his reign were made the Statutes called of *Weſtminſter* the firſt. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of *Acton Burnel*. In the fourteenth year of his Reign were made Statutes called *Additamenta Gloceſtriæ*. He ordained ſuch men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the ſame County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that *Jews* ſhould wear a cogniſance upon their upper garment, whereby to be known, and reſtrained their exceſſive taking of Uſury. In his time was alſo enacted the Statute of *Mortmain*.

The Juſtices Itinerants, when firſt begun.

In his twelfth year, in the Quindenes of Saint *Michael*, the Juſtices Itinerants began to go their general Circuits. In his time new pieces of money were coined, and half pence of Silver, which were before of baſe mettal. In his time, three men for reſcuing of a Priſoner, arreſted by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the wriſts. In his time all *Jews* were baniſhed out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-Coal in *London* and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noiſome ſmoak. In his eleventh years the Bakers of *London* were firſt drawn upon Hurdles, by *Henry Walleys*, Mayor, and Corn was then firſt ſold by weight. In this Kings time the Title of Baron which had before been promiſcuous to men of eſtate, was firſt confined to ſuch only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the ſixth year of this King, *Michelmas* term was kept at *Shrewsbury*. In his twelfth, he divided *Wales* into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are uſed in *England*.

Sea-coal prohibited to be burned in *London*.

The title of Barons confined to ſuch only as were called by Writ to the Parliament.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time, at a Synod holden at *Reading* by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, it was ordained according to the Conſtitutions of the General Council, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould have more then one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls: and that every perſon promoted to any Eccleſiaſtical living, ſhould take the order of Prieſthood within one year after. In his time lived and died Pope *Boniface* the 8. of whom his Predeceſſor had propheſied: *Aſcendes ut Vulpes, regnabis ut Leo, morieris ut Canis*.

No Eccleſiaſtical perſon to have more then one Benefice

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded the Abbey of the Vale-Royal in *Cheſhire*, of the *Ciſteaux* Order. In his time *John Baliol* King of *Scots*, builded *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*: alſo in his time, *Walter Merton* Lord Chancellour of *England*, and after Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, founded *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who was drowned paſſing over the water at *Rocheſter*, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his time was finiſhed the new Work of the Church at *Weſtminſter*, which had been threeſcore and ſix years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the *Black-Friers* beſides *Ludgate*, by *Robert Kilwarby*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and of *Baynards-Caſtle*: alſo in his time, his ſecond wife Queen *Margaret* began to build the Quire of the *Grey-Friers* in *London*. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in *London*, ſtanding againſt the Church called *Acres* in *Cheap*. In his time *Henry Walleys*, Mayor of *London*, cauſed the *Ton* upon *Cornhil*, to be a Priſon for night-walkers; and alſo builded a houſe called the *Stocks*, for a Market of fiſh and fleſh, in the midſt of the City. In this Kings time, *Edmund* Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Kings Brother, founded the *Minories*, a Nunnery without *Algate*. This King builded the Caſtle of *Flint* in *Wales*, and the Caſtle of *Beaumaris* in the Iſle of *Angleſey*, and the Caſtle of *Carnarvan* by *Snowdon*. Alſo in this Kings time, *John Peckham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a Colledge of Canons at *Wingham* in *Kent*.

Baliol Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

Merton Colledge in *Oxford* by whom builded.

The Stocks a Market for Fiſh and Fleſh made.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN the ſecond year of this Kings Reign, there happened the greateſt rot of Sheep in *England* that ever was known, which continued five and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected ſheep of incredible greatneſs, brought out of *Spain* by a *French* Merchant into *Northumberland*. In the fifteenth year of this Kings Reign, Wheat was ſold for ten groats a Quarter; where the next year after there was ſo great a dearth, that it was ſold for eighteen pence the Buſhel. In the ſeventeenth year of his Reign, there fell ſo much rain, that Wheat was raiſed from three pence the Buſhel, to ſixteen pence; and ſo increaſed yearly, till at laſt it was ſold for twenty ſhillings the Quarter. And this year the City of *Carliſle*, and the Abbey with all the Houſes belonging to the Fryers Minors, was conſumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year a great part of the Town of *Cambridge*, with the Church of our Lady was alſo burnt. In the ſeven and twentieth year of his Reign his Palace at *Weſtminſter*, and the Monaſtery adjoyning were conſumed with fire. The Monaſtery of *Gloceſter* alſo was burnt to the ground. In this year alſo an Act of Common-Council by conſent of the King, was made concerning Victuals, a fat Cock to be ſold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Gooſe four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheaſant four pence, a Heron ſix pence, a Plover one penny, a Swan three ſhillings, a Crane twelve pence, two Woodcocks three half pence, a fat Lamb from *Chriſtmas* to *Shrovetide*, ſixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year ſo plentiful, that a Quarter was ſold for ten groats. In his ſixteenth year it chanced in *Gaſcoin*, that as the King and Queen ſate in their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behinde them, paſſed betwixt them, and ſlew two of their Gentlemen, that ſtood before them.

A rot of Sheep five and twenty years together, and how cauſed.

The price of Victuals at this time ordained.

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, his firſt was *Eleanor* Daughter to *Ferdinand* the third King of *Spain*,

Spain; and was married to him at *Bures* in *Spain*; who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a Journey with him towards *Scotland*, at *Herdeby* in *Lincolnshire* she dyed. In whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King *Edward* caused Crosses with her Statue to be erected in all chief places, where her Corps in carrying to *Westminster*, rested: as at *Stamford*, *Dunstable*, St. *Albans*, *Waltham*, *Cheapside*; and lastly at the place called *Charing-Cross*. She was buried in *Westminster*, at the feet of King *Henry* the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Pourtraicture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King *Edward* had four sons, and nine daughters; his eldest son, *John*; his second, *Henry*; his third, *Alphonsus*; died all young in their Fathers time: his fourth son, *Edward*, called of *Carnarvan*, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. Of his daughters, the eldest named *Eleanor* was first married by Proxy to *Alphonsus* King of *Arragon*; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married at *Bristow* to *Henry* Earl of *Bary* in *France*; by whom she had issue sons and daughters. *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, born at *Acon* in the *Holy-Land*, and thereof called *Joan de Acres*, was married to *Gillert Clare*, called the Red Earl of *Gloucester* and *Hereford*, by whom she had issue sons and daughters. She survived her husband, and was re-married to the Lord *Ralph Monthermere*; Father to *Margaret* the Mother of *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom the now Vicount *Montacute* is descended. *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Edward* and Queen *Eleanor*, was married to *John* Duke of *Brabant*: *Berenger* and *Alice*, their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried. *Mary* their sixth daughter, at ten years of age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of *Aimsbury* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of Queen *Eleanor* her Grandmother, who lived there. *Elizabeth* their seventh daughter, was first married to *John* Earl of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and Lord of *Frezeland*; he dying within two years, she was afterward married to *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknock*, and High Constable of *England*, by whom she had issue, sons and daughters. *Beatrice* and *Blanch*, their eighth and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King *Edward*'s second wife was *Margaret*, eldest daughter of *Philip* King of *France*, called the *Hardy*, and sister to *Philip* called the *Fair*. At eighteen years old she was married to King *Edward*, being above threescore; yet at these unequal years she had issue by him, two sons and a daughter. Their eldest son was born at a little Village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, and was thereof called *Thomas* of *Brotherton*. He was created Earl of *Norfolk*, and Earl Marshal of *England*, after *Roger Bigot*, who died without issue. Their second son *Edmund* was born at *Woodstock* in *Oxfordshire*, and of the place was so called. He was created Earl of *Kent*, and married *Margaret* daughter of *John*, and sister and sole Heir of *Thomas* Lord *Wakes* of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*; by whom he had issue two sons and one daughter. His sons *Edmund* and *John* died without issue. His daughter *Jone* for her beauty called the fair Maid of *Kent*, was married first to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir *Thomas Holland*, in her Right Earl of *Kent*, and Father of *Thomas* and *John Holland*, Duke of *Surrey*, and Earl of *Huntington*: and lastly, she was the Wife of *Edward* of *Woodstock*, the Black Prince of *Wales*; and by him Mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earl *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester*, in the fourth year of King *Edward* his Nephew. *Eleanor* the daughter of King *Edward* by his second Wife *Margaret*, died in her childhood.

Monuments ordained in memory of Queen Eleanor.

The now Viscount *Montacute*, from whence descended.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was tall of stature, higher then ordinary men by head and shoulders, and thereof called *Longshank*; of a swarthy complexion, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War peaceful; so in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kinde of hunting, which is to kill Staggs or other wilde Beasts with Spears. In continency of life, he was equal to his Father; in acts of valour, far beyond him. He had in him the two Wisdoms, not often found in any, single; both together, seldom or never: An ability of judgement in himself, and a readiness to hear the judgement of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl *Roger Bigot*: whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion, but once in passion, not easily appeased; as was seen by his dealing with the *Scots*, towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last severity. If he be censured for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen *Eleanor*, three of them died in his own life time, who were worthy to have out-lived him: and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

King Edward called *Longshank*, and why.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN his last expedition into *Scotland*, being at *Carlile*, he fell sick; and lying in his deathbed, he sent for his son *Edward*: to whom, besides many admonitions to piety, he commended three things specially; that he should carry his bones about with him through *Scotland*, till he had subdued it; that he should send his heart into the *Holy Land*, with sevenscore Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recal *Gaveston* from banishment: and soon after of a dysentery or Bloody-Flux he died at *Borough* upon the Sands,

King Edward's admonition to his son.

1307. Sands, the ſeventh of *July*, in the year 1307. when he had reigned four and thirty years, and ſeven months, lived threeſcore and eight years. Being dead, his Corps was brought to *Waltham* Abbey, and there kept the ſpace of ſixteen weeks, and after on *Simon* and *Jude's* day buried at *Weſtminſter*.

Men of Note in his time.

OF Martial men there were many, theſe eſpecially: *John* Earl of *Warren*, who oppoſed the Kings Inquiſition by *Quo Warranto*: and *Roger Bigot*, who gave the King an affront to his face. Of learned men alſo many, eſpecially theſe; *John Breton* Biſhop of *Hereford*, who compiled a Book of the Laws of *England*, called *le Breton*. *Thomas Spot* a Chronographer: *John Everſden* a Writer of Annals, and of this Kings Reign: *Gregory Cairugent* a Monk of *Gloceſter*, and a Writer alſo of Annals. *John Peckham* a Franciſcan Frier made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who writ many excellent works: *John Reed* an Hiſtoriographer: *Thomas Bungey* a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: *Roger Bacon* a Franciſcan Frier, an excellent Philoſopher and Mathematician: *Robert Kilwarby* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and after made a Cardinal: alſo *Ralph Baldock* Biſhop of *London*, who writ a Chronicle of *England* in the *Latine* Tongue: But above them all, though of another Countrey, *Thomas Aquinas*, born of a Noble Family, whoſe works are too famous to be ſpoken of; who going to the Councel holden at *Lyons* by Pope *Gregory* the tenth, died by the way.

Breton who made a Book of the Law.

Thomas Aquinas when he died.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Walter Harvey* was Mayor.
John Horn, *Walter Potter*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
Nicholas Wincheſter, *Henry Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Gregory Rokeſley was Mayor.
Lucas Battencourt, *Henry Frowicke*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
John Horn, *Ralph Blunt*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
Robert de Anar, *Ralph L. Fewre*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
John Adrian, *Walter Langley*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
Robert Baſing, *William le Meyre*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
Thomas Box, *Ralph Moore*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Gregory Rokeſley continued Mayor.
William Farendon, *Nicholas Wincheſter*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
William le Meyre, *Richard Chigwel*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Walleys continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, *Hawkin Betuel*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Walleys continued Mayor.
Jordan Goodcheap, *Martin Box*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year.
Gregory Rokeſley was Mayor.
Stephen Cornehil, *Robert Rokeſley*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich was Mayor.
Walter Blunt, *John Wade*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Thomas Croſs, *Walter Hawteyne*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
William Hereford, *Thomas Stanes*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
William Betaine, *John* of *Canterbury*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Fulk of St. *Edmund*, *Salomon Langford*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Thomas Romain, *William de Lyre*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, *Hamond Box*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Elias Ruſſel, *Henry Bole*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Ralph Sandwich continued Mayor.
Robert Rokeſley, *Martin Awbery*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Ralph Sandwich* continued Mayor.
Henry Box, *Richard Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year.
Sir *John Briton* was Mayor.
John Dunſtable, *Adam de Halingbery*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *John Briton* continued Mayor.
Thomas of *Suffolk*, *Adam* of *Fulham*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
Richard Refham, *Thomas Sely*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Elias Russel was Mayor.
John Armentor, *Henry Fingene*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Elias Russel continued Mayor.
Lucas de Havering, *Richard Champnes*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *John Blunt* was Mayor.
Robert Collor, *Peter de Besenho*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Hugh Pourte, *Simon Paris*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
William Combmartin, *John de Burford*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Roger Paris, *John de Lincoln*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
William Cawson, *Reginald Thunderley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Geoffry at the Conduit, *Simon Billet*, Sheriffs.

THE

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

1307. EDWARD of *Carnarvan*, eldest Son of King *Edward* the first, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applause of Nobility and People: and there was good cause for it; for he had been trained up in all good courses for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the wayes of State, having been left Governour of the Realm, and presiding in Parliament in his Fathers absence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter. And yet for all these advantages, there wanted not fears of him in the mindes of many, who could not but remember what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of *Chester's* Park, and in most disorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had been committed to Prison, and his friend *Pierce Gaveston* banished the Realm: and if he did such things being but Prince, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldom doth advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worse often, and commonly then when it is joyned with an authority that sets them above controulment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had seen, then out of what they saw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing less, nothing more then wholly to break it; for he presently called home *Pierce Gaveston* from banishment: and the two and thirty thousand pounds, which his Father had specially appointed for the Holy War; either all or the most of it he bestowed upon *Gaveston*: And for carrying his Fathers bones with him about *Scotland*, it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at rest in *England*. For after the corps had been kept above ground, sixteen weeks in the Abbey of *Waltham*, and that the Bishop of *Chester*, *Walter Langton*, the then Lord Treasurer, and the Executor of his Fathers Will, was busie in preparing for his Funeral, he sent the Constable of the *Tower* to arrest him, and imprison him at *Wallingford*, seising upon all his Goods, and giving them to *Gaveston*; and all for old grudges. And (that which seemed a high strain of incongruity) before he had seen performed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27. of *October* following, he entred into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to *Bologne*, on the two and twentieth of *January*, he married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*: which marriage was honoured with the presence of four Kings, the King of *France* himself, the King of *Navarre* his Son, the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *Sicilie*: and three Queens besides the Bride, *Mary* Queen of *France*, *Margaret* the Dowager Queen of *England*, and the Queen of *Navarre*: and yet did *Gaveston* exceed them all in bravery. This was observed by the Lords of *England*; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a hainous transgression of his Fathers will it was to call home *Gaveston*: and seeing the charge was no less given to them then to him, if he did not perform it they would; and therefore unless he would remove *Gaveston* from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which struck such a damp to Prince *Edward's* spirits, to think what a disgrace it would be to him, if so many of his great friends being present, *Charles* of *Valois* the King of *France's* Brother, the Dukes of *Britain* and *Brabant*, the Count of *Luxemburg*, who was afterward Emperour, the Duke of *Savoy*, the two Dutchesses of *Brabant* and *Artois*, with many other Princes and great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24. day of *February*, in the year 1307. his Queen and he were both Crowned at *Westminster*, by the hands of *Henry* B. shop of *Winchester*, by Commission from *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being then in exile, and out of the Kingdom: At which solemnity there was so great a press of people, that Sir *John Blackwel* Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords against *Gaveston*; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint *Edward* before him, (the greatest honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of *Cornwal*, Lord of *Man*, and Lord Chamberlain) so incensed the Lords, that they entred into consultation how to suppress this violence of the King's affection; which shortly after they put in execution. Port on in money, King *Edward* had none with his Wife: but

The disorders of King *Edward* when he was Prince.

He breaks his Fathers admonitions in all things.

He marries *Isabel* the King of *France's* Daughter.

The Lords threaten to hinder his Coronation, unless he banisht *Gaveston*. 1307

He and his Queen are Crowned.

To carry Saint *Edward's* Crown at the Coronation, the greatest honour a Subject could have done him.

but the King of *France* gave him the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, which he had ſeiſed upon before, as confiſcate to him; and thereupon King *Edward* did him Homage for that Dutchy, and for the County of *Ponthieu*.

Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveſton.

WE ſhall have here no *Quinquennium Neronis*, No ſuch five years, as *Nero* afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at the firſt entrance will ſhew what he is, and what he will continue to be as long as he lives; for though he took ſome great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they ſhould be pliant to him, then that he had any meaning to apply himſelf to them. For let them ſay what they would, *Gaveſton* muſt be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but *Gaveſton*'s impreſſions. And now *Gaveſton* preſently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witneſs of his worthineſs, and that the King had not beſtowed his favours upon him without cauſe, cauſed to be publiſhed a Turnament at *Wallingford*; whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, *Humphrey* Earl of *Hereford*, *Aymer* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Warren*, with many others, all valiant men at Arms: yet none had the honour of the day like to *Gaveſton*. And thus far he did well, if he could have ſtayed here, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into vain-glory. For the Lords envied him not ſo much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his inſolency in Manners; for in a ſcornful pride he would be caſting ſcoffs upon them all, calling *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Stage-Player; the Earl of *Lincoln* Burſten-belly; *Aymer de Valence*, Earl of *Pembroke*, *Joſeph* the *Jew*; and *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* the black Dog of *Ardern*. Which ſcoffs together with his other inſolencies, drew ſuch a party upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Aſſembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, of which the chief were; that the great Charter of *Magna Charta* ſhould be obſerved; that all ſtrangers ſhould be baniſhed the Court and Kingdom; that the buſineſſes of the State ſhould be treated of by the Counſel of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King ſhould not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without conſent of the Parliament. Which Articles though ſeeming harſh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields unto them; and ſpecially to the baniſhment of his minion *Gaveſton*, as hoping that would excuſe him for all the reſt: and *Robert* of *Winchelſey*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication againſt all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe the Articles. Hereupon *Gaveſton* is ſent away into *Ireland*, where he lived a while, not as a baniſht man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Countrey; and indeed not unworthily. For in the time of his being there, he is ſaid to have made a journey into the Mountains of *Dublin*, and to have broken and ſubdued the Rebels there; built *New-Caſtle* in the *Kerns* Countrey, repaired the Caſtle of *Kevyn*, and paſſed up to *Munſter* and *Thoumond*, performing every where much ſervice, with great valour and worthineſs, that if he had ſtayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his deſerts in *Ireland* have redeemed his defects in *England*: but the King impatient of his abſence, and asking advice what means might be uſed to recal him, It was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earl of *Gloceſter's* Siſter, a man of ſuch greatneſs, and ſo beloved of the people, for his ſake certainly no man would grudge at his coming home. Hereupon the King ſends for *Gaveſton*, and makes up the Match between them; and married they were at *Barkamſtead*. But this did no good, for *Gaveſton* ſtill working upon the King in ſuch manner, that he ſcarce left him means to ſuſtain himſelf, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as *Gaveſton* would have it, put the Lords into a new diſcontentment: who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unleſs he would put *Gaveſton* out of the Court and Kingdom, they would riſe up in arms againſt him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great ſtrait: loth he was to leave *Gaveſton*, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he ſhould be baniſhed; and in ſuch ſort baniſhed, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he ſhould be held and proceeded againſt as an enemy of the State. So once again is *Gaveſton* ſent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes into *France*, but found no ſafe harbouring there; For the King of *France* hearing of it, gave a ſtrait charge, if he were found in his Dominions to apprehend him. Then he paſſeth into *Flanders*, but is no ſafer there then in *France*. After, waving about, and finding no place to reſt in ſafety, he returns ſecretly into *England*, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of *Gloceſter's* favour. The King receives him as an Angel ſent from heaven; and to be out of the Lords eye, goes a journey to *York*, taking *Gaveſton* along with him: and there thinks to be in quiet. But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, chuſing for their General *Thomas* Earl of *Lancaſter*, a man poſſeſs'd of five Earldoms, *Lancaſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Ferrers*, *Lincoln*, and *Saliſbury*, beſides the Liberties of *Pickering*, and the honour of *Cockermore*, and other Lands in *Wales*; and there was not a man of the whole Nobility that was not of the Party, but only *Gilbert* Earl of *Gloceſter*, the Kings ſiſters Son. Theſe Lords ſent to the King, either to deliver *Gaveſton* into their hands, or at leaſt to ſend him peremptorily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counſel, and little regarding the Lords meſſage, takes *Gaveſton* with him to *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, thence to *Tinmouth*, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with Childe, and entreating the King with tears to ſtay with her) yet ſuch was his deſire to ſee *Gaveſton* put into ſome place of ſecurity, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and paſſed with *Gaveſton* to *Scarborough*; and leaving him there in a ſtrong Caſtle, not eaſie to be won, he went himſelf into *Warwickſhire*, perhaps that the Lords might ſee he had not *Gaveſton* with him. But the Lords hearing where

Caveſton gets the prize in a publick Turnament.

He caſts ſcoffs upon all the Lords.

Articles required by the Lords of the King.

1308

Gaveſton is baniſhed into *Ireland*, where he doth many good ſervices.

Gaveſton is ſent back, and marries the Earl of *Gloceſter's* ſiſter.

The Lords require *Gaveſton's* baniſhment.

So once again he is baniſhed.

1310.

But ſoon returns again.

The King ſeeks to ſhelter him.

Gaveſton is taken by the Lords.

where *Gaveſton* was, aſſaulted the Caſtle with ſuch violence, that *Gaveſton* ſeeing no means to eſcape, was content to render himſelf: requeſting only that he might but once be allowed to ſee the Kings face; and the King hearing he was taken, deſired as much. To which the Earl of *Pembroke* conſented; and taking *Gaveſton* into his cuſtody, promiſed upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but deſiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not far off, at *Dedington*, he delivers him to his ſervants to carry to *Wallingford*; from whom as they paſſed by *Warwick*, the Earl of that place hearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keepers, and brought him to his own Caſtle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wiſdom to ſuffer *Gaveſton* to ſpeak with the King or no, it was at laſt concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called *Blacklow*, was preſently put in execution. His corps was carried to *Oxford*, and kept there two years, till the King cauſed it to be brought to *Langley*, and there builded a Monaſtery of purpoſe, where his ſoul ſhould be prayed for.

1311.

Is beheaded at *Blacklow*.

The King builds a Monaſtery of purpoſe to pray for his ſoul.

Gaveſton's Parentage.

This *Gaveſton* was the Son of a Gentleman of *France*, who had done good ſervice for King *Edward* the firſt in *France*; and for his ſake this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A man of excellent parts of body, and of no leſs endowments of minde. Valiant and Witty: to which if we might adde Vertuous, he had been compleat: Though the Lords (whether they had heard ſo, or whether they ſaid it to wean the King from him) told the King, that his Father was a Traitor to the King of *France*, and for the ſame was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this *Gaveſton* was baniſhed out of *France* for conſenting to his Mothers Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himſelf. But why ſhould the Lords be ſo violent againſt *Gaveſton*? Might not the King place his affection where he pleaſed? Might not he make his own choice of what companion he liked? No doubt he might; and ſo he ſhould: but yet in this caſe the Lords had great cauſe to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themſelves, and of the Commonwealth. It is true, if the valour of *Gaveſton* could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might ſome good have come of their extraordinary conjunction: but ſeeing vertues are but perſonal, vices only are communicative, It now made the King not only more vicious then otherwiſe he would have been, but vicious where otherwiſe he would not have been; and therefore great cauſe in regard of the King to remove *Gaveſton* from his company; and no leſs in regard of the Lords themſelves. For *Gaveſton*'s advancing was their debaſing; his greatneſs with the King made them but Cyphers: but in regard of the Commonwealth, moſt cauſe of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by *Gaveſton*, and *Gaveſton* himſelf was altogether irregular, the Common-wealth could have but little hope of Juſtice, but was ſure to ſuffer as long as *Gaveſton* was ſuffered. And this may be ſufficient to juſtifie the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

AND now we have ſeen two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King, and puniſhed in him; the two and thirty thouſand pounds appointed for the Holy War, beſtowed upon *Gaveſton*, and the King for it puniſhed himſelf with want; *Gaveſton* called home from baniſhment, and the King for it puniſhed with the loſs of his Subjects love. It remains to ſee how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers will, for ſubduing of *Scotland*. It was now the ſixth year after the death of his Father King *Edward*; and *Robert Bruce* now gotten to be King of *Scotland*, had ſtayed all this while to ſee how this new King *Edward* would prove. And when he found by the courſes he held, that he was like to prove a good eaſie enemy, he thereupon took heart, and began to ſtir, and in a very ſhort time had brought almoſt all *Scotland* under his obedience; and finding no oppoſition he entered the *Engliſh* Borders, took and burnt Towns: that now King *Edward*, unleſs he would ſit ſtill, and ſuffer *Bruce* to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chuſe but do ſomething to ſtop his proceeding. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himſelf, fitter for a Court then for a Camp. Many men and great bravery; but readier to take ſpoils, then to make ſpoil: and accordingly they ſpeed. For going to raiſe the ſiege at *Striveling*, defended for King *Edward*, by the valiant Knight *Philip Mowbray*, the Kings Army conſiſting of a hundred thouſand, was defeated and overthrown by the *Scots* Army, conſiſting of ſcarce thirty thouſand: So true is that ſaying of an ancient Souldier, There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but Sheep, then of an Army where the General is a Sheep, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the *Scots* beſides Valour uſed Policy; For having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horſe at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the *Engliſh* Horſemen were to paſs; who floundring in thoſe Trenches, were killed no leſs by their own Fellows, then by the Enemy. In this Battel, called of *Bannocks-Borough*, were ſlain the Lord *Mawle*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *William Marſhal*, Sir *Giles*, Doctor *Argenton*, and ſeven hundred Knights and Eſquires, ſpecially *Gilbert* Earl of *Glocester*, who had ſhewed much valour that day; and whom the *Scots* would willingly have kept for ranſome, if they had known him: but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms whereby to be known. The ſlaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not ſo great as *Hector Boetius* ſpeaks of, who ſaith they were fifty thouſand. There were taken Priſoners *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *John Seagrave*, *John Claveringham*, *William Latimer*, and Sir *Roger Northbrook*, bearer of the Kings Shield; the King himſelf with the Biſhops, the Earls of *Hartford*, and *Pembroke*, and *Hugh Spencer*, ſaved themſelves by flight: *Humfrey de Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* was afterward releaſed in exchange

Bruce enters the *Engliſh* Borders.

King *Edward*'s Army of 100. thouſand overthrown by the *Scots*.

1313.

The *Scots* Stratagem.

The Battel of *Bannocks-borough*.

for *Bruce's* Wife, who had been long kept a prisoner in *England*. After this many *Engliſh* fell away to the *Scots*; and all the North parts from *Carliſle* to *York*, came under their ſubjection: and the *Engliſh* grew ſo faint-hearted, and into ſuch contempt, that three *Scots* durſt venture upon a hundred *Engliſh*, when a hundred *Engliſh* durſt ſcarce encounter with three *Scots*. And what can be thought the cauſe of this great diſaſter to this King, but the want of his Fathers Bleſſing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accompanied with the want of a higher Bleſſing, without which a *Vacat* is ſet upon the labours of men, that makes them all fruſtrate? But *Bruce* not ſatisfied with his acqueſts in *England*, ſends his Brother *Edward* into *Ireland* alſo; who ſo far prevailed, that many *Iriſh* came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Iſland: and ſo he continued the ſpace of three years, till the Primate of *Armagh*, and the Lord *Brinningham*, Juſticiar of *Ireland*, gathering Forces together oppoſed him, and in a Battel taking him Priſoner at *Dundalk* cut off his head, with the ſlaughter of many thouſands of the *Scots* beſides. With which the *Scots* are ſo incenſed, that they invade again the *Engliſh* borders, forraging as far as *York*; whereupon a Parliament is aſſembled at *London*, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go againſt them. *London* ſets forth two hundred, *Canterbury* forty, Saint *Albans* ten, and ſo proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: which coming to *York*, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was ſoon diſſolved, and returned back without effecting any thing. Not long after the Town of *Berwick* was betrayed to the *Scots*, through the Treaſon of *Peter Spalding* the Governour, and other *Engliſh* men; whom the King of *Scots* to make them an example, cauſed to be hanged for being Traitors to their Countrey. King *Edward* hearing of the ſurrendring of *Berwick*, raiſeth an Army, and beleaguers it; but the *Scots* to divert his Forces, enter upon *England* by other wayes, and were like to have ſurpriſed the perſon of the Queen, lying then near *York*. The ſiege of *Berwick* is notwithſtanding eagerly continued, and the King in great poſſibility to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of *Lancaſter* with his followers withdrawn himſelf upon diſcontent; hearing the King ſay he would give the keeping thereof to *Hugh Spencer* the younger, who was now grown a ſpecial Favourite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endured by the Earl. In the mean time the *Scots* won the Caſtles of *Harbottle*, *Wark*, and *Midford*, ſo as they poſſeſſed the greater part of all *Northumberland*, burning all before them till they came to *Rypon*, which Town they ſpoiled; and tarrying there three dayes, they received a Thouſand Marks to ſave the Town from burning, as they had done the Towns of *Northallerton*, *Borough-Bridge*, and others. In their returning back they burnt *Knaresborough*, and *Skipton* in *Craven*, and all other before them, carrying into *Scotland* a marvellous number of Cattel, beſides Priſoners, men and women. The *Yorkſhire* men thus grievouſly endammaged, gather together the number of ten thouſand; and at the Town of *Mitton*, ten miles from *York*, encounter the *Scots*, where they loſt three thouſand of their men, and were defeated: which Battel, becauſe of the many ſpiritual men that were in it, was called the White Battel. Whereof when the King heard he left the ſiege of *Berwick*, to follow the *Scots*, but they returned another way. The year following, King *Edward* once again with a great Army entered *Scotland*; but the *Scots* having deſtroyed all afore, the King oppreſſed with Famine, was forced to return, whom the *Scots* followed, and in a place of the Foreſt of *Blackmore* ſet upon him, that he hardly eſcaped; where were taken *John* Earl of *Britain*, and the Lord of *Silaico*, the *French* Kings Ambaſſadour, and many other. After this King *Edward* finding the *Scots* either too ſtrong or too wily for him, made a truce with them for two years, ſome ſay for thirteen. And this was the ſucceſs of this unfortunate King in his Wars with *Scotland*.

The North parts from *Carliſle* to *York* in ſubjection to the *Scots*.

Edward Bruce crowned King of *Ireland*: but after three years is taken priſoner, and beheaded 1317.

Treachery juſtly puniſhed.

King *Edward* beſiegeth *Berwick*.

The Earl of *Lancaſter* withdraws himſelf from King *Edward*, and why.

1318. The *Yorkſhire* men defeated by the *Scots* in the White Battel.

Once again King *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army, but without ſucceſs.

So he makes a Truce with them for certain years.

Of his Troubles at home.

BUT his troubles abroad were not ſo grievous as thoſe at home; or rather, they were thoſe at home that made his troubles abroad ſo grievous. For though the Lords having made an end of *Gaveſton*, and cut off his head, thought they had made an end of their need to bear Arms, and had cut off the head of all their diſcontents; yet as if *Gaveſton* had been a Phœnix, as it were out of his aſhes another Phœnix riſeth preſently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever *Gaveſton* did. For now the younger *Spencer* upon a ſudden grows as great a favourite of the Kings as ever *Gaveſton* was: and indeed in all points juſt ſuch another, equal to him in goodlineſs of perſonage, in favour of the King, and in abuſing the Lords. For though they were the Lords themſelves that brought him at firſt to be the Kings Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) becauſe he was one whom the King did not love: yet being once in the place, he ſo won upon the King by diligent ſervice, and by complying with the Kings humour, that he brought the King at laſt to comply with his humour, and nothing muſt be done but as *Spencer* would have it. It ſeems it was the Kings nature that he could not be without a boſom-Friend; one or other to be an *alter idem*: and to ſeek to remove ſuch a one from him, was to ſeek to remove him from himſelf: as impoſſible a thing as to alter nature. Yet the Lords being more ſenſible of their own grievance, to be inſulted on by a Favourite, then of the Kings grievance to be affronted by his Subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends then the Kings; and therefore to remove *Spencer* and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by ſtrong hand, they continue their Arms; and confederating together, they ſend to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatning withal, that unleſs he preſently perform the ſame, they would conſtrain him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon aſſemble ſtrong Forces about *Dunſtable*, where the King then

The younger *Spencer* in as great favour as *Gaveſton*.

Whereupon the Lords take Arms again; and threaten the King unleſs he perform the Articles formerly granted.

then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of *Gloceſter*, labour to appeaſe them; and with two Cardinals ſent lately by the Pope, to reform theſe diſorders, they repair to Saint *Albans*, and deſire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuſe to receive, ſaying, They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of Letters; that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whoſe counſel they would uſe, and not ſtrangers, who knew not the cauſe of their commotion: ſo the Cardinals with this anſwer returned to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* ſo labour the buſineſs, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King ſuch Horſes, Treaſure, and Jewels, as they had taken of *Pierce Gaveſton* at *New-Caſtle*, ſo as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon *John Sandal* Treaſurer of the Kingdom, and *Ingelard Warle* keeper of the Wardrobe, are ſent to Saint *Albans* to receive thoſe things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their riſing in Arms, their taking and murthering *Pierce Gaveſton*, and ſuch other affronts: whereunto with one accord they anſwer, that they had not offended therein, but rather merited his love and favour; having taken Arms, not for any contempt of his Royal Perſon, but to deſtroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwiſe would never have been done. Which ſtout reſolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they ſeek by all means to qualifie their heat; and at length ſo prevailed with them, that they humble themſelves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of *Gaveſton*. And for the greater ſhew of true reconcilement, *Guy de Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, is made of the Kings Counſel, though ſhortly after he had ended his life; not without ſuſpicion of poyſon: as being a man much envied by ſuch as poſſeſt the King. The King kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Clipſton*, and his *Eaſter* at *Clarendon*; and they ſeemed to be all good friends: but this reconcilement of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with aſhes, every little winde that blew, made it break out into flames afreſh; and the time being ſo unſettled as it was, it was impoſſible but ſuch windes would continually be blowing. It was ſuch a winde blew, when the great Earl of *Lancaſter* had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him alwayes in good fame) taken out of his houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard* Saint *Martin*, a deformed lame Dwarf, who challenged her to be his Wife; and had lien with her before the Earl married her. And this winde was made to blow the ſtronger, by the Ladies own confeſſion; for upon examination, ſhe voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*, which he durſt not have done, if he had not been back't with great Abbettours: and it was not without aſperſion upon the King himſelf. It was another ſuch winde blew, when at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt, at dinner in the open Hall at *Weſtminſter*, a woman fantaſtically diſguiſed, entred on horſeback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, wherein was ſignified the great neglect he ſhewed of ſuch as had done him and his Father Noble ſervices, taxing him for advancing men of unworthy parts, and ſuch other complaints. Which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being ſharply reprehended for ſuffering her to enter in ſuch manner, anſwered, It was the faſhion of the Kings houſe in times of Feſtivals, to keep out none that came as this woman did, to make ſport. Search being made for the woman, ſhe is found, and examined who ſet her on; ſhe confeſſed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly anſwered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end, and thereupon eſcaped without further trouble. It was ſuch another winde blew, when a Knight was taken paſſing by *Pomfret*, with Letters ſealed with the Kings Seal, directed to the King of *Scots*, about murthering the Earl of *Lancaſter*; which meſſenger is executed, his head ſet upon the top of the Caſtle, and the Letters reſerved to witneſs the intended plot. Which whether it were feigned or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to take the Earls part. It was ſuch another winde blew, when a fanatick fellow, one *John Powdras*, a Tanners Son of *Exeter* gave forth, that himſelf was the true *Edward*, eldeſt Son of the late King *Edward* the firſt, and by a falſe Nurſe was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King *Edward* was a Carters Son, and laid in his place. But this winde was ſoon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confeſſed he had a familiar Spirit in his houſe in the likeneſs of a Cat, that aſſured him he ſhould be King of *England*; and that he had ſerved the ſaid Spirit three years before to bring his purpoſe about. But moſt of all, it was ſuch a wind blew, when a Baron named *William Brewis*, having waſted his eſtate, offers to ſell unto divers men, a part of his Inheritance called *Powis*; *Humphrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargains for it. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewiſe in thoſe parts, not underſtanding, it ſeems, any thing of the former bargain, contract alſo for the ſame Land with the ſaid Sir *William Brewis*. *Hugh Spencer* the younger, hearing of this ſale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtains a more ſpecial leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buyes it out of their hands. The Earl of *Hereford* complains hereof to the Earl of *Lancaſter*, who thereupon at *Sherbourne* enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there aſſembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the baniſhment of the two *Spencers*, Father and Son, whom they now held to be the great Seducers of the King, and the oppreſſours of the State, diſpoſing of all things in Court

The Lords humble themſelves to the King, and the King confirms their Articles.

The Earl of *Lancaſter's* Wife taken from him by a deformed Dwarf.

An affront offered to the King, but put up.

A ſcandalous forgery of King *Edward's* birth

The Lords confederate again, to have the two *Spencers* baniſhed.

Court at their pleasure, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their means. And under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. *Albans*, they send to the King, being then at *London*, the Bishops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford*, and *Chichester*, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realm, to rid his Court of those Traitors, the *Spencers*, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the commonalty of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. 1302.

The King answers for them. The King returns answer, that *Hugh Spencer* the father was now beyond the Seas, imployed in his business, and his son was guarding the Cinqueports, according to his office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be banished without being heard: and withal swore he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Pardon to such notorious Offenders, who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to *London*; and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urge their demands. To which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in *Westminster-Hall*, by the Earl of *Hereford*, the *Spencers* are banished the Kingdom. *Hugh* the Father hearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son secretly hides himself in *England*, expecting the turn of a better season. And indeed shortly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in a Council holden at *London*, pronounceth the banishment of the *Spencers* to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the *Spencers* are called home, and set in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity, return home; but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards *Canterbury*, intended to lodge at the Castle of *Leeds*, belonging to the Lord *Badlesmere*, (who had been long the Kings Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters from their Lord. The Queen her self goes to the Castle, and receives the like answer; whereupon she is driven to take such lodging otherwhere as could be provided. Of which indignity she complains to the King, who took it so to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of *London*, he layes siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper *Thomas Colepepper*, sends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badlesmere* to the *Tower*, and seiseth upon all his Goods and Treasure. And having this power about him, and warmed with success and the instigation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to *Chichester*, where he keeps his *Christmas*, and there provides for an Army against the Barons: whereof many (seeing the Kings power encreasing) left their Associates, and yield themselves to his mercy. Amongst whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and means; the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others: who notwithstanding, contrary to their expectation, were sent to divers Prisons. The Earls of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this sudden change, withdrew themselves and their company from about *Gloucester*, towards the North parts; whom the King follows with an Army, wherein were the Earls of *Athol* and *Angus*: and at *Burton* upon *Trent*, where they had made a head, discomfited their Forces, and put them to flight. In the mean time the Earl of *Lancaster* had sent into *Lancashire* a Knight of his, named *Robert Holland*, (one whom he had brought up of nought) to raise more Forces amongst his Tenants; but he hearing of this flight of his Lords, goes with his Forces to take the Kings part. Which so dismayes the Earl, that he began now to think of suing to the King for grace: but being in the way, at a Town called *Borough-Bridge*, there was set upon by Sir *Simon Warde*, Sheriff of *York*, and Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, Constable of *Carlile*, who utterly defeat his Forces. In which fight was slain the Earl of *Hereford*, (who fighting valiantly upon a Bridge, was by a Varlet skulking under the Bridge, thrust with a Spear into the fundament) Sir *Roger Benefield*, Sir *William Sulland*, and others. There was taken the Earl of *Lancaster*, Sir *Roger Clifford*, Sir *John Mowbray*, Sir *Roger Tackets*, Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, with divers other, and were led to *York*. This field was fought the fifteenth day of *March*, in the year 1320. It was not long after that Sir *Hugh Daniel*, Sir *Bartholomew de Badlesmere* were taken. Three dayes after the Earl of *Lancaster* is brought to *Pomfret*, where the King sitting himself in judgement with *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, his Brother, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earl of *Winchester*, and others, sentence of death is given against him, to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded as a Traitor. The two first punishments are pardoned, in regard he was of Royal Blood; and beheaded he was the same day without the Town of *Pomfret*, before his own Castle. To speak of the Miracles said to be done by him after his death, might be fit for a Legend, but not for a Chronicle; and therefore I omit them. By the like judgement were condemned the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warren Lisle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mandit*, *Henry Bradburn*, *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord *Cheyney*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Joceline* Lord *Daniel*; all which were executed at *York*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken, drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London*; *William* the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*; the Lords *Badlesmer* and *Ashburton* at *Canterbury*; at *Cardiffe* in *Wales*, Sir *William Fleming*; at *Bristow*, Sir *Henry Womington*, and Sir *Henry Montford* Bannerets; at *Gloucester*, the Lord *Clifford*, and Sir *William Elminbridge*, principal men in principal places: to spread the terror over the Kingdom, all their Estates and Inheritances are

But at last yields to the banishment.

But soon revoked.

The Queen is denied to lodge in *Leeds* Castle

The King revengeth the indignity.

The King provides an Army against the Barons.

Of whom many submit themselves, yet are committed to custody.

The Earl of *Lancaster* defeated.

Is taken prisoner.

1321.

Is condemned, the King himself sitting in Judgement is beheaded.

Miracles done by him after his death.

Divers Lords and others executed.

The first blood of Nobility shed since the Conquest.

are confiscated, and many new men advanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility that ever was shed in this manner in *England* since *William* the Conquerour.

The King grieveth for the Earl of *Lancaster*'s death.

But not long after, the King in a calmer humour, began to have sense of the Earl of *Lancaster*'s execution, which he discovered upon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suit for a Pardon to one of the Earls followers, and pressing the King hard to it, he fell into a great passion, exclaiming against them as unjust and wicked Counsellors, who would urge him to save the life of a notorious Varlet, and would not speak one word for his near kinsman the Earl of *Lancaster*, who (said he) had he lived, might have been useful to me, and the whole Kingdom; but this fellow the longer he lives, the more mischief he will do: and therefore by the soul of God, he should die the death he had deserved. Sir *Andrew Harkeley*, who was the man that took the Earl of *Lancaster* prisoner, being advanced for this service to the Earldom of *Carlile*, enjoyed his honour but a while; for the next year after, either thrust out in discontent by the *Spencers*, envying his high preferment, or combining with the *Scots*, upon hope of a great match, (as he was accused) he is degraded of all his honours, drawn, hanged, and quartered at *London* for Treason.

1322.

King *Edward* summoned into *France*.

But now the King of *France* summons King *Edward* to come and do his homage for *Gascoine*; and he not coming, all his Territories in *France* are adjudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance are seised on by the *French*. Hereupon a Parliament is called; and it is by common consent of all agreed, that the King should not go in person himself, in regard of the distraction of the times, but should send some special men to excuse his appearance: whereupon *Edmund* Earl of *Kent* the Kings brother is sent, but to little effect. Then it is thought fit the Queen should go, and indeed the Queen went; but what was the cause of her going, there is amongst Writers great variance. Some say she was sent by the King to accommodate this business; which she negotiated so well, as that all quarrels were ended, upon condition the King should give to his son *Edward* the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, with the Earldom of *Ponthieu*, and send him over to do his homage for them. Which after many consultations, the King is wrought to yield unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of *France* accordingly: but others say, she went out of discontent, to complain to her brother the King of *France* for wrongs offered her by the *Spencers*, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmore*, a gallant young Gentleman, whom she specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of *London*, by giving his keepers (as was said) a sleeping drink. And withal, the Bishop of *Exeter* perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of *France* to hasten their return; which when he saw was neglected and delayed, he caused them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them and all their adherents out of the Land; and withal causeth all the ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that as the King for love of the *Spencers*, had his minde alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of *Mortimer* had her minde alienated from loving the King: and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into *England* without some good assistance. Whereupon solliciting her brother the King of *France* he aided her with men and money, say some, but others, that he refusing to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the *Spencers* against her, she left the *French* Court, and went into *Heynault*, to the Earl of that Countrey, who upon a contract between her son Prince *Edward* and *Philippa* the Earls daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother *John*; and with them and her beloved *Mortimer*, she took shipping and landed at *Orwell*, a Port neer unto *Harwich* in *Suffolk*: where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, *Henry* Earl of *Leicester*, and *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster* with the wry neck, called *Torcoll*, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being at *London*, and hearing of the Queens landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly struck en into a great amazement; and though he had his great Counsellors the *Spencers* about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him: and indeed in this case what should he, or what could he do? To stay in *London* was apparent danger, for he plainly saw the *Londoners* to be more inclining to take the Queens part then his; and to go from *London* to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possest either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends: at last the Isle of *Lundy* is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conies, Fish and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be entered; and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of *Gloucester*, the *Spencers*, and *Robert Baldock* with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and fain through Tempests to land in *Wales*; and there in the Abbey of *Nethe* in *Glamorganshire* kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to *Oxford* where *Adam* Bishop of *Hereford* took for his Text, *Caput meum doleo*; and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head, and put a sounder in the place. At this time also, the *Londoners* to shew their love to the Queen, seised upon *Walter Stapleton*, the good bishop of *Exeter* and Lord Treasurer of *England*, left Governour there by the King; and with great despight

1325.

Nor coming at the Kings sending for, they are proclaimed enemies to the State.

The Queen upon a match of her son Prince *Edward* with a Daughter of the Earl of *Heynault* is aided by him.

1326.

Comes into *England* many Lords relort unto her.

The King fearing the Queens forces, flies to the Isle of *Lundy*.

His Queen goes to excuse his appearance. The reason of the Queens going uncertain.

The Queen staies in *France* for the love of *Roger Mortimer*.

But is driven into *Wales*.

The *Londoners* favour to the Queen.

despight beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time the Queen went from *Oxford* to *Glocester*, and from thence to *Bristow*, where *Hugh Spencer* the Father was, a man of fourscore and ten years old; who is there taken, and without examination of Judgement, in most cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at *Hereford* the space of a moneth, and then dividing her Army, she sends one part of it under the Conduct of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, and *Rice ap Powel*, a Clerk, to finde out the King: and this *Rice* being a *Welshman*, and knowing the Countrey well, brought the Earl to the Monastery of *Nethe*, where the King was, whom they there take together with *Spencer* the Son, *Robert Baldock*, and *Simon* of *Reading*. The King is by the Bishop of *Hereford* committed to the custody of the Earl of *Leicester*; where all that Winter he was used no worse then was fit for a captive King: but *Edmund* Earl of *Arundel*, *John Daniel*, and *Thomas Micheldene*, at the instance of *Mortimer*, are all three beheaded. Presently after is *Hugh Spencer*, the younger, who was now Earl of *Glocester*, drawn, hanged, and quartered; his head sent up to be set upon *London-Bridge*, and his four quarters bestowed in several Cities. The like is done with *Simon* of *Reading*, but *Robert Baldock* is committed to *New-Gate*, against whom, when no just cause of death could be found, there was used so much cruelty in his imprisonment, that he shortly after died.

Hugh Spencer the Father executed; and most cruelly

The King with *Spencer* the Son, and others are taken and kept in custody.

Spencer the Son hanged and quartered.

Presently after *Christmas* a Parliament is called, wherein it was agreed to depose the King and set up his Son; which he hearing, refused it, unless his Father would freely resign. Whereupon are appointed three Bishops, two Earls, two Abbots, four Barons, and of every City a Burgess to go to the King, (in custody then at *Kenelworth*) the Bishops were *John* of *Stratford*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Adam Tarleton* Bishop of *Hereford*, and *Henry* Bishop of *Lincoln*. But the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, getting to the King before the rest came, perswade the King to resign his Crown to his eldest Son; craftily promising him he should have as good maitenance afterward, as ever he had when he was King: and contrarily threatning him, that if he did it not, the people would exclude both him and his Son too, and make a King of another Race. By these promises and threatnings, the meek King is drawn to yield to the Bishops motion: but when afterward the Bishop of *Hereford* and the other Commissioners came, and were sate in a place appointed to take his resignation, the King coming forth amongst them in mourning Robes, upon a sudden fell down in a swoon; in whom the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Bishop of *Winchester*, had much ado to recover life: but then the Bishop of *Hereford* rising up, delivered the cause of their coming, as the other Bishops before had done. To which the King answered, that as he much grieved his people should be so hardened against him, as utterly to reject him; so it was some comfort unto him, that they would yet receive his Son to be their Sovereign. After this *Thomas Blunt* Knight, Steward of the Kings house, brake the Staffe of his Office; and *William Trussel*, Speaker of the Parliament, in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Allegiance to *Edward* of *Carnarvan*. Here *Caxton* writes, that from the time of this Kings deposing, which was in *December*, to the time of his Sons Crowning, which was not till *Candlemas* following, all Pleas of the *Kings-Bench* were stayed, and all Prisoners arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at liberty; which seems to have little probability, seeing his Son *Edward* presently upon his deposing was received for King. But howsoever so great a Dowry was then assigned to Queen *Isabel*, that scarce a third part of the revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the late King is allowed a hundred Marks a moneth for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Cousin Earl of *Leicester*, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this grieved him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he swore most devoutly, that from the time he first saw her face, he could never like of any other woman. By which it may appear, that neither *Gaveston* nor the *Spencers* had so debauched him, as to make him false to his Bed, or to be disloyal to his Queen. But the Queen being hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great liberty under the Earl of *Leicester*, by advice of her pestilent Counsellour, *Adam Tarleton*, Bishop of *Hereford*, appoints *Thomas Gourney*, and *John Matrevers* Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own custody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from *Kenelworth*, and carry him first to *Corf* Castle, and from thence to *Bristow*; where they shut him in the Castle: till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to *Barkeley* Castle, where by the way they abused him most inhumanely, as Sir *Thomas de la More* a Knight of *Glocestershire*, in his life relateth. For to the end he should not be known they shaved his head and beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they took him from his Horse, and set him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch there by, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time: whereat the miserable King looking sternly upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash him; and therewithal to make good his word, he presently shed forth a shower of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in such a manner. Many Kingdoms have been lost by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow struck, no Battel fought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with consent; both parties agreed, yet neither pleased; for the the King was not pleased to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleased to leave him his life. It was not safe to leave him a part, by which he might afterward recover the whole: and therefore this was the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the

1326.

The Parliament agrees to depose the King, and set up his Son.

The King is perswaded by the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*, to resign his Crown to his Son.

Coming to make his resignation he falls in a swoon.

The King is deposed.

Is inhumanely used

Authors

Authors of it, and not be seen in it, but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

BY this King it appears there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the mindes of *English* Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations then in this Kings time: yet never were the Subjects mindes more alienated from their King, then they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporalty. In his fifth year in a Parliament at *London*, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporal mens goods, through *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*, towards his Wars with *Scotland*. And more then these we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of *Lancaster*, there were Confiscations that supplied the place of Taxations, by which (as one saith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE ordained that the money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be currant. In the eighth year of his Reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Victuals, It was ordained by Parliament, that an Oxe fatted with Grass should be sold for fifteen shillings, fatted with Corn, for twenty, the best Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat sheep shorn, fourteen pence, with the Fleece twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pigeons a penny; whosoever sold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King. But after these rates imposed, all kinde of Victuals grew so scarce, that Prouision could hardly be made for the Kings House; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revoked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their Wares. In this Kings time an Ordinance was made against Knights Templars, accused of Heresie and other crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendom, at one instant, being condemned in a General Council at *Vienna*. In the 14. year of his Reign, on the 15. of *October*, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards *York* with the Book called *Domus Dei*, and other Records, and Provision that laded one and twenty Carts; but in half a year they were brought back again.

Price of victuals in a dearth.

Knights Templars accused of Heresie, and committed to prison.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the 17. year of his Reign the Bishop of *Hereford* was arrested, accused of high Treason, for aiding the Kings Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer, (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whose suffragan he was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and humbly craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf: but finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Bishops, all with their Crosses erected, went to the place of Judgement, and again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made *ex Officio Judicis*, concerning those Objections against the Bishop: wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions seised into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crowchet Fryers came first into *England*. In his time Pope *John* the two and twentieth, first instituted the Feast of *Corpus Christi*, begun before by *Urban* the fourth.

A Bishop arrested by the King, was rescued by the other Bishops.

Crowchet Fryers come first into *England*.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

THis King founded *Orial* Colledge, and St. *Mary* Hall in *Oxford*: He builded a Church of Fryers at his Manour of *Langley*, where the soul of *Gaveston* should be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth year, *Richard Rothing* Sheriff of *London*, builded the Parish Church of *Garlick-Hithe* in *London*; *Ralph Baldock* Bishop of *London*, gave two thousand Marks to the building of the New work of the Chappel, on the South side of *Pauls* Church: and left much more by his Testament.

Orial Colleoge in *Oxford* founded.

Casualties.

IN the eighth year of this Kings Reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in prison pluckt in pieces, those that were newly brought in amongst them, and eat them half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his Reign, the Church of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire*, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Mattins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of a Work about *Pauls*, were found more then a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the opinion, that of old time it had been the Temple of *Jupiter*, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

A marvellous dearth.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Isabel*, Daughter of *Philip* the *Fair*, King of *France*, she being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threescore and three years old at *Rysings* near *London*, was buried in the midst of *Gray-Friers* Quire in *London*. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daughters; his eldest Son named *Edward* of *Windsor*,

because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second Son named *John* of *Eltham*, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of *Cornwal*: He died in *Scotland* in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter *Joan*, being a Childe, was married in the fourth year of King *Edward* her Brother, to *David* Prince of *Scotland*, Son to King *Robert Bruce*, at seven years old; who coming afterward into *England* to visit her Brother, died here, and was buried at the *Gray Friers* in *London*. His second Daughter *Eleanor*, was married to *Reginald* the second Earl of *Gelder*, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds; and had issue by him two Sons, who were Earls successively.

Of his Personage and Conditions:

HE was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, he loved but one; for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extream in nothing but in loving; and though love moderated, be the best of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate then unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is in the event, unhappiness in the cause: and if his fortune had been to love good men, his own goodness would have made him happy. Two vertues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base issue behinde him; so abstinent, that he took no base courses for raising of money. They who despised him being alive, so much honoured being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Burial.

Wayes devised to take away his life.

MAny wayes were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat, but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carkasses, enough to have poisoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his Window, he never endured so great a misery in all his life: but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poisons, but whether by the strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the pestilent *Achitophel*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, devised a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty; and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of his Letter wrote this Line, *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est*: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the Keepers might finde sufficient warrant, and himself might finde sufficient excuse. The Keepers guessing at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolsters upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an iron red hot, and through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen: but though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the Fact was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. *Gourney* and *Matrevers*, his murtherers, looking for reward, had the reward of Murtherers. For the Queen and Bishop *Tarleton* disavowing the command, threatned to question them for the Kings death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: and *Gourney*, after three years, being taken in *France*, and sent into *England*, was in the way upon the Sea, beheaded. *Matrevers* flying into *Germany*, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the year 1327. more then half a year after his deposing; when he had reigned almost 19. years, lived 43. His body was carried to *Gloucester*, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monastery of Saint *Peter*, by the Benedictine Friers. 1327.

Of Men of Note in his time.

IN this Kings time, of Martial men were many, whose acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as *John Duns* the great Logician, called *Doctor Subtilis*, born in *Northumberland*, at *Emildune* a Village three miles distant from *Alnwick*; though both the *Scots* and the *Irish* challenge him for theirs; *Robert Walsingham* a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Robert Baston* born in *Nottinghamshire*, a Carmelite Frier of *Scarborough*, whom King *Edward* took with him into *Scotland*, to write some remembrances of his Victories: but being taken by the *Scots*, was constrained by *Robert Bruce* to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; *William Rishanger*, a Monk of Saint *Albans*, an Historiographer; *Ralph Baldock*, Bishop of *London*, who wrote a History, entituled, *Historia Anglica*; *John Walsingham*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers Treatises; *Nicholas de Lyra*, a *Jew* by Birth, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity; *William Ockam* a Frier Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against *John Duns*, and also against Pope *John* the 23. in favour of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bavaria*; *Thomas Halsewood*, a Canon of *Leeds* in *Kent*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicum compendiarium*; *Robert Perscrutator* born in *Yorkshire*, a Black Frier and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembred, *John Mandevile*, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physick and a Knight.

John Duns called *Doctor Subtilis* when he lived.

John Mandevile the great traveller, when he lived.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his first year,
Sir *John Blunt* continued Mayor.
Nicholas Pigot, *Nigellus Drury*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Nicholas Faringdon was Mayor.
William Basing, *James Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Thomas Romaine was Mayor.
Roger le Palmer, *James* of *St. Edmund*, Sheriffs.

In

In his fourth year,
Richard Reffam was Mayor.
Simon Cooper, *Peter Blackney*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Gyſors* was Mayor.
Simon Metwood, *Richard Wilford*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Sir *John Gyſors* was Mayor.
John Lambin, *Adam Lutkin*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.
Robert Gurden, *Hugh Garton*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Giſors* was Mayor.
Stephen Abingdon, *Hammond Chickwel*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Stephen de Abingdon was Mayor.
Hammond Goodcheap, *William Bodeleigh*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave was Mayor.
William Caſton, *Ralph Balancer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave continued Mayor.
John Prior, *William Furneux*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave continued Mayor.
John Pointel, *John Dalling*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Simon de Abingdon, *John Preſton*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.
Renauld at the Conduit, *Will. Prodham*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Richard Conſtantine, *Richard de Hackney*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Mayor.
John Grantham, *Richard de Ely*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.
Adam of *Salisbury*, *John* of *Oxford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Benet of *Fulham*, *John Cawſton*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Mayor.
Gilbert Mordon, *John Cawſton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Britain was Mayor.
Richard Rothing, *Roger Chaunteclre*, Sheriffs.

The LIFE and REIGN of KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.

Anno Dom. 1327.

EDWARD of *Windſor*, eldeſt Son of King *Edward* the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Reſignation, was proclaimed King of *England*, on the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1327. And becauſe he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* girt ſolemnly with the Sword; and on the firſt day of *February* following, was Crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Walter Reginald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath ſince been uſed as a Cuſtom with all ſucceeding Kings; that at their firſt coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is alwayes granted. And becauſe the King was under age, ſcarce fifteen years old (though *Froyſſard* ſaith he was then eighteen) there were twelve appointed Governours of him and the Kingdom; namely the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Worceſter*; *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, Earl Marſhal, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncles; *John* Earl *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Pierce*, *Oliver* Lord *Ingham*, and *John* Lord *Roſſe*: but though theſe were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and *Roger Mortimer* took all the authority to themſelves. The firſt action that was undertaken, was an expedition againſt the *Scots*; for *Robert Bruce*, though now old and ſickly, and (as was ſaid) Leprous: yet conſidering the youth of the new King, and the diſtractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do ſome good upon *England*; and entring the *Engliſh* borders with an Army, ſent defiance to King *Edward*. Whereupon an Army is raiſed, and the *Heynaulders*, (whom the Queen had brought over) are joyned with the *Engliſh*: but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the action not ſucceſsful. For the Kings Army encountring the *Scots* at *Stanhope* Park in *Weredal* in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, though three times as many as the *Scots*, as being thirty thouſand; yet through this variance, but more through treaſon of ſome great men, ſuffered them all to eſcape their hands, and the *Scots* returned home in ſafety, the *Engliſh* with diſhonour: and after this, the *Engliſh* ſeeing the *Heynaulders* could do them no good, ſent them away to their own Countrey. In King *Edward*'s ſecond year, his marriage with *Philippa* of *Heynault* is ſolemniſed, (a diſpenſation being firſt gotten, becauſe of their nearneſs in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at *Northampton*, where the King made three Earls; *John* of *Eltham* his Brother, Earl of *Cornwal*; *Roger Mortimer*, Earl of *March*; and *James Butler* of *Ireland*, Earl of *Ormond*. And in this Parliament a diſhonourable Peace is concluded with the *Scots*; and confirmed by a match between *David Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, being but ſeven years old, and *Joan*, ſiſter to King *Edward* not ſo old. At which time by the ſecret working of Queen *Iſabel*, *Roger Mortimer*, and Sir *James Douglaſs*, the King ſurrenders by his Charter all his title of Sovereignty to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, reſtores divers Deeds and Inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called *Ragmans Roll*, and many ancient Jewels, and Monuments, amongſt which was the Black Croſs of *Scotland*; and beſides, any *Engliſh* man is prohibited to hold Lands in *Scotland*, unleſs he were a dweller there. In conſideration whereof King *Bruce* was to pay 30000. Marks, and to renounce his claim to the Counties of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and any other place poſſeſſed by him in *England*. This was no good beginning, and yet worſe followed after. For another Parliament being holden at *Wincheſter*, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncle, is there accuſed, and condemned upon his confeſſion, for intending to reſtore his Brother, the late King *Edward*; an intention only without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: but generally ſo beloved of the people, that he ſtood on the Scaffold from one a Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at laſt a ſilly wretch of the Marſhalſey was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death eſcaped not long themſelves, for in the third year of the Kings Reign, another Parliament is holden at *Nottingham*, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Penſion of a thouſand pounds a year, and her ſelf confined to a Caſtle, where ſhe remained the reſt of her dayes, no fewer then thirty years. A time long enough to finde that her being the Daughter of a King, the Siſter of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, were glorious Titles, but all

King *Edward* the third crowned.

A general pardon at the Kings Coronation, when firſt begun.

His firſt action was an expedition againſt the *Scots*, but without ſucceſs, and why.

He marries *Philippa* of *Heynault*.

King *Edward* ſurrenders all his title to the Crown of *Scotland*.

1329.

Edmund Earl of *Kent*, the Kings Uncle beheaded, and why.

King *Edward* confineth his mother.

1330. all not worth the liberty of a mean Estate. And as for *Mortimer*, (lying then in the Castle of *Nottingham* and lately created Earl of the *Marches* of *Wales*) he was seised on in this manner; the King taking with him *William Montacute*, *Robert Holland*, and others, go secretly one night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they come to the Queens Chamber; where leaving the King without, they entred and found the Queen with *Mortimer*, ready to go to bed: then laying hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, *Bel fits, ayes pitie du gentil Mortimer*; good son, good son, take pity upon the gentle *Mortimer*, suspecting that her son had been amongst them. This course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, he having no fewer then nineteore Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus seised on, he is committed presently to the *Tower*, accused of divers great crimes, whereof these were chief; That he had procured the late Kings death; That he had been the Author of the *Scots* safe escaping at *Stanhope* Park, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with *Scotland*, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with Childe. Of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned; and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows at the Elms, now called *Tyburn*, where his body remained two dayes as an opprobrious spectacle for all beholders.

Seiseth upon *Mortimer*, and in what manner.

Who is hanged at *Tyburn*.

After these businesses in *England*, there comes a new business upon him from the King of *France*; for about this time *Philip le Bel*, King of *France*, the Queens brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to *Charles* a former King, wherein are Competitors *Philip* Duke *de Valois*, and *Edward* King of *England*. *Edward* is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedigree by a Female: *Philip* the farther off, but descending by all Males: and because the Law *Salique* excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females; therefore is *Philip*'s title preferred before King *Edward*'s, and *Philip* is received and crowned King of *France*: to which preferment of his, *Robert de Artois*, a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as *Philip* was invested in the Crown, he summons *Edward* to come and do his Homage for the Dutchy of *Guyen*, and his other lands in *France*, held of that Crown, according to the Custom; which though it were some prejudice to King *Edward*'s claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of *England* was scarce well settled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: and thereupon the sixth of *June*, in the year 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimson Velvet Gown, imbroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurs on his heels, presents himself in the Body of the Cathedral Church of *Amyens* before King *Philip*, sitting in his Chair of Estate, in a Velvet Gown of a violet Colour, imbroidered with Flowers *de lys* of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Viscount *Melun* Chamberlain of *France*, first commands King *Edward* to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King *Philip*; and then the Viscount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of *France*, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: You become Liegeman to my Master here present, as Duke of *Aquitaine*, and Peer of *France*; and you promise to bear faith and loyalty to him: Say yea. And King *Edward* said yea, and kissed the King of *France* on the mouth, as Lord of the Fee. The like homage also he did for the Earldom of *Ponthieu*. But this act of submission left a rancour in King *Edward*'s heart, which afterwards brake so out, that it had been good for *France* it had never been exacted.

King *Edward* claims the Crown of *France*, but *Philip* of *Valois* is preferred, and why.

King *Edward* doth homage to the King of *France* for his Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the manner of doing it.

This done, King *Edward* returns home, and there findes a new business with *Scotland*, upon this occasion. *Edward Baliol*, Son to *John Baliol*, (sometimes King of *Scotland*) two and thirty years after his Fathers deposition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of *France*, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in *England*, with them he suddenly assails those who had the Government of *Scotland*, during the Nonage of the young King *David* (being at that time with the King of *France*) and in a Battel overcame them, with the slaughter of many Noble-men, and thousands of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But notwithstanding his great defeat, King *Baliol* was forced to retire him into *England* to get more aid of King *Edward*. Who now shews himself in the action, joyns with *Baliol* against his Brother-in-law King *David*; goes in person with a strong Army to recover *Berwick*, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was taked in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof, at *Hallidown-Hill*, utterly defeated: where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerets, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Souldiers, as our Writers report: as theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this effusion of blood is *Baliol* returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good correspondence with the King of *England* hereafter, doth him homage for his Realm of *Scotland*, and the Islands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness, for many of the *Scots* aided by the *French*, made War upon him divers years after; during all which time, King *David* with his Wife remained in *France*. If any man marvel why King *Edward* would aid *Baliol* against King *David*, who had married his sister, he may consider that alliances, how near soever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

Edward Baliol is crowned King of *Scotland*.

King *Edward* aids *Baliol* against his brother-in-law King *David*.

1333. The *Scots* defeated at *Hallidown-Hill*.

About this time, the Isle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, for which service King *Edward* gave him the title of King of *Man*.

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury* hath the title given him to be King of *Man*.

Of

Of his Acts after he came of age.

King Edward is perswaded by Robert D' Artois to make War upon France

AND now *Robert* of *Artois* baniſhed out of *France*, comes into *England*, whom King *Edward* makes Earl of *Richmond*, and of his Council. This *Robert* perſwades King *Edward* to make War upon *France*, to which Crown (he ſaid) he had more right then he that held it. With whoſe perſwations, King *Edward* is at laſt reſolved to undertake the enterpriſe; and to furniſh himſelf of noble Cheiftains, he at one time in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, the eighth year of his Reign, creates ſix Earls, *Henry* of *Lancaſter* he made Earl of *Derby*, *William Montacute* he made Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audeley* Earl of *Glocester*, *William Clinton* Earl of *Huntington*, and *Robert Clifford*, or *Ufford*, Earl of *Suffolk*: alſo twenty Knights of whom *Thomas de la Moore*, who writ the life of the Kings Father was one. Withal he ſends the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, to procure leagues of amity with divers Princes abroad. Where it is ſcarce worth remembring, what *Froiſſard* mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of ſilk, and vowed to ſee but with one eye, till it might be ſeen, what great deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their exploits. And as the King of *England* laboured to procure himſelf friends, ſo likewiſe the King of *France* got to take his part, the Biſhop of *Leige*, with the Dukes and Earls of *Gelders*, *Juliers*, *Cleve*, *Heynault*, and *Brabant*, and with the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and *Valeran* his Brother; *John* King of *Bohemia*, Earl of *Luxemberg*, *Henry Count Palatine*, *Aubert* Biſhop of *Mentz*, *Otho* Duke of *Auſtria*, *Ame* Earl of *Geneva*, with many other Princes and Captains out of *Germany*, *Spain*, and other Countries. King *Edward* thus reſolved in himſelf, and furniſhed with friends abroad, goes over into *Flanders*, with his Queen and Children, makes his reſidence at *Antwerp*; where by perſwation of the *Flemings*, he takes upon him the Style, Title, and Arms of the King of *France*: for by this they accounted themſelves diſobliged of the Bond of twenty hundred thouſand Crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Arms againſt the King of *France*: and hereupon the League was eſtabliſhed between them and King *Edward*. And from this time forward the Kings of *England* quartered the Arms of *France* with thoſe of *England*; and took upon them the name of Kings of *France*. And now King *Edward* for a beginning to put his claim in execution, ſets upon *Cambray*, and enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierach*: On the other ſide King *Philip* ſeiſeth on the Dutchy of *Guienne*, and ſends thither the *Counte d' Eu*, Conſtable of *France*, with the Earls of *Foix* and *Armigniack*. At laſt both Armies came ſo near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after: but upon better conſideration, the *Engliſh* thought it no diſcretion to give Battel to an Army ſo much greater then their own, if they could avoid it; and the *French* thought it as little diſcretion for them to hazard the perſon of the Prince within his own Kingdom; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, a great Aſtronomer, that he foreſaw by the Stars, ſome great misfortune to threaten the *French*, if they ſhould that day fight with the *Engliſh*, King *Edward* being preſent. And thus both Armies having their ſeveral reaſons to decline the battel, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened ſcarce worth remembring, yet muſt be remembred. A Hare ſtarting out before the head of the *French* Army, cauſed a great ſhout to be made; whereupon, they who ſaw not the Hare, but only heard the ſhout, ſuppoſing it to be the onſet of the battel, diſpoſed themſelves to fight: and fourteen Gentlemen for encouragements ſake, as the cuſtome is, were knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

1339.

The Armies of the two Kings being near together, yet part without fighting and why.

Knights of the Hare, why ſo called.

But now King *Edward* muſt a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in *Brabant*, he paſſeth himſelf into *England* about *Candlemas*, having been in *Brabant* about a year; and landing at the Tower about midnight, and finding it ungarded, was ſo much diſpleaſed that he preſently ſends for the Maior of *London*, commanding him to bring before him the Chancellour and Treaſurer, with Sir *John Saint Paul*, *Michael Wath*, *Philip Thorpe*, *Henry Stratford*, Clergie men, (who it ſeems were officers for his Receipts) and *John Sconer* Juſtice of the Bench: all which, except the Chancellour, were apprehended and committed to priſon; as were afterward in like manner, divers Officers of Juſtice, and Accomptants, upon inquiry of their unjuſt proceeding. During the Kings abode in *England*, *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the *French*, having performed divers great exploits, were at laſt in an encounter about *Liſle*, ſo overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and ſent priſoners to *Paris*. Beſides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be great rubs in King *Edward*'s proceeding; one, that his Wives Father, *William* Earl of *Heynault*, dying, and leaving his Son to ſucceed, this ſon left his Brother King *Edward*, and fell to take part with the King of *France*; the other, that the Duke of *Normandy*, thinking himſelf as ſtrong as ever *William* Duke of *Normandy* was that conquered *England*, he ſaw no reaſon but he might conquer it as well as that *William*; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterpriſe: but theſe were but vapours that never came to be winds, at leaſt brought no ſtorms. For *John* Earl of *Heynault* had quickly enough of the King of *France*, and was ſoon after reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*; and the Duke of *Normandy* went no further then preparations: for indeed King *Edward* proſecuted his courſes againſt *France* with ſuch heat, that all the neighbouring Princes ſeeing a fire kindled ſo near their own borders, were glad to look to themſelves at home. But now to impede the King of *England*'s return into *France*, King *Philip* had provided a mighty Navie in the Haven of *Sluce*, conſiſting of two hundred ſail of Ships, (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his landing; whereof King *Edward* being advertiſed, prepares the like number of Ships, and ſets out

William Montacute Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* taken priſoners by the *French*.

Sea

Sea upon *Midsummer* Eve, is met the morrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*; and encounters his enemy who lay to intercept him with such force and courage, and such advantage of Winde and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and sunk all their Ships, slew thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory, (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the *English* at Sea) could yield, though King *Edward* himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Most of the *French*, rather then to endure the Arrows of the *English*, or be taken, desperately leapt into the Sea; whereupon the *French* Kings Jester, set on to give notice to him of his overthrow, (which being so ill news, none else would willingly impart unto him) said, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly *English* men, Dastardly *English* men, Faint-hearted *English* men! The King at length asked him why? for that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave *French* men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow, which the *French* attributed to *Nicholas Batchet*, one of their Chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition, (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages. And indeed it often happens that the avarice of Commanders is the occasion of great defeats.

King *Edward* takes and sinks two hundred Sail of *French* Ships.

How the *French* Kings Jester gave notice of this overthrow to the King.

By this Victory King *Edward* gained a free entrance into *Flanders*, and presently went and besieged *Tournay* with an Army of five and fifty thousand; but was so valiantly encountred by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Earl of *Armigniack*, that they routed his Army, and slew four thousand upon the place: which so enraged King *Edward*, that two dayes after he sent a challenge to King *Philip* to meet him in a single Combat, or with an hundred against as many, before the Walls of *Tournay*. King *Philip* answers that his challenge being made to *Philip de Valois*, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of *France*; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at *Amiens*, and the wrong he did to the Christian world, by his troublesome courses to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the *Holy-Land*. Besides this answer in writing, he sends to him by word of mouth; that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but exposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all reason: but if he would set his Kingdom of *England*, though much meaner, against his of *France*, he would then accept the challenge, and meet him in the field in single Combat. But this King *Edward* would not hearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, so he was circumspect to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his siege of *Tournay*; to the relief whereof King *Philip* sends all the Forces he could possibly make by himself or his friends: and after the siege had continued three months, partly by mediation of *Robert* King of *Sicilie*, but chiefly by the Lady *Jane* of *Valois*, sister to King *Philip*, and mother of King *Edward*'s Wife, (who had vowed her self a Nun, but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

King *Edward*'s Army of five and fifty thousand defeated.

King *Edward* sends a challenge to the King of *France*, and the King of *France*'s answer.

A Truce is concluded between the two Kings.

After this, King *Edward* returning into *England*, was advertised how the *Scots* after many other places gained, had besieged the Castle of *Striveling*; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haste he can: and yet before he could come, it was by force of battery, compelled to render it self upon conditions. Then King *Edward* being at *Berwick*, passeth to *New-Castle* upon *Tine*, where he stayes a month, waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by tempest, he makes a Truce with the *Scots* for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the *Scots* send to King *David*, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own person; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of *France*, with whom he had remained seven years, he with his Wife *Joan*, King *Edward*'s sister, returns into *Scotland*: where, after he had been most honourably received by the Prince of *Orknay*, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters *Northumberland*, passing on to *New-Castle* upon *Tyne*, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle, *John Nevile* was left governour by King *Edward*, who sending out certain companies, took the Earl *Murray* prisoner; and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Castle: which so incensed King *David*, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of *Durham*, where he used all kindes of cruelty, first upon the Countrey, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others; burning and destroying Houses, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he passeth on to the Castle of *Salisbury*, which Castle belonged to *William Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, in right of his Wife; but himself being then prisoner in *France*, only his Countess, and one *William Montacute* a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This *William* perceiving the *Scottish* horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to go, issues out of the Castle with forty horse, sets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes six-score, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King *David* soon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King *Edward*'s coming, (who certified of these things, made all the haste he could) he retires himself from thence; and King *Edward* finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Countess: of whom as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her Chastity, then King *David* had done to her Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the *Scots*, with whom for three dayes together he had many skirmishes, till at last a Truce was concluded for two years; and amongst other conditions, *William* Earl of *Salisbury*, a prisoner with the King of *France*, was set at liberty in exchange for

King *David* of *Scotland* enters *England* with an Army.

Is repelled at the Castle of *Salisbury*.

King *Edward*'s love to the Countess of *Salisbury*.

William Earl of *Salisbury* set at liberty by exchange.

for the Earl *Murray*, prisoner with the King of *England*.

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of *England* and *France*. *John* Earl of *Montford* laid claim to the Dutchy of *Britain*; but in the quarrel was taken prisoner by the King of *France*. His Lady sends to King *Edward* for succour; which King *Edward* grants upon condition that a marriage be made between his Daughter *Mary*, and the Earl of *Montford*'s son: which being agreed on (he sends over to her aid, first, *Walter de Manny*, a valiant Knight, and afterward *Robert d' Artois*. But whiles his Army was preparing, King *Edward* was informed by *Edward Baliol*, the pretended King of *Scotland*, and Governour of *Berwick*, that the *Scots* had not kept the conditions of the Truce; whereupon King *Edward* draws a great Army to *Berwick*, with a purpose to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time *Robert d' Artois* had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countess of *Montford*, the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and *Suffolk*, and many other Barons, after great tempests and encounters at Sea, lands safely at last near to *Vannes*, which was held by the *French*; and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of *Walter de Manny*, who came unto him, after many assaults, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countess of *Montford*, though she held it not long; for certain resolute *French* Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the *English*. In which action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly *Robert d' Artois* himself; who passing over into *England*, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after died, and was buried in *Pauls* Church in *London*. And now King *Edward* himself with a strong Army passeth over into *Britain*, and plants his Camp before the City of *Vannes*, where was like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the instant there came from Pope *Clement* the sixth, two Cardinals, the Bishops of *Preneste* and *Tusculum*: who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace. Amongst other conditions this was one, that the City of *Vannes* should be delivered to King *Philip*; and thereupon *John* Earl of *Montford* should be set at liberty, but yet with this charge, not to go into *Britain*: which promise notwithstanding he kept not, but went presently and besieged a Town in *Britain*, though he were forced to retire, and died shortly after. But the Truce cracked thus, as it were, by *Montford*, was afterward absolutely broken by King *Edward*; though he charged the breach of it upon King *Philip*, and King *Philip* upon him: But howsoever, broken it was, and *Henry* of *Lancester* Earl of *Derby*, with divers other Earls and Barons, is sent into *France*, who won many Towns in *Gascoyne*, and in the Counties of *Perigort* and *Tholouse*, and then went to winter at *Burdeaux*. And afterward in *May* following, pursuing his Victories, he won many more Towns; and amongst others, the great Town of *Reolt*. After this again, he took *Montpesat*, *Maurore*, *Villefranche*, and many other Towns; and at last the great City of *Angoulesme*, and then came to winter again at *Burdeaux*.

Robert Artois wounded, dieth.

A Peace concluded between the two Kings: but soon broken.

King *Edward* wins many Towns in *France*.

Of his Acts together with the Prince.

KING *Philip* informed of so many great losses, assembles a mighty Army, no less then a hundred thousand men, with which he recovers *Miremont*, and *Villefranche*, and then proceeded to besiege *Angoulesme*: whom the Earl of *Derby* having not forces sufficient to encounter, King *Edward* (leaving for Wardens of *England* in his absence, the Lords *Piercy* and *Nevil*) goeth himself in person with an Army (as *Froissard* saith) of fourscore thousand men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of *Wales* and *Ireland*: taking with him his Son, the Prince of *Wales*, and Duke of *Guyen*, being then but of the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King *Edward* to put his Son to be a Souldier before he was come to be a man; but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the bud, and perhaps was loath to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at stake: but howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at *Normandy*, where at his first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fall, that the blood gushed out at his nose; which the Barons took for an ill sign, but the King took it for a good: saying, It was a sign that the Land desired to have him. And indeed he presently took the Towns of *Harfleur*, *Moulbourgh*, *Carenton*, and Saint *Lo*, and afterward the City of *Caen* it self; and from thence passed to the County of *Eureux*, saccaged, and pillaged it, as also the City of *Gysors*, *Vernon*, *Meulan*, and *Boulebourse* to the City of *Poissy*. King *Philip* all this while stayed about *Paris*, as looking for King *Edward* to give him Battel there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to Saint *Germans*: but King *Edward* deceived him. For going from *Poissy*, he passed into *Picardy*, and *Ponthieu*, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then passed the River of *Soam*, though not without danger: For King *Philip* had sent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foot to stop his passage. King *Edward* notwithstanding resolves to pass, or perish, and plungeth foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which voice every man strove who should go formost, and so the shore was presently gained by the *English*. *Gundemar* astonished with his bold adventure, astonisheth his people with his fearful countenance: so that the *English* encountring the *French* all in disorder, put them to flight. King *Philip* enraged with this dishonour, resolves to revenge it; and presently provokes King *Edward* to Battel. King *Edward* had now encamped in a Village called *Cressy*, his Army consisted of thirty thousand men, which he divided into three Battalias: the first was led by the young Prince of *Wales*, with whom were joyned the Earl of *Warwick*, *Geoffry* of *Harecourt*, *Thomas Holland*, *Richard Stafford*, *John Chandoes*, *Robert Nevile*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand

The King of *France* assembles an Army of a hundred thousand men, and with them recovers some Towns.

King *Edward* goes in person with an Army into *France*, taking the Prince of *Wales* with him, being but fifteen years of age.

King *Edward* at his landing takes a [illegible] but taken for a sign.

King *Edward*'s valiant resolution.

1346.

The Battel between the two Kings at *Cressy*.

thousand *Welsh*. In the second were the Earls of *Northampton* and of *Arundel*, the Lords, *Rosse*, *Basset*, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The Battels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The *French* Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above sixty thousand combatants well armed; whereof the chief were *Charles* Duke of *Alanson* the Kings Brother, *John* of *Luxemburgh* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Blois* the Kings Nephew, *Ralph* Duke of *Lorain*, the Earls of *Flanders*, *Nevers*, *Sancerre*; of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vaunt-guard he commits to his Brother the *Count de Alanson*, the Reer to the Earl of *Savoy*, the main Battel he leads himself; his heat out of confidence of Victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a little counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* advised that the Army should take some repast, and that the Infantry consisting of *Genoueses* (which were above fifteen thousand Cross-bows, and sure men) should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count of *Alanson*, contrary to this order, took it ill that the *Genoueses* were in the first rank; and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader then the enemy. Besides, there fell at the instant such a showre of rain, as dissolved their strings, and made their Bows of little use; and at the breaking up of the showre, the Sun shone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their sight) and on the back of the *English*, as if all made for them. King *Edward* who had gotten to a Windmil, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering the disturbance made by the change of place, instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themselves: whereupon the discontented *Genoueses* recoil, which the *Count de Alanson* perceiving, he comes on with the horse, and in great rage cries out, On, on, Let us make way upon the bellies of these *Genoueses*, who do but hinder us: and instantly pricks on with a full carier through the midst of them, followed by the Earls of *Lorain* and *Savoy*, and never stayes till he came up to the *English* Battel, where the Prince was. The fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanders about the Prince send to King *Edward* to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the messengers whether his Son were slain or hurt: who answering, No, but that he was like to be overlaid; well then (said the King) return and tell them who sent you, that so long as my son is alive, they send no more to me whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the *French* King having his horse slain under him, and in danger to be troden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord *Beaumont*, was to the great discouragement of his people, withdrawn out of the field: whereof notice being once taken by the *English*, the day was soon after theirs, and the greatest Victory they ever had yet against the *French*; and so bloody, as there is no mention made of any one prisoner taken in the Battel, but all slain out-right; only some few Troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near adjoyning. The *French* King himself with a small company got to *Bray* in the night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking who goes there? he answered the Fortune of *France*. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The number of the slain are certified to be thirty thousand: the chief whereof, were *Charles de Alanson*, *John* Duke of *Burbon*, *Ralph* Earl of *Lorain*, *Lewis* Earl of *Flanders*, *Jaques Dauphin de Viennois*, son to *Imbert*, (who after gave *Daulphin* to the Crown of *France*) the Earls of *Sancerre*, *Harecourt*, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day, in the year 1346. The next day early in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers, to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troops coming from *Abbeville*, Saint *Requier*, *Roan*, and *Beauvoys* (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbishop of *Roan*, and the Prior of *France*: whom they likewise defeated, and slew seven thousand.

1346

But this was not all the Victories that fell to King *Edward* that year; there was another of no less importance gotten in *England*, by the Queen and his people at home, against the *Scots*: who being set on by the *French* to divert the War there, entred upon this Kingdom with threescore thousand men (as our Writers report) assuring himself of success, in regard (as he supposed) the main strength thereof was now gone into *France*; but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Umphreville*, the Earl of *Angus*, *Henry Piercy*, *Ralph Nevile*, *William Dayncourt*, with the Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen (who was there in person) as fighting a great Battel at *Nevils* Cross, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, they utterly defeated this great Army, took *David* their King prisoner, with the Earls of *Fife*, *Menteith*, *Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, and others; and put to the Sword fifteen thousand *Scots*. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, six weeks after that of *Cressy*. He that took King *David* Prisoner, was one *John Copland*, an Esquire of *Northumberland*, whom King *Edward* rewarded with five hundred pound land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as if all concurred to

The Scots in King Edward's absence with an Army of [illegible] are those that invade England.

But are defeated, and their King taken prisoner.

King Edward refuseth to send aid to his Son.

make this year Triumphant, the aids sent to the Countess of *Montford* in *Britain*, led by *Thomas Dagworth* a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner *Charles de Blois*, Pretender to that Dutchy, and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyre*, *Lynacque*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; Where were slain the Lord *De la Val*, Father to him that was taken, Viscount *Rohan*, *Monsieur de Chasteau*, *Brayan de Malestroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direvil*, besides many other Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. And now King *Edward* without medling with the great Cities of *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, marched on directly, and sits down before *Callice*, a Town of more importance for *England*, and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein *John de Vienne* Marshal of *France*, and the Lord *de Andreghen*, (a great man in his time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many houses and lodges, that it was named *New-Callice*.

King Edward sits down before Callice.

All that Winter King *Edward* lay without any molestation by the *French* King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raiseth an Army and approached *Callice*, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Haven and possest all other waies that were passable; and the *Flemmings* his friends had besieged *Aire*. To oppose whom, *John* Duke of *Normandy* is sent for out of *Guyenne*: who departing leaves *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earl of *Derby*, Master of the Field; and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of *Xaintoigne*, and *Poictou*, and in the end besieged and sacked *Poictiers*, and then returns to *Burdeaux*, with more pillage then his people could well bear: Thus the *English* prosper every where, and the *French* suffer. During the siege of *Callice*, (in which some think King *Edward* first used Guns) the *Flemmings* send to King *Edward*, to make a marriage between his Daughter *Isabel* and their Lord, the young Count *Lewis*; to which the King consented, but the Duke of *Brabant* gets the King of *France* to make the match for a Daughter of his. The *Flemmings* press their Lord with the match of *England*; but he absolutely refused it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This answer so incensed the *Flemmings*, that they put their Lord in Prison, till with long durance he at last consented; and thereupon King *Edward* and his Queen, with their Daughter *Isabel* came over to *Berghes*, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: but returning afterwards into *Flanders*, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King *Philip*, and left his affianced Lady unmarried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of *Brabants*. But all this while the siege of *Callice* was continued; and King *Philip* not being able to come to relieve it, solicits King *Edward* to appoint some place of battail, and he would meet him. But King *Edward* returns answer, that if he would make his own way, to come thither to him, there he should finde him, but from thence he would part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now so near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; so as the *French* King was forced to break up his Army and retire to *Paris*, leaving *Callice* to the mercy of the besieger: which when the Town understood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein received this final answer, that six of the chief Burgesses should be sent to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halters about their necks, the keys of the Town and Castle in their hands, and submit themselves to the Kings will; the rest he was content to take to mercy. This seemed a hard condition and much difficulty who should be those six: but one rising up, and out of love to his Countrey offering himself to be one, the six were soon made up; for now by his example every one strove to be of the number: who presenting themselves before the King, he commanded them instantly to be put to death. Great supplication was made by his Lords for their lives, but the King would not be drawn to alter his sentence, till the Queen, great with Childe, fell on her knees, and with tears obtained pardon for them; which done, she caused them to be cloathed, and besides a good repast, gives to every one of them six Nobles a piece. But though the King in this sentence shewed severity, yet in an Act before he had shewed mercy; For when Victuals began to fail in the Town, and all unuseful persons, as old men, women, and children, were put out of the Gates, he forced them not back again as he might have done, thereby the sooner to consume their store: but suffered them to pass through his Army, gave them to eat and two pence a piece to all of them. And thus was that strong Town of *Callice* gotten, the third day of *August*, in the year 1347. after eleven months siege, and continued afterward in possession of the *English* two hundred and ten years. All the Inhabitants are turned out, but only one Priest, and two old men, to inform of the Orders of the Town: and a Colony of *English*, amongst which seven and thirty good Families out of *London*, is sent to inhabit it; the King and Queen enter the Town triumphantly, and make their abode there, till the Queen was brought a bed of her Daughter *Margaret*. The King made Governour of the Town, *Aymery* of *Pavia* a *Lombard*, whom he had brought up from his Infancy; and then with his Queen returns into *England*. At which time the Princes Electours send to signifie, that they had chosen him King of the *Romans*; but the King refuseth to accept it, as being an honour out of his way, and scarce compatible with his State at home.

Callice desires a Parle.

King *Edward* requires six of their chief Burgesses to bring the keyes of the Town to him with halters about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queens intercession spares them.

1347. *Callice* after eleven months siege yielded up to King *Edward*.

When Guns first used.

King *Edward* is chosen King of the *Romans*, but refuseth it.

After this, Truces, were made by mediation, from one time to another, for the space of two years; in which time, *Geoffry de Charmy* Captain of Saint *Omer*, agreed with *Aymery* of *Pavia*, whom King *Edward* had left Governour of *Callice*, to render it up for twenty thousand Crowns: which King *Edward* hearing of, sent to *Aymery*, and charged him with this perfidiousness; whereupon *Aymery* comes to the King, and humbly desiring pardon, promiseth to handle the

1349.

Aymery of *Pavia* Governour of *Callice* is bribed to betray it.

the matter so as shall be to the Kings advantage, and thereupon is sent back to *Callice*. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers: *Mounsieur de Charmy* sets out likewise the same night from Saint *Omers* with his Forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to *Aymery*. The men are let in at a Postern Gate, the Crowns received, and assured to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and out marches the King before day to encounter *Mounsieur de Charmy*; who perceiving himself betrayed, defended himself the best he could, and put King *Edward* to a hard bickering, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord *Walter Manny*, and was twice beaten down on his knees by *Mounsieur de Riboumont*, a hardy Knight (with whom he fought hand to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took *Riboumont* prisoner. *Charmy* was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King *Edward* the night after (which was the first of the new year, feasted with the prisoners; and gave *Riboumont* in honour of his valour, a rich Chaplet of Pearl, which himself wore on his head (for a New-years-gift) forgave him his ransome, and set him at liberty. But the *English* not long after, in the like practice, had better success, and got the Castle of *Guysnes*, (a piece of great importance near *Callice*) for a sum of money, given to one *Beaconroy* a *French* man. Of which Castle when the *French* King demanded restitution, in regard of the Truce, King *Edward* returns answer, that for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

But gets the bribe, and yet keeps the Town.

King *Edward* twice beaten down on his knees by *Mounsieur de Riboumont*; yet at last takes him prisoner.

He rewards *Riboumont* for his valour.

1350. About this time *Philip* King of *France* died, leaving his son *John* to succeed him; in the beginning of whose Reign, *Humbert* Prince of *Daulphin*, dying without issue, made him his heir; and thereupon *Charles*, King *John*'s Son was created the first *Daulphin* of *France*: from whence it grew to be a custom that the King of *France* his heir should alwayes be called *Daulphin* of *France*. About this time also the Duke of *Lancaster* was to perform a Combat, upon a challenge with a Prince of *Bohemia*; but when they had entred the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King *John* interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of *Wales* being now grown a man, is appointed by Parliament to go into *Gascoyn* with a thousand men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*; and in *June* following he sets forth with three hundred Sail, attended with the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, and *Oxford*; the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *James Audeley*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, Sir *Francis Hall*, with many others. About *Michaelmas* following, the King himself passeth over to *Callice* with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, *Lionel* of *Antwerp*, now Earl of *Ulster* in right of his Wife, and *John* of *Gaunt*, Earl of *Richmond*. There met him at *Callice* of Mercenaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Arms; so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horse-back, besides Archers on foot. The City of *London* sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of *France* would not be drawn to any Encounter, and had so disfurnished the Countrey of all provisions, that the King of *England* was forced to return. King *Edward* solicited by the King of *Navarre* to aid him against the King of *France*, sends over the Duke of *Lancaster* with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters *Guyenne*, passeth over *Languedock* to *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, *Burges*, without any encounter, sacks, spoils; and destroyes where he goes; and loaden with booties, returns to *Burdeaux*. The *French* King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could; and first makes against his Enemies in *Normandy*, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed; but that he was drawn of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of *Wales*, who was come up into *Touraine*, against whom he brings his whole Army, consisting of above threescore thousand: whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being six for one) was advised to retire again to *Burdeaux*. But the *French* King to prevent this course, follows; and within two Leagues of *Poyctiers*, hath him at a great advantage. At which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the *French* King supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, would accept of no other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver him four Hostages; and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accomptable to his Father, and to his Countrey. But the *French* King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of Victory; and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who seeing himself reduced to this straight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Bushes, on that part he was like to be assailed, to impester and intangle the *French* Horse, which he saw were to come furiously upon him. The success answered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their first assault were so wrapt and encumbred amongst the Vines, that his Archers galled and annoyed them at their pleasure. For the *French* King to give the honour of the day to his Cavalry, imployed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordered and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battel were taken prisoners King *John* himself, with his youngest Son *Philip*, by *Dennis de Morbecque*, a Knight of *Artois*: *Jaques de Bourbon*, *Conte de Ponthieu*; the Archbishop of *Sens*, *John de Artois*, *Conte de Eu*; *Charles de Artois*; his brother *Count de Longueville*; *John de Melun*; *Count de Tankerville*; the *Counts* of *Vendosme*, *Vaudemont*, *Estampes*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin* and *La Roche*, and *John de Ceintre*, accounted (as *Froyssard* saith) the best Knight of *France*, with many other Lords besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen; insomuch

The Prince of *Wales* is sent into *Gascoyne*.

The *French* Kings eldest son to be *Daulphin* of *France*, whence it began.

John King of *France*, with an Army of sixty thousand opposeth the Prince of *Wales* at *Poyctiers*.

The Princes Policy.

King *John* himself with many great Lords taken prisoners.

insomuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The *French* who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this Battel, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Bannerets: the most eminent *Peter de Bourlon*, the Duke of *Athens* Constable of *France*, *Johan de Clermont*, Marshal; *Geoffry de Charny*, high Chamberlain; the Bishop of *Chalons*, the Lords of *Landas*, of *Pons*, and of *Chambly*. There escaped from this Battel three of the *French* Kings Sons, (for he brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince *Daulphin*; *Lewis* after Duke of *Anjou*, and *John* Duke of *Berry*: all great actors in the time following. The special great men of the *English* in this fight, were the Earls of *Warwick*, *Suffolk*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*; the Lords *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkeley*, *Basset*: of *Gascoynes*, *Le Capital de Beuff*; the Lords, *Pumyer*, *Chamount*, and others. The Lord *James Audeley* won honour both by his valour, and his bounty; for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks Fee-simple in *England*, he presently gave it to four of his Esquires. Whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift? he answered, that these men had deserved the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: with which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kinde. A rare example, where desert in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

The Lord [illegible] is honour and his bounty.

But here great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King *John* prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into *England*: where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by King *John*'s own testimony, that one Sir *Denis Morbecque* of Saint *Omers* had taken him prisoner: for which service the King rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King *John* had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble Enemy; for Prince *Edward* used him with such respect and observance, that he could not finde much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the Battel, which was fought the nineteenth day of *September*, in the year 1357. Prince *Edward* leads King *John* and the captive Lords to *Burdeaux*, where he retains them till the Spring following; but sends present news of this Victory to his Father: who thereupon causeth a general Thanksgiving all *England* over eight dayes together. And in *May* following King *John* rather coming over with the Prince, then brought over by him, is lodged at the *Savoy*, a Palace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, and the fairest at that time about *London*. And King *Edward*, as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his Prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen *Joan*, sets her Husband *David* King of *Scots* at liberty, after he had been prisoner in *England* eleven years; but not without paying a ransome, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

1357.

A Thanksgiving all *England* over eight dayes together. King *John* is brought over and lodged at the Savoy.

David King of Scots, after eleven years imprisonment is set at liberty

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *France*; and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded. King *Edward* requires the Dutchies of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, the Countries of *Poitou*, *Thouraine*, *Maine*, and *Anjou*, with all their appurtenances as large as King *Richard* the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King *John* (weary of imprisonment) assents and seals, but the *Daulphin* and Council of *France* utterly reject it. Whereupon King *Edward* in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of *France*; and leaving his younger Son *Thomas* Governour of his Kingdom at home, with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and taking all the great Lords of the Realm with him, he passeth over to *Callice*, dividing his Army into three Battels, whereof one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leads himself. And first marching through *Picardy*, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterward before *Rheims*: but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of *Sens* and *Nevers*, the Dutchy of *Burgoine* redeems it self from spoil with paying two hundred thousand *Florens* of Gold. Then he marcheth up to *Paris*, and plants his Camp within two small Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: but when Sir *Walter de Manny* had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the *Daulphin* would by no provocations be drawn out to Battel, he raiseth his siege, and returns into *Britain* to refresh his Army, from thence he marcheth towards *Chartres* with a purpose to besiege that City; and though great offers were made him by the *French*, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestness to accept them: yet neither they, nor the Duke of *Lancaster*'s perswasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of Hail with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the *French* King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at a Treaty of *Britigny* near to *Chartres* upon these Articles: that the Feifs of *Thouars* and *Belleville*, the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, comprising *Gascoyne*, *Poitou*, *Santoigne*, *Limousin*, *Perigort*, *Quercie*, *Rhodes*, *Angoulesme*, and *Rochel*, together with the Counties of *Guysnes* and *Callice*, and some other places with the Homages of the Lords within those Territories, should be to the King of *England*, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of Gold; whereof six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after: and for this the King of *England*, and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, for them and their successours for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of *France*, the Dutchy

The Daulphin and Council of *France* not yielding to King *Edward*'s demands, he passeth with an Army over into *France*.

He marcheth up to *Paris*.

King *Edward* would hearken to no conditions of Peace till terrified by thunder and lightning.

Articles of Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Anjou*, *Mayne*, the Homage and Sovereignty of *Britain*, and the Earldome of *Flanders*; and within three weeks King *John* to be rendred at *Callice*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his houſe. For aſſurance of which accord ſhould be given into his hand five and twenty of the greateſt Dukes and Lords of *France* for Hoſtages, The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French* King, nor the *Flemings* by the *Engliſh*. This accord and final Peace ſigned by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldeſt Sons, *Edward* and *Charles*, and ſworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hoſtages are delivered to King *Edward*, who brought them into *England*; and thereupon King *John* is honourably conducted to *Callice*, after he had remained priſoner in *England* near about five years: but being come to *Callice*, he was detained there above three months, till the money which he was to pay in hand, could be provided; and for providing the reſt he was put to hard ſhifts, being feign to give the *Jews* leave to dwell in *France* for twenty years, paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and ſix every year after. At this time the Prince by diſpenſation, marries the Counteſs of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmund*, brother to *Edward* the ſecond; and his Father inveſting him with the Dutchy of *Aquitain*, he was now Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitain*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter* and *Kent*: and not long after, with the Princeſs his Wife, he paſſeth over into *France*, and keeps his Court at *Burdeaux*.

King *John* after five years impriſonment is releaſed.

Edward Prince of *Wales* marries the Counteſs of *Kent*, and keeps his Court at *Burdeaux*.

1362. This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of King *Edward*'s age, wherein for a *Jubile*, he ſhews himſelf extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releaſing priſoners, revoking exiles; with many other expreſſions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into *England*; *John King* of *France*, *Peter* King of *Cyprus*, and *David* King of *Scots*. The King of *Cyprus* came to ſolicit King *Edward* to joyn with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only royal entertainment and excuſes. The King of *Scots* came for buſineſs and viſitation, but why the King of *France* came is not ſo certain; whether it were about taking order for his Hoſtages; or to ſatisfie King *Edward* for breach of ſome Articles; or elſe for love to the Counteſs of *Salisbury*; or perhaps out of a deſire to let *England* ſee his Majeſty, being at liberty, which had been darkened before by the cloud of captivity: but whatſoever the cauſe of his coming was, the cauſe of his ſtaying (at leaſt, of longer ſtaying then he meant) was a mortal ſickneſs, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the *Savoy*) in *March* or *April* following he died; and his body conveyed over into *France*, was buried at Saint *Dennis* with his Anceſtours.

King *John* comes into *England*.

And here falls ſick, and dieth.

The Prince of *Wales* was now grown famous all the Chriſtian world over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes ſeem to appeal, and to flie for ſuccour: for which end there came at this time to his Court, *James* King of *Majorque*, and happened to come at a time when the Princeſs lay in; and thereupon he and *Richard* King of *Navarre* were taken to be God-fathers to his Son *Richard*. For the like aſſiſtance alſo there came at the ſame time to him, *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, driven out of his Kingdom by the *French*, in favour to *Peter* King of *Aragon*: and Prince *Edward*, partly out of charity to ſuccour a diſtreſſed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Souldiers in exerciſe, undertakes the enterpriſe, and was ſo proſperous in it, that with one Battel (having but 30000. againſt 100000.) he put King *Peter* in poſſeſſion of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the ungrateful King would not ſo much as pay his Souldiers. And it is memorable which *Froiſſard* writes, that of the enemies were ſlain and drowned above 2000. and of the Princes party not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory; yet he brought back with him ſuch an indiſpoſition of body, that he was never throughly well after: not perhaps by poyſon, nor given him by his Brother the Duke of *Lancaſter*, though both were ſuſpected; but there were cauſes of diſtempering him enough beſides, the Countrey, the Seaſon, the Action it ſelf: and it may be more marvelled that his Souldiers came home ſo well, then that he came home ſo ill. But howſoever, being now returned, there was preſently to his indiſpoſition of body, added diſcontentment of minde; for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at that which he could not chuſe but ſee, and ſeeing, grieve at, how they preyed upon the Countrey, and thereupon how the Countrey murmured againſt him. And now to ſtop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Biſhop of *Rhodes*, deviſed a new impoſition, of levying a Frank for every Chimney; and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debts: but this Impoſition made the murmuring the more. For though ſome part of his Dominions, as the *Poictovins*, *Xaintons*, and *Lymouſins*, in a ſort conſented to it, yet the Count of *Armigniack*, the Count of *Cominges*, the Viſcount of *Carmain*, and many others ſo much diſtaſted it, that they complained thereof to the King of *France*, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be juſt, he thereupon by advice of his Council, ſummons Prince *Edward* to appear in perſon to anſwer the complaint: Whereunto Prince *Edward* made anſwer, that if he muſt needs appear, he would bring threeſcore thouſand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer againſt *Paris*, if he had not fallen into ſymptomes of a Dropſie which (*Walſingham* ſaith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this anſwer of the Prince, King *Charles* ſends defiance to King *Edward*, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppoſe him. The *French* enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and defeats divers of his Troops; in revenge whereof *John Chaundos* the Princes Lieutenant aſſaults *Terriers* in the Province of *Tholouſe*, and takes it. The Count of *Perigort* aſſaults *Reymville* in *Quercy*, and put all the *Engliſh* to the Sword; in revenge whereof *James Audeley* Seneſchal of *Poictou*, aſſaults the City of *Broſs*, and takes it. In the mean time *Robert Knolls*, by ſome called *Robin*, and by others *Arnold*, or *Reynold Knoll*, had drawn

1367. Prince *Edward* makes a journey into *Spain*, to aid *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, and recovers his Kingdom for him. But is ill rewarded.

The Prince never throughly well after this journey.

Prince *Edward* ſummoned by the King of *France*, what anſwer he makes:

The two Kings enter into Arms, and interchangeably take Towns.

drawn *Perducas de Albert* to the party of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon went and encamped before the Fort of *Darcuel* in *Quercy*, which *John Chandois* underſtanding, went alſo and joyned with him in the ſiege: but finding they could do no good there, they removed and beſieged the City of *Damme*; and when they could do no good there neither, they marched forward, took the Fort of *Froyns*, *Rochevandour*, and *Villefranche*; and that done, returned to the Prince at *Angouleſme*. At the ſame time the Earls of *Cambridge* and *Pembroke*, having ſpent nine weeks at the ſiege of *Bordeille*, at laſt took it; but other Captains of the *Engliſh* did yet more, for they ſcaled *Belleperche* in the Province of *Bourbon*, where the Mother of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Queen of *France* was, and take her priſoner.

Queen *Philippa* dieth.

About this time, *Philippa* Queen of *England*, King *Edward*'s Wife died, and was buried at *Weſtminſter*: but this hindered not the proceeding of the *Engliſh* in *France*. The Earl of *Pembroke* enters *Anjou*, where he takes many Towns. The Duke of *Lancaſter* doth the like about *Callice*, and marching forward, plants his Camp before *Harfleur*, with a purpoſe to burn the King of *France* his Navy; but being watched by the Count Saint *Paul*, was forced to forbear that deſign: and ſo paſſing other wayes, and ſpoiling all the places where he paſſed, he returned to *Callice*. Winter was now drawing on, and *John Chandois* deſiring to recover the Abbey of Saint *Silvan* in *Poictou*, which not long before had been betrayed to the *French*, was in the enterpriſe diſcovered; and being aſſaulted by greater Forces, was ſlain in the place, to the great grief of the Prince of *Wales*, and of the *Engliſh* Lords: but dying without iſſue, his Eſtate which amounted to four hundred thouſand Franks, came to the Prince. At this time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*, with two great Armies enter upon the Territories of the Prince of *Wales*; whereof the Prince advertiſed, aſſembles Forces to oppoſe them: but when the news was brought him of the taking of *Limonges*, he was ſo much troubled at it, by reaſon the Biſhop of that place was his Goſſip, and one in whom he ſpecially had affiance, that he reſolved to recover it at any price, and not to ſpare a man that had a hand in rendring it up. And thereupon taking it by force, he commanded to ſack and pillage it, and would not be ſtayed by the cries of the people, caſting themſelves down at his feet; till paſſing through the Town, he perceived three *French* Captains, who themſelves alone had withſtood the aſſault of his victorious Army; and moved with the conſideration of their Valour, he then abated his anger, and for their ſakes granted mercy to all the Inhabitants. So much is vertue even in an Enemy, reſpected by generous mindes. In the mean time *David* King of *Scots* died without iſſue, and *Robert Stuart* his Nephew ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, and was Crowned at *Scone*. At this time *Robert Knolls* with a great Army is ſent into *France*, where making many attempts with valour enough, but with little ſucceſs, he was coming home though with no gain, yet with no loſs: till *Bertrand de Gueſchlyn* aſſaulting him, ſlew the moſt part of his men; and ſo this great Army on a ſudden came to nothing. It ſeems *Knolls* his action was the leſs ſucceſſful, by reaſon of ſome young Lords that went with him, ſcorning to be under his command; as being now a new man, and riſen from a low eſtate, were refractory to his directions: and indeed what can a General do, if he have not as well reputation of perſon, as of place?

Valour reſpected in an Enemy.

Robert Stuart crowned King of *Scotland*.

And now the Prince of *Wales*, his eldeſt Son *Edward* dying at *Burdeaux*, the Prince with his Wife, and other Son *Richard*, came over into *England*; at which time the valiant Knight *Walter de Manny* died at *London*, and was buried in the Monaſtery of the *Chartreux* which he had builded; leaving one only Daughter, married to *John* Earl of *Pembroke*. This Earl of *Pembroke*, was ſoon after ſent Governour into *Aquitain*; but ſet upon by the way by *Spaniards* in favour of the *French*, was by them taken priſoner, and carried with others into *Spain*: who being chained together, as the manner is, one *Evans* a *Welſh* Fugitive, who gave himſelf out for the right Heir of *Wales*, came upon him, fooliſhly playing upon him with ſcornful language; as though to inſult over another mans miſery, could ſerve for a cordial to mitigate his own. And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Princes Dominions in *France*, are either taken away, or fall away faſter then they were gotten. *Gueſchlyn* enters *Poictou*, takes *Montmorillon*, *Chauvigny*, *Luſſack*, and *Moncontour*: ſtraight after follows the Countrey of *Aulnis*, or *Xantoigne*, and the reſt of *Poictou*; then St. *Maxent*, *Neele*, *Aulnai*; then *Benaon*, *Marant*, *Surgers*, *Fontency*; and at laſt they came to *Thouras*, where the moſt part of the Lords of *Poictou*, that held with the Prince were aſſembled. At which time King *Edward*, with the Prince, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and all the great Lords of *England*, ſet forward to their ſuccour, but being driven back by tempeſt, never came to give them aſſiſtance, ſo as *Thouras* yielded upon compoſition. Yet did this preparation of the King ſtand him in nine thouſand Marks; that it may be truly ſaid, it coſt him more now to loſe Towns, then it had coſt him before to win them: ſo great odds there is between the Spring and fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent over with another great Army, who paſſed up into many parts of the Countrey, but King *Charles* reſolved to hazard no Battel: ſaying, They were but clouds, and would ſoon paſs away; yet ſo watched him, that what with light skirmiſhes, and what with ſcarcity of Victuals, his Forces were ſo diminiſhed, that of thirty thouſand which went out of *Callice*, there ſcarce returned ſix thouſand home; which made King *Edward* ſay of this King *Charles*, that he did him more miſchief ſitting ſtill, then his Predeceſſors had done with all their ſtirring. And now by this time all *Poictou* is loſt, and all *Aquitain* alſo, but only *Burdeaux* and *Baion*; when the Archbiſhop of *Roan* and others are ſent from Pope *Gregory* the eleventh, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings: but each of them ſtanding upon high terms of conditions, nothing could be effected, but Truce upon Truce for two or three years together. In which time *Edward* Prince of *Wales* died, and with him we may ſay, the Fortune

1371. Sir *Walter de Manny* dieth

1372.

The Earl of *Pembroke* being taken priſoner, the Princes Dominions in *France* fall ſoon away.

1373. The Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent over with an Army of thirty thouſand, but ſcarce ſix thouſand returned home.

Edward Prince of *Wales* dieth.

tune of *England*; being a Prince so full of vertues, that he left no place for any vice: and if he had lived in the Heroick times, might well have been numbred amongst the nine Worthies. His Body was buried at *Canterbury*, where his Monument standeth. King *Edward* in his seven and fortieth year called a Parliament at *Westminster*, which lasted but eight dayes; and to which were summoned by Writ, of Clergy-men only four Bishops, and five Abbots.

1376.

A Parliament called, to which of Clergy-men were summoned only four Bishops and five Abbots.

Of King Edward's *Acts after the death of the Prince.*

IN the time of the Princes sickness, King *Edward* calls a Parliament at *Westminster*; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for redress of grievances for the Subjects. It was required that the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* then Lord Chamberlain, Dame *Alice Pierce* the Kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry* might be removed from Court: and this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir *Peter de la Moore*, that the King rather then not to be supplyed, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

Subsidies are demanded by the King; and redress of grievances are demanded for the Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* and *Alice Pierce* are banished the Court, but soon revoked.

About this time exemplary Justice was done upon Sir *John Mildsterworth*, Knight, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered at *Tyburn* for Treason by him committed, in defrauding Souldiers of their wages.

Defrauding of Souldiers punished with death.

About this time the Duke of *Lancaster*, being at *Burdeaux*, and hearing of the death of *Peter* King of *Castile*, whom Prince *Edward* had vested in his Kingdom; and that he left only two daughters the heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of *Gascoigne*, for their safety, he sent and caused them to be brought to *Burdeaux*, and there himself married the elder sister *Constance*: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of *Castile* and *Leon*: and not long after his younger Brother, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge* married the younger sister *Isabel*.

It was now the fiftieth year of *Edward*'s Reign, and he for another *Jubile*, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster*, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament, though it wrought ill effects; for Sir *Peter de la Moore* at the suit of *Alice Pierce*, is committed to perpetual imprisonment at *Forthingham*, though within two years after, by importunate suit of friends he regained his liberty. This *Alice Pierce* presuming upon the Kings favour, grew so insolent, that she intermedled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where she her self would sit, to Countenance her Causes. And now the Duke of *Lancaster* is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King *Edward* to prevent the mischiefs, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earl of *Chester* and *Cornwal*, and then Prince of *Wales*; and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince *Richard*, and *Mary* a daughter of *Charles* King of *France*: and an offer was made to King *Edward*, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in *Aquitain*, upon condition he would render *Callice*, and all that he held in *Picardy*; but before any thing could be concluded, King *Edward* died.

Wickham Bishop of *Winchester* forbidden to come to the Parliament called the *Good Parliament*.

Alice Pierce her insolent carriage.

Richard [illegible] and [illegible] Crown.

Fourteen hundred Towns offered for Callice.

Of his Taxations.

IN the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *London*, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalty, a twentieth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasure as was committed to the Churches through *England* for the Holy War is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with *France*. The next year after all the goods of three Orders of Monks, *Lombards*, *Cluniacs*, and *Cistercians*, are likewise seised into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidy as before granted at *Nottingham*. In his twelfth year (and as some write, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at *Northampton*, is granted by the Laity, one half of their Wool, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at *London*, is granted him for custom of every sack of Wool, forty shillings, for every three hundred Wool-Fells forty shillings, for every Last of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandises, according to the rate: the same to endure from that *Easter* to the *Whitsuntide* twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgesses, a ninth part of their goods; of Foreign Merchants and others, a fifteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Sheaf, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of *London* lent twenty thousand Marks. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all amerciaments for transgressions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into *Flanders*, besides all aids for the marriage of his Sons and daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrearages, both of his Farmers and others, till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirms the great Charter of *Magna Charta*. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at *London*, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity; besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities; and all of five pounds to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Archer on horseback; of twenty five, a Demy-launce, and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the *Florin*, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards

Mustered to finde Souldiers.

towards his Wars in *France*, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his nine and thentieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sack of Wool, for six years next ensuing; by which imposition, it was thought the King might dispend a thousand Marks sterling a day, the vent of Wool was so great in that time: but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Ransome he had in his four and thirtieth year, of the King of *France*, three millions of crowns of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their Houses, Lands, and Tenements, for the maintenance of his *French* Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth year was granted twenty six shillings eight pence, for transportation of every sack of Wool for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign in a Parliament at *Westminster*, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds to be paid the same year, and the Laity as much; which was levied by setting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to fifty thousand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181 l. was abated to the Shires of *Suffolk* and *Devonshire*, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, is granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity. In his fiftieth year a Subsidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince *Richard*, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of *Lancaster* had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandises sold for one year; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee, and of every Fire-house one penny: but instead of this Subsidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every person, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, should pay four pence, (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parson beneficed, and of all other Religious persons four pence. A mighty aid, and such as was never granted to any King of *England* before.

Three Millions of Crowns of Gold paid to King *Edward*, by the King of *France*.

Eight thousand six hundred Parishes in *England*.

A Subsidy granted of a new nature.

Every person above 14. years old pay four pence.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HE instituted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause is not certain. The common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady *Jone*, Countess of *Salisbury*, slipping off in a Dance, King *Edward* stooped, and took it up; whereat some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long e're Sovereign honour should be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the *French* Motto, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; therein checking his Lords sinister suspicion. Some conjecture that he instituted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battel wherein he was victorious, he had given the word Garter, for the word or sign: and some again are of opinion, that the institution of this order is more ancient, and begun by King *Richard* the first, but that this King *Edward* adorned it, and brought it into splendour. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty six, whereof the King himself is alwayes one, and President; and their Feast yearly celebrated at *Windsor* on St. *Georges* day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a book of purpose. In the five and thirtith year of his Reign, he was earnestly petitioned by a Parliament then holden, that the great Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of Forests might be duly observed; and that the great Officers of the Kingdom should (as in former times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, though the King at first stood stiff upon his own Election and Prerogative; yet at last (in regard to have his present turn served, as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do justice to all men in their Offices: and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which notwithstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

The order of the Garter instituted, and whereupon.

The great Officers of the Kingdom chosen by Parliament.

This King also causeth all Pleas, which were before in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyors, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money upon strict punishment. In the next Parliament holden the seven and thirtieth year of his Reign, certain sumptuary Laws were ordained both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men the stuffe and habits they should wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, but eminent persons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what meats he should eat. Also in his time at the instance of the *Londoners*, an Act was made that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers colours; nor Furs, but Garments reversed the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes, of whom *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Earl of *Lancaster* created Duke of *Lancaster*, in the seven and twentieth year of his Reign was the first. But afterward he erected *Cornwal* also into a Dutchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest Son used alwayes to be Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Chester*. This King also altered moneys, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to pass according to the former value. Before this time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the small pieces of silver called Sterlings; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the sterling money, are coyned, which inhaunced the Prizes of things, that rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of coyn; which made Servants and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly: whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at *Westminster*, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other stoppages of Rivers, hindering the passages of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessels should be removed; which though it were most commodious

All pleas in Law were first ordained to be made in *English*.

Purveyors to take up nothing but for ready money.

Housholders appointed what meat they should eat.

Whores to wear their garments reversed.

Dukes first created.

New Coins created.

to

to the Kingdom, yet it took little effect, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords and great men, who regarded more their own private, then the publick benefit. In a Parliament holden the tenth year of his Reign, it was enacted that no Wool growing within the Realm should be transported, but that it should be made in Cloth in *England*. *Peter-Pence* are forbidden by the King to be paid any more to *Rome*, but yet in many Shires of *England* are gathered to this day, saith *Fabian*. The custom of washing poor mens feet on *Maundy-Thursday*, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of *London*; and ordained that the Mayor for the time being, should sit in all places of Judgement, within the liberty of the same, as chief Justice, the Kings person only excepted: and that every Alderman that had been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace in all *London* and *Middlesex*; and every Alderman that had not been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of *London*, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defend the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be seised into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that *Southwark* should be under the rule of the City, and the Mayor to choose a Bayliffe there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of *London*, that the Officers of the Mayors and Sheriffs, should from that day forward use Maces of silver parcel-gilt.

No Wool to be transported.

Peter-Pence forbidden to be paid to *Rome*.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A difference between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the King.

KIng *Edward* upon some displeasure, had imprisoned divers Clergy-men; whereupon *John Stratford* Archbishop of *Canterbury* writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of *Magna Charta*; and after much good counsel given him, threatens that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will exercise his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of *London*, charging the Archbishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first set him upon the War with *France*, assuring him he should want no money; and now had been the hinderance, that moneys given him by Parliament, were not duly levied: and after many remonstrances to such purpose, concludes, that if he desisted not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his imploying almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of account: *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancellour of *England*; *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Keeper of the Privy Seal: *David Willer* Parson of *Somersham*, Master of the Rolls; ten Beneficed Priests, Civilians, Masters of the Chancery; *William Mulse* Dean of St. *Martins le Grand*, chief Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Receiver and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Jewels; *William Aksby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancellour of the Exchequer; *William Dighton* Prebendary of St. *Martins*, Clerk of the Privy Seal; *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of St. *Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings House; *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundel*, Master of the Kings Wardrobe; *John Newnham* Parson of *Fenny-Stanton*, one of the Chamberlains of the Exchequer; *John Rowseby* Parson of *Harwick*, Surveyor and Comptroller of the Kings works; *Thomas Brittingham* Parson of *Asby*, Treasurer to the King, for the part of *Guisnes*, and the Marches of *Callice*; *John Troys* a Priest, Treasurer of *Ireland*.

All the great Offices of the Kingdom in the hands of Clergy-men.

The Pope restrained from conferring of Benefices in *England*.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in *England*, conferring them upon strangers, who understood not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed: and hereupon Sir *John Shordich* is sent to Pope *Clement* the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signifie his consent therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswered; and the King taking his silence for consent, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such person, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline, but towards the end of his Reign, there fell a disturbance in matter of Doctrine; for a certain Divine named *John Wickliffe*, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Churchmen, Monks, and other Religious Orders: and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Russet. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of Religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of *William Rufus*, and others. This man, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and Sir *Henry Piercy* Marshal, much favour and cherish, extolling him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishop, the Bishop of *London*, and others in *Pauls*. At the day appointed, the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chappel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, *John Wickliffe* was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer, and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of *London* told him, it was against all Law and Reason, that he who

John Wickliffe brings in new Doctrine.

Whom the Duke of *Lancaster* favours.

was there cited before his Ordinary ſhould ſit. Hereupon contumelious words aroſe between the Lord Marſhal and the Biſhop. The Duke takes the Marſhals part, and ſharply reprehended the Biſhop, the Biſhop returns the like to the Duke; who in a great rage ſwore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Biſhops in *England*: and whiſpering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, then to ſuffer ſuch indignities. Which words the *Londoners* overhearing, ſwore with a loud voice they would rather loſe their lives then ſuffer their Biſhop to be thus injuriouſly uſed. Their fury was the more againſt the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was Preſident) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more a Mayor of *London*, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marſhal of *England* ſhould arreſt offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The morrow after the Citizens aſſembling to conſult of this buſineſs, it happened the Lord *Fitz-Water*, and *Guido Bryan*, came into the City; which the people ſeeing, furiouſly ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord *Fitz-Water* proteſted he came to no other end, but to offer his ſervice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take injuries offered to them, as to himſelf; and therefore willed them, to look to their defence. Whereupon they preſently take Arms, aſſail the Marſhal's Inne, break open the Gates, brought forth a priſoner in his Gives, and ſet him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marſhal, who with the Duke was that day to dine with one *John de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude ran to aſſail the *Savoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes ſeeing, haſtes to the place where his Lord dined; and acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table ſo haſtily, that he hurt both his ſhins on the form; and with Sir *Henry Piercy* alone takes boat, and goes to *Kennington* near *Lambeth*, where the Princeſs with the young Prince lay: to whom he complains of this Riot, and the violence offered him. In the mean time the multitude coming to the *Savoy*, a Prieſt inquiſitive to know the buſineſs, was anſwered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marſhal, and compel them to deliver Sir *Peter de la Moore*, unjuſtly kept in priſon. The Prieſt replied that Sir *Peter* was a Traytor to the King, and worthy to be hanged; At which words they all cryed out, This is *Piercy*, This is the Traytor of *England*, his ſpeech bewrayes him, though his apparel be diſguiſed: and preſently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Biſhop of *London* hearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, haſtes to the *Savoy*, admoniſheth them of the holy time being Lent; aſſuring them, all ſhould be fairly ended for the good of the City. With whoſe perſwaſions they were ſomewhat pacified, but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reverſed, in ſign of Treaſon, in all the principal parts of the City. Upon the Princeſſes advice, the chief Citizens ſend to the ſick King, to excuſe this tumult, ſaying it was not in their power to ſuppreſs it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an information that their Liberties ſhould be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their Liberties; but he rather deſired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down ſome of the principal of them; for he cauſed the Mayor and Aldermen to be diſplaced, and other put in their rooms. A revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after: and to want their love is a kinde of baniſhment. *Wickliffe* himſelf, cenſured by the Biſhops to abjure his Opinions, choſe rather to leave his Countrey then his Doctrine; and going over into *Bohemia*, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more ſince he dyed: at leaſt a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongſt that people to this day.

Whereupon a great contention between the Duke and the Biſhop of *London*.

The *Londoners* take the Biſhops part, and ſet upon the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s houſe.

Wickliffe is baniſhed.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

HIS works of Piety were great and many, as the founding of *Eaſt-Minſter*, an Abbey (of the Ciſteaux Order) near the *Tower*. An Abbey for Nuns at *Dertford* in *Kent*. The Kings Hall in *Cambridge* for poor Scholars. An Hoſpital for the poor at *Callice*. He conferred upon the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where he had himſelf been trained up, under the learned *Walter Burley*, the chief rule of the City, ſubordinating the Mayor and Citizens to the Chancellour of the Univerſity. He built Saint *Stephen's* Chappel at *Weſtminſter*, with the endowment of 300. pound *per annum*. He augmented the Chappel at *Windſor*, and made proviſions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. Theſe were his publick works. But beſides theſe, his private Buildings were the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Caſtle at *Quinborough*, Fortifications at *Callice* and other places. His Queen *Philippa* founded Queens Colledge in *Oxford*: and *Mary* Counteſs of *Pembroke*, the Colledge called *Pembroke* Hall in *Cambridge*. In this Kings time Sir *John Poultney*, Mayor of *London*, built the Colledge in *London* called Saint *Lawrence Poultney*; and little *Alhallows*, a Pariſh Church in *Thames-ſtreet*; and alſo the Carmelite Friers Church in *Coventry*. *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter* and *Leiceſter* founded the Hoſpital by the Caſtle of *Leiceſter*, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things neceſſary. *William Elſing* Mercer of *London*, made a new Hoſpital of an old houſe of Nuns by *Cripplegate*; and placing Canons regular there, he became the firſt Prior thereof. *Walter Stapleton* Biſhop of *Exeter* founded *Exeter* Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford*. *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich*, builded *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*. *Simon Iſlip* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*. *William Edendon* Treaſurer of *England*, founded the Monaſtery of *Edendon*; the Religious Brethren whereof were called *Bonhommes*. Sir *Walter de Manny*, born in *Cambray*, purchaſed a piece of ground called *Spittle-Croft*, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of *Weſt-Smithfield*, and cauſed the ſame to be encloſed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the ſame to be a Houſe of *Charter-Houſe* Monks.

Kings Hall in *Cambridge* built.

Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Pembroke Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Exeter Colledge, and *Hart* Hall in *Oxford* by whom founded.

Trinity Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Canterbury Colledge in *Oxford* by whom founded.

The *Charter-houſe* by *Smithfield* by whom founded.

Monks. *Humfrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford* and *Eſſex*, re-edified the *Auguſtine* Fryers Church in *London*, and was buried in the Quire there. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, *John Stody*, Mayor of *London*, gave unto the Vintners of *London* all the Quadrant where Vintners Hall now ſtandeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this day called *Stody*'s Lane; where are founded thirteen houſes for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of Charity. Alſo in this Kings time Sir *John Cobham* founded the Colledge of *Cobham* in *Kent*. *John Louſkin* four times Mayor of *London*, builded at *Kingſtone* upon *Thames*, where he was born, a Chappel called *Magdalens*, to the which he joyned an Hoſpital, wherein was a Maſter, two Prieſts, and certain poor men: and for that the Pariſh Church of Saint *Michael* by *Crooked-lane*, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reaſon of the Butchers in *Eaſtcheap*, who made the ſame their Lay-ſtall, he on the ſame ground builded the fair new Pariſh-Church of St. *Michael* now ſtanding, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of Stone. He alſo founded a Colledge to the ſame Church, near thereunto adjoyning. *John Barnes* Mayor of *London*, gave a Cheſt with three Locks, and a thouſand Marks to be lent to young men upon ſecurity, ſo that it paſſed not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned, to ſay at his pleaſure, *De profundis* for the ſoul of *John Barnes*; if he were not learned, to ſay *Pater Noſter*: but howſoever the money is lent, the Cheſt at this day ſtandeth in the Chamber of *London*, without money or pledges. *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, the youngeſt Son of King *Edward*, founded a Colledge at *Playſie* in *Eſſex*, where in his life he had provided a ſumptuous Tomb, where he was firſt laid, but tranſlated afterward to *Weſtminſter*.

Caſualties happening in his time.

A very great Peſtilence, and continued nine years.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, a contagious Peſtilence aroſe in the Eaſt and South parts of the world, and ſpread it ſelf all over Chriſtendom; and coming at laſt into *England*, it ſo waſted the people, that ſcarce the tenth perſon of all ſorts were left alive. There died in *London* (ſome ſay in *Norwich*) between the firſt of *January* and the firſt of *July*, 57374. perſons. In *Yarmouth*, in one year, 7052. men and women: before which time, the Parſonage there was worth 700. marks a year, and afterwards was ſcarce worth forty pounds a year. This Plague began in *London* about *Alhallontide*, in the year 1348. and continued till the year 1357. Where it was obſerved, that thoſe who were born after the beginning of this mortality had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his Reign, a ſudden Inundation of Water, at *New-Caſtle* upon *Tine*, bare down a piece of the Town Wall, and ſix perches in length, near to a place called *Walkenew*; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, another Peſtilence happened in *England*, which was called the ſecond Peſtilence, in which died *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, alſo *Reginald* Lord *Cobham*, and *Walter Fitz Warren*, two famous men, and five Biſhops, of *Worceſter*, of *London*, of *Ely*, of *Lincoln*, and of *Chicheſter*. In this Kings time a Froſt laſted from the midſt of *September* to the month of *April*. In the fourth year of his Reign a ſolemn Juſting or Turnament was holden at *London* in *Cheapſide*, betwixt the great Croſs and the great Conduit, nigh *Soper-Lane*, which laſted three dayes; where the Queen *Philippa*, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, ſet up for them to behold the Juſting; and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatned to puniſh the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen intreated pardon for them upon her knees: as indeed ſhe was alwayes ready to do all good offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his reign was ſo great plenty, that a quarter of Wheat was ſold at *London* for two ſhillings, a fat Ox for a Noble, a fat Sheep for ſix pence, and ſix Pigeons for a penny, a fat Gooſe for two pence, a Pig for a Penny, and other things after that rate. But in his twenty ſeventh year there was a great ſcarcity, by reaſon there fell no rain, or very little, from the end of *March*, to the end of *July*: and was therefore called the dry ſummer.

Many great men died of the plague.

A froſt that laſted ſeven months.

Price of Victuals in a plenty.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Philippa* the Daughter of *William* Earl of *Heynault* at *York*. A match made up in haſte by Queen *Iſabel* his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King *Edward*'s ends. For though her Parentage was not great, and her Portion leſs; yet ſhe made amends for both, in vertue: for never King had a better Wife. By her King *Edward* had ſeven ſons, and five daughters. His eldeſt ſon *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, and commonly called the *Black Prince*, (but why ſo called uncertain; for to ſay, of his dreadful acts, as *Speed* ſaith, hath little probability: and indeed *Froyſſard* who hath written the Reign of King *Edward* the third, more particularly then any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince *Edward* the *Black Prince*, nor any where makes mention that he was ſo called) was born at *Woodſtock*, in the third year of his Fathers Reign. He married *Joan*, the daughter of *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, brother by the Fathers ſide to King *Edward* the ſecond. She had been twice married before; firſt to the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*, from whom ſhe was divorced: next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*; after whoſe deceaſe, this Prince paſſionately loving her, married her. By her he had iſſue two ſons, *Edward* the eldeſt, born at *Angouleſme*, who died at ſeven years of age; and *Richard* born at *Burdeaux*, who after his Father, was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather, King of *England*. This Prince had alſo natural iſſue, Sir *John Sounder*, and *Roger Clarendon*, Knights; the latter being attainted in the Reign of King *Henry* the fourth, is thought to have been Anceſtour to the houſe of *Smiths* in *Eſſex*. He died at *Canterbury* in the ſix and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at Chriſts Church there. His ſecond ſon *William* was born at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordſhire*, who deceaſed in his childehood, and was

After which the number of mens teeth leſſened.

The family of Smiths in Eſſex from whom deſcended.

buried at *York*. His third son *Lionel* was born at *Antwerp*, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign. He married first *Elizabeth* the Daughter and Heir of *William Burgh*, Earl of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, in whose right he was first created Earl of *Ulster*; and because he had with her the honour of *Clare*, in the County of *Toumond*, he was in a Parliament created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the town and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchy, the name of *Clarencieux* (being the title of the King of Arms, for the South parts of *England*) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named *Philippa*, afterward Wife of *Edmund Mortimer*, Earl of *March*, Mother of Earl *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countess of *Cambridge*, the Mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the Fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at *Millain* in *Lombardy*, with the Lady *Violanta*, daughter of *Galeacio*, the second Duke thereof; but through intemperance he lived not long after. King *Edward*'s fourth son named *John*, was born at *Gaunt*, in the fourteenth year of his Fathers Reign. He had three Wives, the first was *Blanch*, daughter and co-heir, and in the end, the sole Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, son of *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouch-back*; by whom he had issue *Henry* of *Bullingbroke*, Earl of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry* the fourth, who first placed the Crown in the house of *Lancaster*. By her also *John* of *Gaunt* had two Daughters, *Philippa* Wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugal*, and *Elizabeth* married first to *John Holland*, Earl of *Huntington*, and after him to Sir *John Cornwal*, Baron of *Fanhope*. *John* of *Gaunt*'s second Wife was *Constance*, the eldest Daughter of *Peter* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, in whose right for the time, he entitled himself King of both those Realms. By her he had issue one only Daughter named *Katharine*, married to *Henry* the third, son of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right, after King of both the said Realms. *John* of *Gaunt*'s third Wife was *Katherine*, the Widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolnshire*, eldest Daughter and Co heir of *Pain Roet*, a *Gascoyne*, called *Guien* King of Arms for that Countrey; his younger Daughter being married to Sir *Geoffry Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King *Richard* the second, *John* Earl of *Somerset*, *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and *Cardinal*, and *Joan* (who was first married to *Robert Ferrers*, Baron of *Wemme*, and *Ousley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *Warwick*) and secondly, to *Ralph Nevil*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her Brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France*, where they were all born; and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognisance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King *Richard* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, but in the sixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after in the sixtieth of his age, he died at *Ely-house* in *Holbourn*, and lieth honourably Entombed in the Quire of Saint *Paul*. King *Edward*'s fifth son *Edmund*, surnamed of *Langley*, was first in the year 1362. created Earl of *Cambridge*; and afterward in the year 1386. made Duke of *York*, he married *Isabel* Daughter and Co-heir to *Peter* King of *Castile*, and *Leon*: his Son *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, took to Wife *Anne Mortimer*, Heir of the foresaid *Lionel*, elder brother to *Edmund* of *Langley*. King *Edward*'s sixth son *William*, surnamed of *Windsor*, where he was born, died young, and is buried at *Westminster*. King *Edward*'s youngest son *Thomas*, surnamed of *Woodstock*, where he was born, was first Earl of *Buckingham*, and after made Duke of *Gloucester* by his Nephew King *Richard* the second. He was a man of valour and wisdome, but the King surmising him to be too severe an observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, how to make him away: whom *Mowbray* unawares surprising, conveyed secretly to *Callice*, where he was strangled the twentieth year of King *Richards* Reign. He had issue one Son, *Humfrey* Earl of *Buckingham*, who died at *Chester* of the Pestilence, in the year 1400. and two Daughters, *Anne* Married first to *Edmund* Earl of *Stafford*, by whom she had *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*; secondly to *William Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*, by whom she had *Henry* Earl of *Essex*, and *Joan* married to *Gilbert*, Lord *Talbot*, and had issue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King *Edward*'s Daughters, the eldest named *Isabel*, was married at *Windsor* to *Ingelram* of *Guysnes*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earl of *Soissons*, and after Archduke of *Austria*; created also by King *Edward* Earl of *Bedford*: by whom she was Mother of two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Henry* Duke of *Barre*, and *Philip* married to *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland*, and Marques of *Dublin*. This *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady *Philip*, and married one *Lancerona*, a Joyners Daughter (as was said) which came with King *Richard* the second's Wife out of *Bohemia*; and being for abusing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at *Lovain*, in extream poverty in the year 1392. *Isabel* his Wives Mother, was buried in the Church of Friers Minors near *Aldgate* in *London*. King *Edward*'s second Daughter *Joan* was married by Proxy to *Alphonsus*, King of *Castile* and *Leon*; but passing into *Spain*, died by the way, and King *Alphonsus* met her instead of consummating his Espousal, to solemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter *Blanch* died young. His fourth named *Mary*, was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Britain*. His youngest named *Margaret*, born in *Callice*, was the first Wife of *John de Hastings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, but died without issue.

Duke of *Clarence*, from whence it hath the title.

The King of Arms, why called *Clarencieux*.

The name of *Beaufort*, why given to some of *John* of *Gaunt*'s children.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time somewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submission: where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, then of his people; for he was never so loving, as to be fond, nor ever so

ſo angry, as to be inexorable: but this muſt be underſtood of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a childe again, he was a Prince of neither. He was no leſs fortunate then valiant, and his fortunateneſs was the greater by a kinde of *Antiperiſtaſis*, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; Succeſſour to one, and Predeceſſour to another. He was of ſo warlike a diſpoſition, that his very ſports were warlike; for no delights were ſo frequent with him as Juſts and Turnaments. To ſhew his devotion, one example may be ſufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counſellours could move him to make Peace with *France*, a Tempeſt from Heaven did it: to which may be added, that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he preſently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thankſgiving. He out-lived the beſt Wife, and the beſt Son that ever King had; and to ſay the truth, he out-lived the beſt of himſelf, for his latter years were not anſwerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Edward* beſides his being old, and worn with the labours of War, had other cauſes that haſtned his end; his grief for the loſs of ſo worthy a Son, dead but ten months before; his grief for the loſs of all benefit of his Conqueſts in *France*, of all which he had little now left but only *Callice*. And oppreſſed thus in body and minde, he was drawing his laſt breath, when his Concubine *Alice Pierce* packing away what ſhe could catch, even to the Rings of his Fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants, ſeiſing on what they could come by, ſhift away: and all his Counſellours and others forſook him, when he moſt needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty. Which a poor Prieſt in the houſe ſeeing, he approaches to the Kings Bed-ſide, and finding him yet breathing, calls upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the voice of this Prieſt, he ſhews all ſigns of contrition, and at laſt breath he expreſſeth the name of Jeſus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor of *Sheene*, (now *Richmond*) the 21. day of *June*, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months, and odd dayes. His body was conveyed from *Sheene* by his four Sons, and other Lords, and ſolemnly interred within *Weſtminſter* Church, where he hath his Monument; and where it is ſaid the Sword he uſed in Battel, is yet to be ſeen, being eight pound in weight, and ſeven foot in length.

Lying in his death-bed forſaken of all.

1377.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MArtial men were never more plentiful then in this Kings Reign: whether it were that the Stars have an influence to produce ſuch men at one time more then another: or whether it were that *Regis ad exemplum*, the Kings example made his Subjects like himſelf: or laſtly, that his continual exerciſe of arms put them as it were into a mould of fortitude. The firſt of this kinde is worthily *Edward* the Black Prince, and ſo worthily the firſt, that *Longe erit à primo quiſque ſecundus erit.* Next him *Henry* Earl of *Lancaſter*, the Princes right hand, in all his great atchievements; then *William* the valiant Earl of *Salisbury*; then *John Eure*, Anceſtor to the L. *Eures* that now liveth; then follow the Lord *John Chandois*, Sir *James Audeley*, Sir *Walter de Manny*, Sir *Robert Knolls*; then Sir *John Hawkwood* born in *Eſſex*, who though not much honoured at home, having been a Taylour: yet in foraign parts, and ſpecially in *Italy* ſo famous, that his Statue was erected in publick, for a Monument to teſtifie his valour to poſterity. And here muſt not be forgotten *Robert Venile*, Knight, a *Norfolk* man; who when the *Scots* and *Engliſh* were ready to give Battel, a certain ſtout Champion of great ſtature, commonly called *Tournbol*, coming out of the *Scots* Army, and challenging any *Engliſh* man to meet him in a ſingle Combat, this *Robert Venile* accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion, and meeting by the way a certain Black Maſtiff Dog, which waited on the Champion, he ſuddenly with his Sword cut him off at the loyns: and afterwards did more to the Champion himſelf, cutting his head from off his ſhoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial men, ſo there was no leſs plenty of Learned men; *John Baconthorpe* born in *Norfolk*, a Carmelite Frier, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Divinity; *Nicholas Trivet* born alſo in *Norfolk*, a Black Frier, who wrote two Hiſtories, and a Book of Annals: *Richard Stradley*, born in the Marches of *Wales*, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes of the Scriptures: *William Herbert* a *Welſh* man, and a Frier *Minor*, who wrote many good Treatiſes in Divinity: *Tho. Wallies* a Dominican Frier, and a Writer of many excellent Books: *John Everſden* a Monk of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Walter Burley* a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in *Merton* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote divers excellent Treatiſes in Natural and Moral Philoſophy, which remain in eſtimation to this day, and who for the great fame of his Learning, had the honour to be one of the great Inſtructors of *Edward* the Black Prince: *Roger* of *Cheſter* a Monk of that City, and an Hiſtoriographer: *John Burgh* a Monk, who wrote a Hiſtory, and alſo divers Homilies: *Richard Aungervil* Biſhop of *Durham*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, born in *Suffolk*: *Walter Heminford*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Richard Chicheſter* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1348. *Richard Rolle alias Hampole*, who wrote many excellent Treatiſes in Divinity: *Robert Holcot* a Black Frier, born in *Northampton*, a learned Schoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: *Thomas Bradwardin*, born near *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and who wrote againſt the *Pelagians*, and for his depth of Learning, had the Title of *Doctor Profundus*: *Richard Fitz Ralph*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, a learned Writer: *William Gryſant*, named *Anglicus*, a notable Phyſitian, whoſe Son came to be Pope, and was called *Urbane* the fifth: *John Killingworth* an excellent Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, and Phyſician:

Sir *John Hawkwood* a Taylor, ſo famous in *Italy*, that his Statue is there erected.

Robert Venile and his Valour.

Walter Burley Governour of the Black Princes Schoolmaſters.

Robert Holcot an excellent Schoolman.

Richard Fitz Ralph Archbiſhop of *Armagh*.

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Ranulph Higdon a Monk of *Chester*, an Historiographer: *Bartholomew Glanvile*, descended of those *Glanviles* that were sometimes Earls of *Suffolk*: *Simon Islip* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and founder of *Canterbury* Colledge in *Oxford*, who wrote many Treatises: *Matthew Westmonasterienſis*, who wrote the Book called *Flores Historiarum*: *William Fleet* an Hermite, who wrote sundry Treatises, exhorting *England* to repentance: *Henry Knighton*, who wrote a History intituled *De gestis Anglorum*; and lastly, two other, worthy perhaps to have been placed first, *John Mandevil* the great Traveller, a Doctor of Phylick, and a Knight, who died at *Liege*, in the year 1372. and Sir *Geoffry Chaucer*, the *Homer* of our Nation; and who found as sweet a Muse in the Groves of *Woodstock*, as the Ancients did upon the banks of *Helicon*.

Many more of Brittain lived in this time.

John Mandevil the great Travellour.

Sir Geoffry Chaucer lived at this time.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Henry Darcy, *John Hawton*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
John Grantham was Mayor.
Simon Francis, *Henry Colmartin*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Richard Swanland was Mayor.
Richard Lazer, *William Gysors*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Mayor.
Robert of *Ely*, *Thomas Worwode*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Pountney* continued Mayor.
John Mocking, *Andrew Aubery*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Preston was Mayor.
Nicholas Pike, *John Husband*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Mayor.
John Hammond, *William Hanford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Reginald at the Conduit was Mayor.
John Kingston, *Walter Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Reginald at the Conduit continued Mayor.
Walter Mordon, *Richard Upton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Pountney* was Mayor.
John Clark, *W. Curtes*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Henry Darcy was Mayor.
Walter Neale, *Nicholas Crane*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Henry Darcy continued Mayor.
William de Pomfret, *Hugh Marbler*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Andrew Aubery was Mayor.
William Thorney, *Roger Frosham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Andrew Aubery continued Mayor.
Adam Lucas, *Bartholomew Morris*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John of *Oxenford* was Mayor.
Richard de Barking, *John de Rokesley*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Simon Francis was Mayor.
John Loufkin, *Richard Killingbury*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hammond was Mayor.
John Steward, *John Aylesham*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
John Hammond continued Mayor.
Geoffry Witchingham, *Thomas Leg*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Richard Lazer was Mayor.
Edmund Hemenhall, *John* of *Gloucester*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Geoffry Witchingham was Mayor.
John Croydon. *William Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Thomas Leggy was Mayor.
Adam Bramptson, *Richard Fas*, or *Bas*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
John Loufkin was Mayor.
Henry Picard, *Simon Doleby*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Walter Turk was Mayor.
Adam of *Bury*, *Ralph* of *Lynne*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year.
Richard Killingbury was Mayor.
John Notte, *William* of *Worcester*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Andrew Aubery was Mayor.
John Wroth, *Gilbert* of *Stenineshorpe*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Adam Francis was Mayor.
John Peace, *John Stotley*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Adam Francis continued Mayor.
William Wolde, *John Little*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Thomas Leggy was Mayor.
William Nottingham, *Roger Smelt*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Simon Francis was Mayor.
Thomas Foster, *Thomas Brandon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
Henry Picard was Mayor.
Richard Nottingham, *Thomas Dolsel*, Sheriffs.

In

In his thirty firſt year,
Sir *John Stody* was Mayor.
Stephen Candiſh, *Bartholomew Froſtling*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſecond year,
John Loufkin was Mayor.
John Barnes, *John Buris*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Simon Doulſeby was Mayor.
Simon of *Benington*, *John* of *Chicheſter*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
John Wroth was Mayor.
John Dennis, *Walter Berny*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Peche was Mayor.
William Holbech, *James Tame*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Stephen Candiſh was Mayor.
John of St. *Albans*, *James Andrew*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
John Not was Mayor.
Richard of *Croyden*, *John Hiltoft*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Adam of *Bury* was Mayor,
John de Metford, *Simon de Mordan*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
John Loufkin was Mayor.
John Bukilſworth, *John Ireland*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Loufkin continued Mayor.
John Ward, *Thomas* of *Lee*, Sheriffs.

In his forty firſt year,
James Andrew was Mayor.
John Turngold, *William Dickman*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſecond year,
Simon Mordan was Mayor.
Robert Girdeler, *Adam Wimondham*, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
John Chicheſter was Mayor.
John Piel, *Hugh Holdich*, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Barnes was Mayor.
William Walworth, *Robert Gayton*, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
John Barnes continued Mayor.
Adam Staple, *Robert Hatfield*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſixth year,
John Piel was Mayor.
John Philpot, *Nicholas Brembar*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ſeventh year,
Adam of *Bury* was Mayor.
John Aubery, *John Fiſhed*, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth eighth year,
William Walworth was Mayor.
Richard Lions, *William Woodhouſe*, Sheriffs.

In his forty ninth year,
John Ward was Mayor.
John Hadley, *William Newport*, Sheriffs,

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Mayor.
John Northampton, *Robert Laund*, Sheriffs

THE

The REIGN of KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

Anno Dom. 1377.

RICHARD called of *Burdeaux*, becauſe born there, the only ſon of *Edward* the *Black Prince*, was by his Grandfather in his life time, declared to be his Heir and lawful Succeſſour; and accordingly after his death was crowned King of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixteenth day of *July*, in the year 1377. by *Simon Sudbury* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. And for the more ſolemnity of his Coronation, he then made nine Knights, and created four Earls; *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* King *Edward* the third's youngeſt ſon, was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and *Northampton*; *Thomas Mowbray*, younger Brother of *John* Lord *Mowbray*, Earl of *Notingham*; *Gifford Angouleſme* a *Gaſcoin*, was made Earl of *Huntington*; and *Henry Piercy* ſon of *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, was created Earl of *Northumberland*. At the time of the Coronation, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, by the name of *John* King of *Caſtile*, and *Leon*, and Duke of *Lancaſter*, put in his claim as Earl of *Leiceſter*, to have the place of Earl Marſhal of *England*; as Duke of *Lancaſter*, to carry the Sword called *Curtana*; as Earl of *Lincoln*, to be carver that day: all which to be executed by himſelf, or by his ſufficient Deputy; which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were confirmed unto him. As likewiſe, divers others made their claims: *Robert de Vere*, Earl of *Oxford*, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to pour out water for the King to waſh: *John Wiltſhire* Citizen of *London*, by reaſon of a moity of the Manour of *Heydon*, holden in Sergeanty, claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe with when he went to meat: *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, to bear the third Sword before the King; and alſo to exerciſe the office of Pantler: Sir *John Argentine*, by reaſon of his Manour of *Wimondtey* in the County of *Hartford*, to ſerve the King at his Cup: *William* L. *Furnival* for his Manour of *Fernham*, to ſupport the Kings right Arm when he held the Royal Scepter: *Anne* late Wife of *John de Haſtings* Earl of *Pembroke*, for his Manour of *Aſhele* in *Norfolk*, to have the Office of Naperer; which ſhe was admitted to do by her Deputy Sir *Thomas Blunt*: *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, for his Manour of *B.* in *Kent*, was admitted to be chief Butler: The Lord Mayor of *London*, to attend in his own perſon as chief Cup-waiter: Sir *John Dimmock*, for his Manour of *Scrivolvy*, and Sir *Baldwin Freville*, for his Caſtle of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwick*, contended for the Office of being the Kings Champion, but adjudged to *Dimmock*: *William de Latimer*, and *John* the ſon and heir of *John Mowbray* of *Axholm*, joyntly petitioned to have the Office of Almoner; but adjudged to *Latimer*: *Richard Lion*, as Tenant of the Manour of *L.* held by the ſervice of making Wafers for the King at his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to bear the Kings Canopy, upon four ſtaves of ſilver, over the Kings head; and alſo to ſit at meat in the Hall, at the higheſt Table on the Kings right hand: *John Fitz-John*, by reaſon of his Manour of *S.* in *Norfolk*, was admitted to be chief Larderer: *Richard Herring*, for the Manour of the *C.* in the County of *Surry*, claimed to be Uſher of the Kings Chamber; but becauſe that claim did no way concern the Coronation, he was left to purſue his Right ſome other time. The Coronation it ſelf was performed with great ſolemnity: After a Sermon, the King took his Oath; and then the Archbiſhop bleſſed the King: which done, he tore off his Garments, and ſtripped him into his Shift; then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breaſt, Shoulders, and the joynts of his Arms, with the Sacred Oyl; and after certain Prayers, he then clad him, firſt with the Coat of St. *Edward*, and after with his Mantle: after which the Archbiſhop delivered him the Sword, ſaying, *Accipe Gladium*; with which two Earls girded him: Then he gave him Bracelets, ſaying, *Accipe Armillas*. After this he put upon him an upper veſture called a Pall, ſaying, *Accipe Pallium*. In the mean time, while the Archbiſhop bleſſed the Crown, he to whoſe office it pertained, put Spurs on his heels; after the Crown was bleſſed, the Archbiſhop ſet it on his head, ſaying, *Coronet te Deus*: then he delivered him a Ring, ſaying, *Accipe Annulum*. Immediately herewith came the Lord *Furnival* by vertue of his Office, offering him a red Glove; which the Archbiſhop bleſſed, and putting it on his hand, delivered him a Scepter, ſaying, *Accipe Sceptrum*: and after that, into his other hand, delivered him a Rod, on the top whereof ſtood a Dove, ſaying, *Accipe Virgam Virtutis*; and then bleſſed the King, ſaying, *Benedicat te Deus*: which done, the King kiſſed the Biſhops and Abbots, by whom he was afterward led to his ſeat: and ſo ended the Solemnity.

King Richard the ſecond Crowned.

Claims of Office at his Coronation.

The manner of his Coronation.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven

eleven years of age, required a Protector: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to only one, who might rather seek to get it for himself, then to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Unkles, with some other Lords and Bishops, were joyned in Commission to manage the State; and *Guichard de Angonlesm* appointed to be his School-master. And now the Kings minority made foreign Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to *England*: which the *French* and *Scots* took presently hold of. For, the *French* came now, and burnt the Town of *Rye*; and soon after, entring the Isle of *Wight*, burnt divers Towns there; and though they were repelled from the Castle by the valiant Sir *Hugh Tyrrel* Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on Land where they saw advantage, burning sundry Towns near to the shore, as *Portsmouth*, *Dertmouth*, and *Plymouth*, and then sayling towards *Dover*, they burnt *Hastings*, assaulted *Winchelsey*: but being valiantly defended by the Abbot of *Battel*, were forced to retire. After this, they landed not far from the Abbey of *Lewis*, at a place called *Rottington*; where the Prior of *Lewis*, with Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, and Sir *John Fallesley*, encountring them, were overthrown and taken prisoners. And no less then the *French* were the *Scots* also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Castle of *Berwick*: but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof had, they were driven out again by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Notingham*; and all the *Scots* they found in it, except *Alexander Ramsey* their Captain, put to the sword. About *Michaelmas* a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein *Alice Pierce*, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her goods confiscate; and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporalty were granted: but so, as that two Citizens of *London*, *William Walworth*, and *John Philpot*, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In this time, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Deputy of *Callice*, burnt six and twenty *French* Ships in the Haven of *Boloigne*. And at the same time a great Navy set out, under the guiding of the Earl of *Buckingham*, the Duke of *Britain*, the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Robert Knolls*, and others, with a purpose to intercept the *Spanish* Fleet; but through tempest was twice driven back. When in the mean time, one *Mercer*, a *Scottish* Pirate, came to *Scarborough*, took there divers Ships, and committed many out-rages; and no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of *London*, named *John Philpot*, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountring them, took the said *Mercer*, and all his Ships: and returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navy without advice of the Kings Councel: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretly censured, yet they must not openly be controlled; for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and instead of errors to bring in confusion: but yet when wrongs be offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though it may be no manners not to stay the States leasure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them,

Three in Commission of the Protectorship.

The *French* enter *England* and take and burn divers Towns.

The *Scots* also invade the borders, but with little success.

Alice Pierce banished the Realm.

A Subsidy granted, but with condition.

1380.

John Philpot a Citizen of *London*, his worthy act.

But ill rewarded.

Many actions passed at this time with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, and some adverse. The *Scots* burn *Roxborough*, this was adverse; but the Earl of *Northumberland* entring *Scotland* with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of *March*, the chief Incendiary; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would needs make a Road into *Scotland*, and were encountred by the *Scots*, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of *Lancaster*, with the Earls of *Buckingham*, *Warwick*, *Stafford*, and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in *Britain*, besieged the Town of St. *Malo*, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return home: this was adverse. And now again, the *Scots* by night entred secretly into the Castle of *Berwick*, and slew Sir *Robert Baynton*, that was Constable there: this also was adverse. But when the Earl of *Northumberland*, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Castle, and after two dayes defence recovered it again: this was prosperous. *William Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Kings Lieutenant in *Callice* forrageth the Countrey round about, and furnisheth *Callice* with booties of *French* Cattel. Sir *Hugh Calverley* and Sir *Thomas Piercy* made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers Ships laden with Merchandize, and one Ship of War: Sir *John Hurleston*, Captain of *Chierbourgh* in *France*, issuing forth, assaults a Fortress of the *French*, which was the store-house of their provision; and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous. But when Sir *John Clark* lying in Garrison in a Castle in *Britain*, where lay many *English* Ships in the Hauen, had these Ships set upon by the *French*; where though he shewed incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign, Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *Tho. Piercy*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into *Britain*: but were so beaten back with Tempest, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir *John Arundel*, Sir *Thomas Banister*, Sir *Nicholas Trumpington*, Sir *Thomas Dale*, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir *Thomas Piercy*, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Elmham*, and certain others escaped. It may not be impertinent to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir *John Arundel* was then said in his Furniture to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tissue, all lost at Sea.

Actions with the *French* and *Scots*, some prosperous, some adverse.

Sir *John Arundel* and a thousand others drowned.

His sumptuousness of apparel.

This year also there being found inconvenience in having many governours of the King, and Kingdom, it was by Parliament decreed, That the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick*, should

The Earl of *Warwick* appointed Protector.

should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir *John Anneſley* Knight accuſed *Thomas Katrington* Eſq; for betraying the Fortreſs of S. *Saviour* to the *French*: which *Katrington* denying, at the ſuit of *Anneſley*, a ſolemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were preſent. The Eſquire *Katrington* was a man of a mighty ſtature, the Knight *Anneſley* a little man; yet through the juſtneſs of his cauſe, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and *Katrington* the day after the Combat dyed. *Fabian* ſaith, he was drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged for his falſe accuſation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Earl of *Buckingham*, the Kings Unkle, with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of ſeven or eight thouſand, was ſent into *France*, to aid the Duke of *Britain*; but the King of *France* at that time dying, the Duke of *Britain* grew to have peace with the new King: whereupon the Earl of *Buckingham* came home again, without doing much, but making of Knights, and forraging the Countrey. In this time the *French* and *Spaniſh* Gallies did much miſchief on the Coaſt of *England*: they burnt *Rye*, *Haſtings*, and *Portſmouth*; and at laſt entring the River of *Thames*, they came up to *Graveſend*, where they burnt moſt part of the Town, and taking many Priſoners and Booties returned into *France*.

A Combat between *Katrington* and *Anneſley*

The *French* burn divers Towns in *England*.

1383. An Inſurrection in *Kent*, and the cauſe.

At this time alſo, there fell out an Accident of great diſturbance to the Realm, for the Commons roſe in divers parts, beginning at *Deptford* in *Kent*: and the cauſe of their riſing grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-mony, whoſe coming into the houſe of one *John Tyler*, and demanding Poll-money of his wife for a daughter of hers; and ſhe ſaying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow ſaid he would preſently ſee whether that were ſo or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her Cloaths: whereat the Mother making an out-cry, her husband being at work hard by, and hearing the noiſe, came in with his lathing-ſtaff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector ſuch a blow on the head, that his brains flew out, and he preſently died. Upon this, at the complaint of *Tyler* amongſt his neighbours, and withal a factious Clergy-man, one *John Ball*, taking occaſion hereat to rip up the ground of this miſ-government, and telling the people that this difference of mens Eſtates, where ſome are Potentates, and ſome are Bond-men, was againſt Chriſtian Liberty, taking for his Theme, *When* Adam *delv'd and* Eve *ſpan, who was then a Gentleman?* He ſo incenſed them that the Commons, in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in *Kent*, or otherwiſe in *Eſſex*, they drew at laſt into their Faction the Commons of *Suſſex*, *Hartfordſhire*, *Cambridgeſhire*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and other Shires; and arreſting all ſuch as paſſed, made them ſwear to be true to King *Richard*, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that ſhould be called *John*; which they did for the envy they bore to *John* Duke of *Lancaſter*. Thus their number ſtill encreaſed, that by that time they were come ſo far as *Black-heath*, they were eſteemed to be a hundred thouſand. The firſt thing they did when they came to *London*, was to ſend for one *Richard Lion*, a grave Citizen who had been *Tyler's* Maſter, and his head they ſtruck off, and carryed it upon a pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lancaſter's* houſe, which they ſet on fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all his Plate and Jewels, and throwing them into the *Thames*, ſaying, They were men of Juſtice, and would not like Robbers enrich themſelves with any mans Goods: and when one of their fellows was eſpyed to thruſt a fair ſilver piece into his boſom, they took him, and caſt both him and the piece into the fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, where they ſtayed drinking ſo long, till the rafters of the houſe on fire, fell upon them, and ſo covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry ſeven dayes after, and then periſhed. From the *Savoy* they went to the *Temple*, where they burnt the Lawyers Lodgings, with their Books and Writings, and all they could lay hands on. Alſo the Houſe of Saint *John's* by *Smithfield* they ſet on fire, ſo that it burned for the ſpace of ſeven dayes together. After this they came to the *Tower*, where the King was then lodged; and though he had at that time ſix hundred armed men, and as many Archers about him, yet he durſt not but ſuffer them to enter; where they abuſed the Kings Mother, offering to kiſs her, in ſuch rude manner that ſhe fell into a ſwoon: and finding in the place *Simon Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellour, and Sir *Robert Hales* alſo Lord Treaſurer, they led them to the *Tower-hill*; and there in moſt cruel manner ſtruck off their heads, as alſo of divers others. Neither ſpared they ſacred places: for breaking into the Church of the *Auguſtine* Friers, they drew forth thirteen *Flemmings*, and beheaded them in the open ſtreets; as alſo ſeventeen others out of other Churches. Yet after all theſe out-rages, the King proclaimed Pardon to all ſuch as would lay down Arms, and go quietly home; which the *Eſſex* men did, but the *Kentiſh* men continued ſtill with their Captain *Wat Tyler*. To whom when the King ſent Sir *John Newton* to underſtand what his meaning was, *Wat Tyler*, offended becauſe he came on Horſe-back, told him it became him to light from his Horſe in his preſence; and therewith drew out his Dagger to ſtrike him. The King perceiving his Knight to be in danger, bade him alight from his horſe: but when this would not pacifie him, the Mayor of *London*, *William Walworth*, by the Kings appointment rode to him and arreſted him, and gave him ſuch a blow on the head, that he aſtonied him; and then other of the Kings Servants drew their Swords, and thruſt him through in divers parts of his Body, ſo as he died there in the place. When the Commons ſaw this, they cryed out, Our Captain is ſlain, let us revenge it. Here the King, though very young, not above fifteen years of age, yet had the courage to ride unto

They agree to receive no King that ſhould be called *John*, and why.

They ſet upon the *Savoy* the Duke of *Lancaſter's* houſe.

Two and thirty of them burnt drinking in the Cellar.

They came to the *Tower* and abuſed the Kings Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellour and the Treaſurer.

Wat Tylers inſolent carriage before the King.

William Walworth Lord Mayor kills him.

to them, telling them, that now their Leader was dead, he would be their Leader himself; and if they would follow him into the Fields, they should have whatsoever they desired. In the mean time the Lord Mayor *Walworth* had gone into the City, and raised a thousand armed men, and meeting Sir *Robert Knolls* by chance got him to be their leader; who coming into the fields where the Rebels were, so daunted them, that throwing down their Weapons, they cryed for mercy: that it was a wonderful thing to see how suddenly Fear overtook Presumption; for scarce their words of insolency were out of their mouths, when they fell to words of most servile submission. And as strange an alteration in those about the King, to see how suddenly Boldness surprised Fear; for scarce they left trembling at the sight of the Rebels, when suddenly upon sight of this aid their fingers itched to be setting upon them, but that the King would not suffer it, because some amongst them were there by compulsion; and to set upon them thus mingled, might as well be the death of the innocent as of the guily. But to pacifie them the more, the King caused his Charter of Manumission to be sent unto them; which yet stayed them not from committing out-rages at St. *Albans*, and cancelling the ancient Charters of the Abbots and Monks there. Besides, the sedition was more general, then that the appeasing it in one place could be final; for at the same time there were gathered together in *Suffolk* to the number of fifty thousand, by the setting on of one *John Wraw* a lewd Priest: and these fell to destroying the houses of Lawyers specially; and Sir *John Cavendish* Lord Chief Justice of *England* they beheaded, and set his head upon the Pillory in St. *Edmundsbury*. The like commotion of the Commons was at the same time also in *Cambridgeshire*, in the Isle of *Ely*, and and in *Norfolk*, under the guiding of one *John Littester* a Dyer: and to countenance their proceeding the more, they had a purpose to have brought *William Ufford* Earl of *Suffolk* into their fellowship; but he, advertised of their intention, suddenly rose from supper, and got him away: but many other Lords and Knights they compelled to be sworn to them, and to ride with them, as the Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Morley*, Sir *John Brewis*, Sir *Stephen Hales*, and Sir *Robert Salle*, who not enduring their insolencies, had his brains dasht out by a Countrey Clown who was his bondman. The rest terrified by this example, were glad to carry themselves submissively to their Chieftain, *John Littester*, who named himself King of the Commons; and counted it a preferment for any to serve him at his Table, in taking the assay of his meats and drinks with kneeling humbly before him, as he sate at meat. And now these fellows, upon a consultation, send two choice men, namely, the Lord *Morley*, and Sir *John Brewis*, with three of their chief Commons, to the King, for their Charter of Manumission and Enfranchising: who being on their way at *Ichingham*, not far from *Newmarket*, they met with *Henry Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*; and he examining them if there were any of the Rebels in their company, and hearing that three of the chief were there present, he presently caused their heads to be struck off; and then pursuing on towards *Northwalsham* in *Norfolk*, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King. By that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Launces, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so increased, that it came to be a compleat Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took *John Littester* and their other Chieftains, whom he caused all to be executed: and by this means the Countrey was quieted. After this the Mayor of *London* sate in Judgement upon Offenders, where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst other, *Jack Straw*, *John Kirkby*, *Alane Tredder*, and *John Sterling*, who gloryed that he was the man had slain the Archbishop. Also Sir *Robert Tresilian* Chief Justice was appointed to sit in Judgment against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and in sundry places put to death: amongst others *John Ball* Priest, their Incendiary. Of whom it is not impertinent to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebel-rabble of *Essex*; by which we may see how fit an Orator he was for such an Auditory: and what strength of perswasion there was in Non-sense.

Sir *Robert Knolls* daunteth the Rebels.

But is set upon by the Bishop of *Norwich*; taken and beheaded.

Fifteen hundred of them put to death.

John Sheep St. *Mary* Priest of *York*, and now of *Colchester*, greeteth well *John Namelesse*, and *John* the Miller, and *John Carter*; and biddeth them that they beware of guile in *Borough*, and stand together in Gods name: and biddeth *Piers Plowman* go to his work and chastise well *Hob* the Robber, and take with you *John Trewman*, and all his fellows, and no moe. *John* the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware or ye be woe: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough and say ho; and do well and better: Flee sin, and seek peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth *John Trewman* and all his fellows.

John Ball's Letter of Non-sense.

Neither is it impertinent to declare the Confession of *Jack Straw* at his Execution. "When "we were assembled (said he) upon *Black heath*, "and had sent to the King to come to us, our "purpose was to have slain all Knights and Gen- "tlemen that should be about him: and as for the "King, we would have kept him amongst us, "to the end the people might more boldly have "repaired to us; and when we had gotten power "enough, we would have slain all Noblemen, and "specially the Knights of the *Rhodes*; and lastly, "we would have killed the King, and all men of "possessions, with Bishops, Monks, Parsons of "Churches, only Friers Mendicants we would "have spared, for administration of the Sacra- "ments. Then we would have devised Laws ac- "cording to which the people should have lived; "for we would have created Kings, as *Wat Tyler* "in *Kent*, and others in other Countries: and "the same evening that *Wat Tyler* was killed we "were determined to set fire in four corners of "the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst "us: and this was our purpose, as God may help "me now at my last end. For his service done in this seditious business, the King Knighted the Mayor *Will. Walworth*, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee. Also he Knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the waste with the girdle of Knighthood, which was

The Confession of *Jack Straw* at his execution.

William Walworth the Mayor how rewarded.

An Insurrection at the same time in *Suffolk*.

They beheaded the Chief Justice.

An Insurrection at the same time in *Cambridgeshire* and *Norfolk*.

The insolency of *John Littester* their Captain.

The manner of Knighting at this time.

manner of Graduating in those dayes: but as *Stow* saith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus; to cause him to put a Basenet on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And to do the City it self honour, the King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Cross without the Dagger.

A Dagger added to the Arms of the City.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm; and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this sedition, the Duke of *Lancaster* had been sent into *Scotland*, to keep the *Scots* quiet; who so carried the matter, that before the *Scots* heard of the Sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to *Berwick*, was denyed by the Captain Sir *Matthew Redman*, to enter the Town, because of a Commandment given him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of *Lancaster* that was then in *Scotland*: but howsoever, this bred such a spleen in the Duke against the Earl, that at his coming home he laid many things to the Earls charge, and the Earl as stoutly answered his Objections: and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terrour of the people: but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to *Callice*; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to *London*, joyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at *VVestminster* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again; in which *William Vfford* Earl of *Suffolk* being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Common-wealth, certain matters concerning the same, the very day and hour in which he should have done the business, as he went up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens judgements. About this time the Lord *Scroop* was deposed from the Chancellourship, for refusing to seal some Grants which the King had made; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased: till at length it was delivered to *Robert Brailbrook* Bishop of *London*, who was made Lord Chancellour.

A difference between the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Earl of *Northumberland*.

1382.

King *Richard* marries the Lady *Anne*, Sister to the Emperour *Wenceslaus*.

William Vfford Earl of *Suffolk* dieth suddenly.

The King keeps the great Seal in his own hands.

1382.

Henry Spencer Bishop of *Norwich*, had lately with the Kings leave, raised an Army, and was gone into *France*, in behalf of Pope *Urban*, against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; and entring first into *Flanders*, he took and sacked many Towns; at last besieged *Ypres*, till by an Army of *French* (greater then was thought could have been raised in *France*) he was forced to raise his siege; and then passing divers places, he came to *Graveling*, from whence he writ to King *Richard*, that if ever he meant to try Battel with the *French*, now was the time. The King was at that time at *Dayntry* in *Northamptonshire*; and being at supper when the word was brought him, he instantly rose from the Table, got to Horseback, and rode in Poste with such speed, that he came to St. *Albans* about midnight; where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Gelding, he hasted forth till he came to *Westminster*, as though he had meant never to rest till he had given Battel to the *French-men*. But after he had taken counsel of his Pillow, his minde was altered, and he thought it better to imploy some other, then to go himself; so the Duke of *Lancaster* is thought the fittest man: but he protracted the time so long in making preparation, that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lose all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths so long, till it be time to put them off again. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between *England* and *France*, to endure till the Feast of St *Michael*, which should be in the year 1384.

The Kings haste soon delayed.

A Truce is concluded between *England* and *France*.

Of Acts done after he came of Age.

THE *Scots* in this mean time had made Roads into *England*, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster*, with his Brother the Earl of *Buckingham*, is sent with a mighty Army to repress them: but having entred *Scotland*, and not able to draw the *Scots* to a Battel, they only burnt certain Towns, and then returned. 1384.

About this time an *Irish* Fryer of the order of the *Carmelites* charged the Duke of *Lancaster*, with heinous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown: shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his answer, so cleared himself; at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of *John Holland* the Kings half-brother, till a day appointed for further Trial. The night before which day, the said Lord *Holland* and Sir *Henry Green* are said to have come to this Frier, and putting a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members; and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder: thereby putting him to a most tormenting death. An act not more inhumane then unadvised; for though it took away the Accuser, yet it made the Accusation more suspicious.

A Frier accusing the Duke of *Lancaster* with treason, is secretly put to a miserable death.

At this time, though a Truce had been made with the *Scots*, yet they would not be quiet; but entred and won the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was Captain, but had committed the keeping of it to another: for which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the sum of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendred into his hands again. The King upon some new displeasure, being now incensed against the Duke of *Lancaster*, had a purpose to have him arrested

The *Scots* win *Berwick*, but are bought out with money.

arrested and arraigned of certain points of Treason, before Sir *Robert Treſilian* Chief Juſtice, though he ought to be tried by his Peers: but the Duke having intimation hereof, got him to his Caſtle of *Pomfret*, and ſtood upon his guard; till the Kings Mother (notwithſtanding her indiſpoſition of body, by reaſon of her corpulency) riding to and fro betwixt them, pacified the King, and made them friends.

In the ninth year of King *Richard*'s Reign, the *French* King ſent the Admiral of *France* into *Scotland*, with a thouſand men of Arms, beſides Croſs-bows and others, to aid the *Scots* againſt the *Engliſh*; with which aid the *Scots* encouraged, enter the *Engliſh* borders. Whereof King *Richard* adverti ſed, himſelf with a mighty Army

1386. enters *Scotland*; and coming to *Edenborough*, and finding all the people fled, he ſet fire on the houſes, burnt the Church of St. *Giles*, only *Holy-Rood-Houſe* was ſpared at the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s ſuit, in remembrance of the friendſhip he had formerly received in that houſe. The *Scots* by no means could be drawn to any Battel; but to divert the Kings Army, they entered *Cumberland*, and beſieged *Carlile*, where by the valour of Sir *Lewis Clifford* and Sir *Thomas Muſgrave* they were repelled: and hearing of the Kings Army coming towards them, and fearing to be incloſed, they drew back into *Scotland*, and the King returned into *England*. But in this mean while, the *Engliſh* of *Callice* took many prizes of *French* Ships at Sea, and many booties alſo by land, at one time four thouſand Sheep, and three hundred head of great Cattel.

King Richard with a mighty Army enters Scotland, burns ſome Towns and returns.

This year the King called a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, where he created two Dukes, one Marqueſs and five Earls: *Edmund* of *Langley* Earl of *Cambridge*, the Kings Unkle was created Duke of *York*: *Thomas* of *Woodſtock*, Earl of *Buckingham*, his other Unkle, Duke of *Glocester*: *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, was made Marqueſs of *Dublin*: *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, was created Earl of *Derby*: *Edward Plantagenet* Son to the Duke of *York*, was made Earl of *Rutland*: *Michael de la Pool* Chancellour of *England*, was created Earl of *Suffolk*: and *Thomas Mowbray* Earl of *Notingham*, was made Earl Marſhal. Alſo by Authority of this Parliament *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Edmund Mortimer*, and of the Lady *Philip*, eldeſt Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, third Son to King *Edward* the third, was eſtabliſhed Heir apparent to the Crown of the Realm, and ſhortly after ſo proclaimed: but going into *Ireland* to his Lordſhip of *Ulſter*, was there by the wilde *Iriſh* ſlain. This *Roger* Earl of *March* had iſſue, *Edmund*, *Roger*, *Anne*, *Alice*, and *Eleanor*, which *Eleanor* was made a Nun: The two Sons died without iſſue: *Anne* his eldeſt Daughter was married to *Richard* Earl *Cambridge*, Son to *Edmund* of *Langley*; which *Richard* had Iſſue by the ſaid *Anne*, a Son called *Richard*, that was after Duke of *York*, and Father to King *Edward* the fourth: alſo a Daughter named *Iſabel* married to the Lord *Bourchier*. Alſo this year *Henry* of *Bullingbrook* Earl of *Derby*, married the Daughter and Heir of *Humfrey Bohun* Earl of *Hereford*, in whoſe right he was afterward made Duke of *Hereford*.

Dukes and Earls created.

Roger Mortimer proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown. His Iſſue.

This year alſo King *Richard* holding his *Chriſtmas* at *Eltham*, Leo King of *Armenia* came thither to him, who in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the *Turks*, was come into Chriſtendom to ſeek for aid: but his chief errand into *England* was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; but their ſpleens were ſo great againſt one another, that it was not in the power of his Phyſick to cure them.

At this time the Duke of *Lancaſter*, taking with him his Wife the Lady *Conſtance*, and a Daughter he had by her named *Katherine*, and two other Daughters which he had by his former Wife, ſailed into *Spain*. He was attended in his journey with the Lord *Lucy*, the Lord *Talbot*, the Lord *Baſſet*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Water*, *Poynings*, *Bradſton*, and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms; whereof a thouſand at leaſt were Knights and Eſquires. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he ſhould be called King of *Spain*: and the Queen likewiſe gave another Crown of Gold to the Dutcheſs. He landed firſt at *Breſt*, and freed that Caſtle from the *French*. From thence he ſailed, and arrived at the *Groyne* in *Spain*, where he remained a month; and then went to *Compoſtella*, where he ſtayed a while: In which time his Conſtable Sir *John Holland* won divers Towns. At *Monſon*, the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Lancaſter* met; where a marriage was concluded between the ſaid King of *Portugal*, and the Lady *Philip* Daughter to the Duke: which marriage ſhortly after was conſummated, and the Lady ſent into *Portugal* honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at *Compoſtella* all the Winter. At *March* the King of *Portugal* and he entred the Confines of *Caſtile*, where they took many Towns; and paſſing over the River of *Dure*, entred into the Country *Del Campo*: But the *Spaniards* not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to weary them out with delayes; the *Engliſh* not uſed to ſuch hot air, fell daily into many Diſeaſes, which the Duke ſeeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action, the Lord *Fitz Water*, Sir *Richard Burley*, a Knight of the Garter; the Lord *Poynings*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, Couſin-german to the Earl of *Northumberland*; alſo the Lord *Talbot*; and in all twelve great Lords, fourſcore Knights, two hundred Eſquires, and of the meaner ſort above five hundred. When the Army was broken up, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Dutcheſs his Wife went into *Portugal*; and after ſome ſtay there, they ſailed to *Bayon*, in the Marches of *Gaſcoigne*, where he reſted a long time after. In which mean while there were offers made for a Marriage to be had between the Duke of *Berry*, Unkle to the *French* King, and the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter to the Duke of *Lancaſter*: which the King of *Spain* underſtanding, he began to doubt, leſt if that marriage went forward, it might turn to his diſadvantage; and thereupon by earneſt ſuit, at length concluded a Peace with the Duke of *Lancaſter*, on this wiſe, That his eldeſt Son *Henry* ſhould marry the Lady *Katherine*, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Daughter, and be intituled Prince of *Auſturgus*: and in conſideration of this

The Duke of Lancaſter goes with a great train into Spain, whom King Richard commands to be called King of Spain.

The King of Portugal marries a Daughter of the Duke of Lancaſter.

Many Lords about the Duke dye of ſickneſs.

The King of Spain's eldeſt Son marries the Duke of Lancaſter's Daughter.

this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend, It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Dutchess: and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

A Navy of 1287. Ships prepared by the *French* to invade *England*.

At this time, the *French* had a purpose to invade *England*, with no less a hope then to make a Conquest; and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: so as in the month of *September*, there were numbred about *Sluis*, *Dam*, and *Blankerke*, 1287. Ships, besides those which were rigged in *Britain* by the Constable, who had caused an Inclosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in *England*, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more surety. But it so fortuned that the Lord *William Beauchamp* Captain of *Callice*, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said Inclosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gunpowder, and other Instruments of War; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said inclosure, which King *Richard* caused to be reared and set up about *Winchelsey* Town. At last the foresaid Army came into *Flanders*, and arrived at *Sluis*; where after some stay, they were so distressed for Victuals, that in the end of *November* they were glad to be gone, and return into *France*.

But by *William Beauchamp* Captain of *Callice*, some of them taken and the rest distressed.

Robert Vere Earl of *Oxford* is created Duke of *Ireland*; And *Michael de la Pool* a Merchants Son is made Earl of *Suffolk*, and Lord Chancellour.

At this time, in a Parliament, *Robert Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, and Marques of *Dublin*, was created Duke of *Ireland*; and *Michael de la Pool* a Merchants Son, had lately before been created Earl of *Suffolk*, and made Chancellour of *England*. And now begins King *Richard* to enter, I may say upon the Confines of his Destiny. His gracing of undeserving men, and disgracing of men deserving, if they were not the causes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to full age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of full age to undo himself; for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but errors: but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to hasten the pace of his destiny the faster, the ill counsel which before was but whispered in his ear, was now scarce forborn to be given him aloud. It is told him that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controuled, as in former times he had been; That to be crost of his will by his Subjects, was to be their Subject. It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the instigation of which Counsel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to expostulate with his Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more then one and twenty; Well then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patrimonies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembred, that though the King may not be controuled, where he can command; yet he may be opposed where he can but demand, as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his Wars, he was answered, That he needed no Subsidy from his Subjects, if he would but call in the debts which the Chancellour owed him: and if he were so tender of him, that he could not finde in his heart to do it himself, they would do that work for him: and thereupon charged him with such crimes, that all his Goods were confiscate, and himself adjudged to dye, if the King so pleased: though some write, his sentence was only to pay a Fine of twenty thousand Marks, and a thousand pounds yearly beside. Upon this provocation, the opposite side seek present revenge. It is devised, that the Duke of *Gloucester* as principal, and other Lords that crossed the Kings courses, should be invited to a supper in *London*, and there be murthered. In the execution of which plot the former Lord Mayor, Sir *Nicholas Brember*, had a special hand: but the present Mayor *Richard Exton*, moved to it by the King, would by no means consent; and thereupon the plot proceeded not. But for all these harsh strains, and many such other that passed this Parliament, a Subsidy was at length granted to the King, of half a Tenth, and half a Fifteenth; but with condition, that it should not be issued, but by order from the Lords: and the Earl of *Arundel* was appointed to receive it. But before this time, both Houses had directly agreed, that unless, the Chancellour were removed, they would meddle no further in the Parliament. The King advertised hereof, sent to the Commons that they should send unto *Eltham* (where he then lay) forty of their House to declare their mindes unto him: but upon conference of both Houses, it was agreed, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, and *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, should in the name of the Parliament go unto him; who coming to the King, declared, that by an old Statute the King once a year might lawfully summon his Court of Parliament, for reformation of all corruptions and enormities within the Realm: and further declared, That by an old Ordinance also it was enacted, That if the King should absent himself forty dayes, not being sick, the Houses might lawfully break up, and return home. At this the King is said to say, Well, we perceive our people go about to rise against us; and therefore we think we cannot do better then to ask aid of our Cousin the King of *France*, and rather submit us to him then to our own Subjects. To which the Lords answered, they wondered at this opinion of his Majesty, seeing the *French* King was the ancient Enemy of the Kingdom; and he might remember what mischiefs were brought upon the Realm in King *John*'s time, by such a course. By these and the like perswasions, the King was induced to come to the Parliament: and soon after *John Fortham* Bishop of *Durham* is discharged of his Office of Lord Treasurer, and in his place was appointed *John Gilbert* Bishop of *Hereford*, a Frier of the order of Preachers: Also *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, is discharged of his Office of Chancellour; and *Thomas Arundel* Bishop of *Ely*, by consent of Parliament, placed in his room. Also by order of Parliament, thirteen Lords were chosen to have oversight, under the King, of the whole Government of the Realm: of which thirteen there

The Chancellour is censured by the Parliament.

A plot to murther the Duke of *Gloucester* and others that opposed the King.

But stopped by *Richard Exton* Mayor.

The Parliament requires to have the Chancellour removed.

If the King absent himself from the Parliament forty dayes, it may lawfully break up.

The King takes the Government upon himself.

The Lord Treasurer, and Lord Chancellour are discharged of their Offices.

Thirteen Lords appointed to govern the Realm.

there were three of the New Officers named; as the Biſhop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, the Biſhop of *Hereford* Lord Treaſurer, and *Nicholas* Abbot of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The other ten were, *William* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Edmund* of *Langley* Duke of *York*, *Thomas* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *William* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Richard* Lord *Scroop*, and *John* Lord *Devereux*. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Alſo in this Parliament it was granted that *Robert de Vere*, lately before created Duke of *Ireland*, ſhould have and receive to his own uſe 30000. Marks which the *French* men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord *Charles de Bloys*; but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next *Eaſter* he ſhould paſs over into *Ireland*, to recover ſuch Lands as the King had there given him: ſo deſirous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings preſence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the preſent, yet as ſoon as the Parliment was diſſolved, he diſſolved alſo all that had been done, either againſt the Lord Chancellour, or againſt he Duke of *Ireland*, or againſt *Alexander Nevil*, Archbiſhop of *York*; and received them into more favour then ever he had done before.

As ſoon as the Parliament was diſſolved, all they had done was preſently again undone.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of *March*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, appointed Admiral, and *Thomas Mowbray*, Earl of *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Biſhop of *Norwich*, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleet of *Flanders*, that was ready to come from *Rochel* with Wines; and meeting with them, they ſet upon them, and took of them to the number of a hundred Veſſels, all fraught with Wines: ſo as Wine grew ſo plentiful, that it was ſold for thirteen ſhillings four pence the Tun; and the beſt and choiceſt for twenty ſhillings. Beſides this, they landed in *Flanders*, where they relieved and fortified *Breſt*, and demoliſhed two Forts which the Enemy had built againſt it. But this happy ſervice of the Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Simon Burley*, and Sir *Richard Sturrey*, who continued ſtill about the King, ſeemed rather to envy then to commend; inſomuch that when the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had ever been the play-fellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, becauſe not by the Duke of *Ireland* with any good welcome.

The *Engliſh* Admiral takes 100. Ships all laden with *Rochel* Wines.

1387. About this time the Duke of *Ireland* ſought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady *Iſabel*, one of King *Edward* the third's Daughters; and took to Wife one *Lancerona*, a Vintners Daughter of *Bohemia*, one of the Queens Maids: at which indignity, the Duke of *Gloceſter*, that was Unkle to the Lady thus forſaken, took great diſpleaſure; which the Duke of *Ireland* underſtanding, ſtudied how by ſome means he might diſpatch the Duke of *Gloceſter* out of the way. *Eaſter* was now paſt, the time appointed for the Duke of *Ireland*'s going over into *Ireland*; when the King with a ſhew to bring him to the waters ſide, went with him into *Wales*: and in his company *Michael de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, *Robert Treſilian*, Lord Chief Juſtice, and divers others; who there conſulted how they might diſpatch the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Derby*, *Notingham*, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in thoſe parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of *Ireland* with him; and ſo his Voyage into *Ireland* was clean forgotten. About the ſame time *Robert Treſilian*, Chief Juſtice, came to *Coventry*, where he indicted two thouſand perſons. The King and the Queen came to *Groby*; and thither came by his Commandement, the Juſtices of the Realm, *Robert Belknap* Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas*, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorpe*, and *William Borough*, Knights: to whom it was propounded, to anſwer to theſe Queſtions following:

The Duke of *Ireland* puts away his lawful Wife, near a kin to the Duke of *Gloceſter*: and marries a *Bohemian* Maid. Which the Duke of *Gloceſter* offended at, it is plotted to diſpatch him out of the way.

Queſtions propounded by the King, to the Judges, againſt the Lords: who all anſwer as the King would have them.

First, Whether the new Statute and Commiſſion made in the laſt Parliament, were againſt the Kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all anſwered, It was.

Secondly, How they ought to be puniſhed, that procured the ſaid Statute and Commiſſion to be made? They anſwered with one aſſent, that they deſerved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be puniſhed who moved the King to conſent to the making of the ſaid Statute and Commiſſion? They anſwered they ought to loſe their lives, unleſs the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be puniſhed, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They anſwered, they ought to ſuffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cauſe the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him limited, before they proceed to any other? They anſwered, That in this the King ſhould overrule; and if any preſumed to do contrary, he was to be puniſhed as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleaſure diſſolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all anſwered, He might.

Seventhly, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Juſtices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no? It was anſwered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to ſuffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be puniſhed, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein *Edward* the Second was Indicted in Parliament, might be ſent for; by Inſpection of which Statute, the preſent Statute was deviſed? It was anſwered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the Houſe, were to be puniſhed as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgement given in Parliament againſt *Michael de la Pool* were erroneous and revocable? They anſwered, It was erroneous and revocable: and that if the

Judge-

Judgement were now to be given, the Juſtices would not give the ſame.

In witneſs of the Premiſes, the Juſtices aforeſaid, to theſe Preſents have ſet their Seals; in the preſence of *Alexander* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *John* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Thomas* Biſhop of *Cheſter*, *John* Biſhop of *Bangor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Ripon* Clerk, and *John Blake*.

At this time the *Londoners* incurred much obloquy; For, having before been pardoned by the King of ſome crimes laid to their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his deſires: and thereupon being impanelled, they indicted ſome Lords of many crimes informed againſt them. But not only the Juſtices aforeſaid, but all other Juſtices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to *Nottingham*; the chief cauſe was, to underſtand what power of men they could aſſure the King of, to ſerve him againſt the Lords: and further, that whereas he meant ſhortly to call a Parliament, they ſhould ſo uſe the matter, that no Knight or Burgeſs ſhould be choſen, but ſuch as the King and his Council ſhould name. To which the Sheriffs made anſwer, that it lay not in their power to aſſemble any forces againſt the Lords, who were ſo well beloved: And as for chooſing Knights and Burgeſſes, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their antient liberties, and could not be hindered. But yet the King and the Duke of *Ireland* ſent into all parts of the Realm, to raiſe men in this quarrel againſt the Lords; whereof the Duke of *Gloceſter* being advertiſed, he came ſecretly to conference with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*: who upon conſultation determined to talk with the King, with their Forces about them, and the King on the other part, took advice how he might apprehend them apart; and thereupon ſent the Earl of *Northumberland*, and others, to the Caſtle of *Rygate*, to take the Earl of *Arundel*, who lay there at that time: but howſoever it fortuned, they failed of their purpoſe. After this he ſent others to apprehend him: but he being warned by a Meſſenger from the Duke of *Gloceſter*, conveyed himſelf away by night; and by morning was come to *Haringey* Park, where he found the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earl of *Warwick* with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Aſſembly at *Haringey* Park, called his Councel, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of opinion, that the King ſhould aſſemble his friends, and joyning them with the *Londoners*, give them Battel; the chiefeſt of this minde was the Archbiſhop of *York*. Others thought beſt, the King ſhould ſeek to appeaſe the Lords with fair promiſes, till a fitter opportunity to ſuppreſs them. But the King not yet reſolved what courſe to take, cauſed only order to be taken that no Citizen of *London* ſhould ſell to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of War, under a great pain. But for all this the Lords proceeded in their courſe and ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *John Lovel*, the Lord *Cobham*, and the Lord *John Devereux*, requiring to have delivered to them ſuch as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm: and further to declare, that their aſſembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ireland*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, and two or three other about the King, perſwaded him to offer *Callice* to the King of *France*, to have his aſſiſtance againſt the Lords. Withal, the King ſent to the Mayor of *London*, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Mayor anſwered, that he thought it could make fifty thouſand men at an hours warning. Well then (ſaid the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Mayor went about it, he was anſwered, They would never fight againſt the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the ſame time the Earl of *Northumberland* ſaid to the King: Sir, there is no doubt but theſe Lords have alwayes been, and ſtill are your true and faithful Subjects, though now diſtemper'd by certain perſons about you, that ſeek to oppreſs them; therefore my advice is, that you ſend to them, to come before your preſence in ſome publick place: and I verily believe they will ſhew ſuch reaſons of their doings, that you will hold them excuſed. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* Lord Chancellour, and other of the Biſhops there preſent, approved all of the Earls advice; whereupon the King ſent the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Ely* to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to *Weſtminſter*, on Sunday then next following: which upon oath given by the Archbiſhop and the Chancellour, that no fraud nor evil practice ſhould be uſed againſt them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, they heard of an Ambuſh laid to entrap them at the *Mews*; and thereupon ſtayed, ſo as they came not at the time appointed: Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their promiſe? It was anſwered, Becauſe he kept not his promiſe: there being an Ambuſh of a thouſand armed men laid to ſurprize them at the *Mews*. The King hearing this, was aſtonied, and ſwore he knew of no ſuch thing, and commanded preſently the place ſhould be ſearched: but it was true, an Ambuſh was laid; but not at the *Mews*, but in a place about *Weſtminſter*, where Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and Sir *Nicholas Brember* had aſſembled them. This one action might have made the King ſenſible of his favourites abuſing his Authority; but that where affection makes the conſtruction, all things are taken in a good ſenſe. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant Dormant, to proſecute the Kings ends without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a ſafe conduct from the King, came to *Weſtminſter*; of whoſe coming when the King heard, he apparelled himſelf in his Royal Robes, and with his Scepter in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom, the Lords upon their knees preſented themſelves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord

No man to be gotten to fight againſt the Lords.

The King would have no Burgeſſes choſen to the Parliament, but ſuch as he ſhould name, but this could not be.

The King ſeeks to apprehend the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and others.

The Lords require to have ſome about the King delivered to them.

What power the City could make upon a ſudden.

The King requires the Lords to come unto him; but they hearing of an Ambuſh laid for them, forbore.

But upon ſafe conduct from the King they came, and the King receiveth them in ſhow kindely.

Lord Chancellour making a ſpeech; wherein he blamed them for raiſing of Arms, and requiring to know the cauſe; they anſwered, They had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himſelf ſpake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by ſtrong hand. Have not I (ſaith he) ſufficient men to beat you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you then of the baſeſt skullion in my Kitchin. Yet after theſe great words he lift up the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the reſt alſo to riſe; and then led them curteouſly to his Chamber, where they ſate and drank together. And finally it was concluded they ſhould all meet again, as well theſe Lords, as thoſe they accuſed at the next Parliament; which the King promiſed to call ſpeedily, and each party to receive there according to Juſtice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the Kings protection. But when the Favourite-Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durſt nor would put themſelves to the hazard of ſuch a meeting; and therefore the Duke of *Ireland*, and the reſt of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their abſence, appointed *Thomas Molineux* Conſtable of the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, to raiſe an Army, and to ſafe-conduct the Duke of *Ireland* to him. But they being come as far as *Radcoat*-Bridge, were encountred by the Earl of *Derby*; and the Duke of *Ireland* not daring to joyn Battel with him, fled, and being to paſs a River, caſt away his Gantlets and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horſe the ſpur, leapt into the River, and ſo eſcaped: but when theſe things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into *Holland*; where being no very welcome gueſt, he went from thence into the Biſhoprick of *Utrecht*, and after two or three years ſcambling about in manner of a fugitive, at *Lovain* in *Brabant* he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not grown proud, and in that pride, injurious and inſulting over others no leſs deſerving then himſelf. He was valiant enough againſt any man but the Earl of *Derby*, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of *Ireland*, and of King *Richard* himſelf ſeemed to ſtand in fear; for neither of them durſt meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by thoſe about them.

1388. It is concluded that at the next Parliament all parties ſhould be heard.

The Duke of *Ireland* flies into *Holland*, and after two or three years died at *Lovain*.

The Earl of *Derby* a terror both to the Duke of *Ireland*, and to the King himſelf.

About this time the Duke of *Suffolk* doubting ſome plots laid to ſurprize him, fled over to *Callice* in diſguiſe, ſhaving his beard, and counterfeiting himſelf a Poulterer, to ſell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to *Callice*, was by the Lord *William Beauchamp*, Deputy of the Town, ſent back into *England*: whom the King notwithſtanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid then hurt, more ſuſpicious then he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten matter enough againſt the King, at leaſt to juſtifie their Arms; and thereupon with an Army of forty thouſand men, they came to *London*, where after ſome debate, they were received: and then the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Derby* and *Notingham*, went to the King in the *Tower*. To whom, after humble ſalutations, they ſhewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of *Ireland*, to levy an Army for their deſtruction: likewiſe the Letters which the *French* King had written to him, containing a ſafe conduct for him to come into *France*, there to do acts to his own diſhonour and the Kingdoms.

The Lords with an Army of forty thouſand, came to the King at *London*, and ſhew their grievance.

This done, upon the Kings promiſe that he would come the next day to *Weſtminſter* to treat further of theſe matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of *Notingham* and *Derby*, at the Kings inſtance, ſtayed all night: but before the King went to bed, his mind was clean altered for keeping his promiſe to meet the Lords the next day at *Weſtminſter*: which the Lords underſtanding, they ſent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promiſe, they would chooſe another King, that ſhould hearken to the faithful counſel of his Lords. This touched the King ſo to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that thoſe Traitors ſo often ſpoken of, ſhould be removed from the Court. To which the King, though much againſt his will, yet at laſt condeſcended; And thereupon preſently *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Thomas Ruſhoke*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and Confeſſor to the King, were expelled the Court: who not willing to come to after-reckonings fled no man knew whether. They expelled alſo *John Fordham*, Biſhop of *Durham*, Lord Treaſurer; the Lord *Zouch* of *Haringworth*, the Lord *Burvel*, the Lord *Beaumont*, *Albery de Vere*, *Baldwin de Bereford*, *Richard Adderbury*, *John Worth*, *Thomas Clifford*, and *John Lovel*, Knights: but conſtrained to put in ſureties to appear at the next Parliament. Alſo certain Ladies were expelled the Court; as the Lady *Poynings*, the Lady *Mouling*, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were alſo arreſted and committed to ſeveral Priſons, Sir *Simon Burley*, *William Elmham*, *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Kings Houſe, Sir *John Salisbury*, Sir *Thomas Trivet*, Sir *James Berneys*, Sir *Nicholas Dagworth*, and Sir *Nicholas Bremlar*, Knights. Alſo *Richard Clifford*, *John Lincoln*, *Richard Mitford*, the Kings Chaplains: *Nicholas Sclake*, Dean of the Kings Chappel, and *John Blake* a Lawyer.

They threaten to chooſe a new King.

Hereupon the King removes or puts in priſon all thoſe whom the Lords required.

Shortly after the Parliament began, (called afterward, The Parliament that wrought wonders.) On the firſt day whereof, were arreſted as they ſate in their places, all the Juſtices (but only Sir *William Shipwith*:) as Sir *Roger Fulthorpe*, Sir *Robert Belknappe*, Sir *John Cary*, Sir *John Holt*, Sir *William Brook*, and *John Alacton*, the Kings Serjeant at Law; and were all ſent to the *Tower* for doing contrary to an Agreement made the laſt Parliament. Alſo in the beginning of this Parliament, *Robert Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevil* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Robert Treſilian* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, were openly called to anſwer *Thomas* of *Woodſtock* Duke of *Gloceſter*, *Richard* Earl of *Arundel*, *Henry* Earl of *Derby*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Notingham*, upon certain Articles of High Treaſon: and becauſe none of them appeared, it was ordained by whole conſent

The Parliament that wrought Wonders.

Where all the Judges but one are arreſted and ſent to the Tower.

of Parliament, that they ſhould be baniſhed for ever, and all their Lands and Goods ſeized into the Kings hands (their intailed Lands only excepted.) Shortly after the Lord Chief Juſtice *Robert Treſilian*, was found in an Apothecaries houſe in *Weſtminſter*: where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, who cauſed him the ſame day to be had to the *Tower*, and from thence drawn to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. On the morrow after Sir *Nicholas Brembar* was brought to his anſwer; who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Axe which himſelf had cauſed to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir *John Salisbury*, and Sir *James Berneys*, luſty young men, were drawn and hanged; as alſo Sir *John Beauchamp*, Lord Steward of the Kings Houſe, *John Blake*, Eſquire: and laſtly, Sir *Simon Burley*, Son to the great Sir *John Burley*, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*; whoſe death the King took more heavily and more hainouſly then all the reſt. Alſo all the Juſtices were condemned to dye, but by the Queens interceſſion they were only baniſhed the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiſcate, only a ſmall portion of money was aſſigned them for their ſuſtentation. Finally in this Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the King, that he ſhould ſtand unto, and abide ſuch rule and order as the Lords ſhould take: and this Oath was required alſo of all the Inhabitants of the Realm.

Robert Treſilian Chief Juſtice, hanged at *Tyburn*, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

Divers others executed.

All the Judges baniſhed the Realm.

The King bound by Oath to ſtand to ſuch order as the Lords ſhould take.

In the latter end of the Kings eleventh year, the Earl of *Arundel* was ſent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War: with whom went the Earls of *Notingham* and *Devonſhire*, Sir *Thomas Piercy*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Camois*, Sir *William Elmham*, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of *Britain* againſt the King of *France*: but before they came, the Duke of *Britain* was reconciled to the King of *France*; and ſo needing not their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unleſs we reckon ſome petty Inroads of the *Scots*: and that Sir *Thomas Tryvet* died with a fall off his horſe: and that Sir *John Holland*, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of *Huntington*: and that there was contention in *Oxford*, between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of *Gloceſter*.

1389.

In his twelfth year, Commiſſioners were appointed to meet at *Balingham*, betwixt *Callice* and *Boloigne*, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*: and after long debating, a Truce was at laſt concluded, to begin at Midſummer next, and to laſt three years. But now the King to ſhew his plenary Authority of being at full age, removed the Archbiſhop of *York* from being Lord Chancellour, and put in his place *William Wickham* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*: alſo he removed the Biſhop of *Hereford* from being Treaſurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of *Arundel* likewiſe unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committed and the Admiralty of the Sea, was removed, and the Earl of *Huntington* put in his room.

A Truce for three years between *England*, *France*, and *Scotland*.

William Wickham Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made Lord Chancellour.

About this time the Lord *John Haſtings*, Earl of *Pembroke*, as he was practicing to learn to Juſt, was ſtricken about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir *John St. John*; of which hurt he ſoon after died. In whoſe family, It is memorable, that for many generations together, no Son ever ſaw his Father, (the Father being alwayes dead before the Son was born.) The Original of this Family was from *Haſtings* the *Dane*, who in the Reign of King *Alured*, long before the Conqueſt, about the year 890. came with *Rollo* into *England*. But howſoever, in this *John Haſtings* ended the then honourable Titles of the *Haſtings*; for this man dying without iſſue, his Inheritances were diſperſed to divers perſons: The honour of *Pembroke* came to *Francis at Court*, by the Kings gift: the Baronies of *Haſtings* and *Welford* came to *Reynold Gray* of *Ruthin*: the Barony of *Abergavenny* was granted to *William Beauchamp* of *Bedford*.

A ſtrange accident in the family of the *Haſtings*, Earls of *Pembroke*, and the original of their Family.

About this time *John* Duke of *Lancaſter* was created Duke of *Aquitain*, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as inveſtitures of that Dutchy. Alſo the Duke of *York*'s Son and Heir was created Earl of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year a Royal Juſts was proclaimed to be holden within *Smithfield* in *London*, to begin on Sunday next after the Feaſt of St. *Michael*: which being publiſhed, not only in *England*, but in *Scotland*, in *Almain*, in *Flanders*, in *Brabant*, and in *France*, many ſtrangers came hither; amongſt others *Valeran* Earl of S. *Poll*, that had married King *Richard*'s Siſter; and *William* the young Earl of *Oſtervant*, Son to *Albert de Baviere* Earl of *Holland* and *Heinault*. At the day appointed there iſſued forth of the *Tower*, about three a clock in the afternoon, ſixty Courſers apparelled for the Juſts; and upon every one an Eſquire of honour, riding a ſoft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour, (*Froiſſard* ſaith threeſcore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady led a Knight with a Chain of Gold. Theſe Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and Apparel garniſhed with white Harts, and Crowns of Gold about their necks; and ſo they came riding through the ſtreets of *London* unto *Smithfield*. The Juſt laſted divers dayes; *Fabian* ſaith, four and twenty: All which time the King and Queen lay at the Biſhops Palace by *Pauls* Church, and kept open houſe for all comers.

1390.

A royal Juſts held in *Smithfield*, and the ſolemnity of it.

In his fifteenth year the Duke of *Lancaſter* went into *France*, having in his train a thouſand horſe; and met the King of *France* at *Amiens*, to treat of a peace between the two Kingdoms: but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

1392.

About this time the King required the *Londoners* to lend him a thouſand pounds: which they refuſed to do; and not only ſo, but they abuſed an *Italian* Merchant, for offering to lend it. This moved the King to ſome indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, againſt the Servants of the Biſhop of *Salisbury* Lord Treaſurer; for that where one of the Biſhops Servants, named *Walter Roman*, had taken a horſe-loaf out of a Bakers Basket as he paſſed in the ſtreets, and ran with it into his Lords houſe; the Citizens thereupon aſſaulted the houſe, and would not be quieted, till the Mayor and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeaſed them. Upon complaint hereof

The King diſpleaſed with the City of *London*, and why: and how pacified.

The liberties of the City are seized, and a Warden is appointed to govern it.

hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of *York* Lord Chancellour, the Mayor and Aldermen, and divers other substantial Citizens are arrested; the Mayor is committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, and the other to other Castles; the liberties of the City are seized into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Mayor utterly ceased, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first Sir *Edmund Derligrug*, and afterward Sir *Baldwin Radington*: till at length, by the special suit of the Duke of *Gloucester*, the King was contented to come to *London*, to so great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich gifts; yet all gave not satisfaction, to have their liberties restored, till they afterwards paid ten thousand pounds. This it is to provoke a Lion. It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard geting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

1393. In his sixteenth year, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* were once again sent into *France*, to treat of a peace: but when they could not agree with the *French* Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of *France* fell newly again into his old fit of Frensie, which called away the *French* Commissioners from further Treaty.

1395. All *Irish* men commanded to avoid the Realm, and why. In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was set forth, That all *Irish* men should avoid this Realm, and return home. The occasion was, because so many *Irish* were come over, that *Ireland* in a manner was left unpeopled: insomuch, that where King *Edward* the third had received from thence yearly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, the King now laid forth as much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at *Michaelmas* King *Richard* went himself into *Ireland*, attended with the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *March*, *Nottingham*, and *Rutland*, the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Lord Steward, and divers others of the *English* Nobility; to whom came in the great *Oneal* King of *Meth*, *Bryan* of *Thomond* King of *Thomond*, *Arthur Macmur* King of *Leymster*, and *Conhur* King of *Chevency* and *Darpe*: and these King *Richard* stayed all that Winter, and after *Christmas* called a Parliament. At which time also the Duke of *York*, Lord Warden of *England*, in the Kings name called a Parliament at *Westminster*; to the which was sent forth of *Ireland* the Duke of *Gloucester*, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occasions for supply of money: whose words so far prevailed, that a whole tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laity.

King *Richard* goes into *Ireland*.

1397. A famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, and the manner of it. In his twentieth year was a famous Enterview between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: where was set up for King *Richard* a rich Pavilion, a little beyond *Guysnes*, within the *English* pale; and another the like for the *French* King, on this side *Arge*. The Distance betwixt the two Tents was beset on either side with Knights armed with their swords in their hands, four hundred *English* on one side, and four hundred *French* on the other. The two Kings before their meeting took a solemn oath for assurance of their faithful and true meaning, to observe the sacred laws of amity one toward another, in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same place where they met, there should be builded at both their costs a Chappel for a perpetual memory, which should be called, the Chappel of our Lady of Peace. On *Simon* and *Jude's* day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the *French* King brought his Daughter *Isabel*, and delivered her to King *Richard*, who shortly after at *Callice* married her; and upon the 17 of *January* following, she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. A match of great honour, but of little conveniency, and less profit; for the Lady being but eight years of age, there could be no hope of Issue for a long time, which was King *Richard's* greatest want; and as little supply of his wants otherwise, her Portion perhaps scarce paying the charges of his journey to fetch her, which cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

King *Richard* marries *Isabel* the King of *France's* daughter, being but eight years of age.

The Duke of *Lancaster*, in the thirteenth year of King *Richard's* reign, had been created Duke of *Aquitain*; but when the *Gascoigners* would not receive him, shewing reasons why that Dukedome ought not to be separated from the Crown of *England*, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Demesn of the Crown.

The Duke of *Lancaster's* issue by *Katharine Swinford*, legitimated by Parliament. At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of *Lancaster* caused to be legitimated, the Issue he had by *Katherine Swinford*, before he married her; of whom *Thomas Beaufort* was created Earl of *Somerset*.

This year also, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of *Britain*, upon *Brest*, delivered up the Town unto him; and thereupon, the *English* souldiers that were there in Garrison, were all discharged and sent home: who, at a Feast which the King kept at *Westminster*, coming in companies together into the Hall; as soon as the King had dined, and was entring into his Chamber, the Duke of *Gloucester* asked him, if he did mark those men that stood in such troops in the Hall: yes marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Souldiers, who by your rending up of *Brest* have been sent home, and now must either starve or steal; and therewithall, very unadvisedly in words, taxed the King with unadvisedness of his deed. To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Unkle, do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to sell my land? By S. *John Baptist*, No: But could I refuse to render the Town, when tender was made upon the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of *Gloucester's* either weakness if he knew not that *Brest* was but only a morgage; or injustice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were tendred, to have kept it still: but such is the course of many, to take part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly

The Duke of *Gloucester* with unadvised words, moves the King to anger.

ought to be their chiefeſt end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King ſuch a diſpleaſure againſt the Duke, that it could never afterwards be quenched, but by his bloud. And firſt he complained to his other two Unkles, the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, of his undutiful behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother perhaps might let fall ſome unadviſed words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might preſs upon them to anſwer for their brothers faithfulneſs, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incenſe the King farther againſt him.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* and other Lords conſpire to ſeize upon King *Richard*, but are diſcovered.

It happened that the Duke of *Gloceſter* had with him one day at his houſe, the Abbot of S. *Albans* that was his Godfather, and the Prior of *Weſtminſter*; and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongſt other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Viſion the night before? To which the Prior was loth at firſt to make a direct Anſwer; but at laſt, being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confeſſed that he had a Viſion indeed, which was, that the Realm of *England* ſhould be deſtroyed through the miſgovernance of King *Richard*. By the Virgin *Mary* (ſaid the Abbot) I had the very ſame Viſion. Whereupon the Duke preſently diſcloſed to them all the ſecrets of his minde; and by their devices contrived an Aſſembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at *Arundel* Caſtle that day fortnight: at which time he appointed to be there himſelf, with the Earls of *Derby*, *Arundel*, *Marſhall*, and *Warwick*; alſo the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of St. *Albans*, the Prior of *Weſtminſter*, with divers others. And accordingly all theſe met at *Arundel Caſtle*, at the day appointed; where receiving firſt the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to be aſſiſtant each to other, in all ſuch matters as they ſhould determine, They reſolved to ſeiſe upon King *Richard*, and upon the Dukes of *Lancaſter* and *York*, and commit them to Priſon: and all the other Lords of the Kings Council, they determined ſhould be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marſhal, that was Deputy of *Callice*, and had married the Earl of *Arundel's* daughter, diſcovered all their counſel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot deviſed by his Council, took his Brother the Earl of *Huntington* with him: and riſing from ſupper, rode that night to the Duke of *Gloceſter's* houſe at *Plaſhey* in *Eſſex*. When the King came thither, the Duke was a-bed; but informed of it, caſt his Cloak about his ſhoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteouſly requeſted him to go and make himſelf ready, for that he muſt needs ride with him a little way, to confer of ſome buſineſs. The Duke preſently made him ready and came down; and as ſoon as the King and his company was gone a little way from the houſe, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marſhal arreſted the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was ſent to *Callice*: where after ſome time he was diſpatched of his life, either ſtrangled, or elſe ſmothered with Pillows, as ſome write. At the very ſame time was the Earl of *Arundel* apprehended by the Earls of *Rutland* and *Kent*: the Earl of *Warwick* alſo, when the King had invited him to dinner, and ſhewed him very good countenance, was taken and arreſted in the place: as likewiſe at the ſame time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord *John Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheyny*. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at *Nottingham*, ſuborning ſuch as ſhould appeal them in Parliament; namely *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, *Thomas Holland* Earl of *Kent*, *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Spencer*, and the Lord *William Scroope* Lord Chamberlain: and in the mean time, the King ſent for a power of *Cheſhire* men, to keep Watch and Ward about his Perſon.

Divers other Lords committed to the Tower.

The King by a wile, ſeizeth upon the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and ſends him preſently to *Calice*, where ſoon after he loſt his life.

On the 17. of *September*, a Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as alſo of the hard dealing which they had uſed towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of *Arundel*, for one of her Eſquires, named *John Calverley*, who nevertheleſs had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders: and all the anſwer ſhe could get, was this, Madam, pray for your ſelf and your Husband, and let this ſuit alone. Thoſe that ſet forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were *John Buſhie*, *William Bagot*, and *Thomas Green*. The cauſe of aſſembling the Parliament was ſhewed, That the King had called it for reformation of divers tranſgreſſions againſt the peace of this Land, by the Duke of *Gloceſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and others. Then Sir *John Buſkie*, Speaker of the Parliament, made requeſt on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be puniſhed according to their deſervings: and ſpecially the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who then ſat next the King, whom he accuſed of high Treaſon. When the Archbiſhop began to anſwer, Sir *John Buſkie* beſought the King, That he might not be admitted to anſwer, leſt by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir *John Buſkie* in all his talk did not attribute to the King titles of honour due and accuſtomed, but ſuch as were fitter for the Majeſty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Archbiſhop was conſtrained to keep ſilence, Sir *John Buſhie* proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, ſhould be revoked. The King for his part proteſted that they were drawn from him by compulſion; and therefore beſought them to deliver their opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon, the Biſhops firſt gave their ſentence, that the ſaid Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a ſcrupuloſity, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences be preſent, where judgment of blood ſhould paſs, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The Temporal Lords likewiſe gave their ſentence, That the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers

Sir *John Buſhie* Speaker of the Parliament, attributes divine titles to the King.

The Lords ſpiritual and Temporal, give their opinions one way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* is banished.

Lawyers were not of this opinion. But howsoever the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is thereupon condemned to perpetual Exile, and appointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks.

The Earl of *Arundel* is beheaded.

Also the Earl of *Arundel* is by the Duke of *Lancaster*, who sate that day as High Steward, condemned of Treason, and on the *Tower-hill* beheaded. There went to see the execution, divers Lords, amongst whom was the Earl of *Nottingham*, that had married his Daughter; and the Earl of *Kent*, that was his Daughters Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he said, Truly it would have beseemed you rather to be absent, then here at this business; but the time will come ere long, that as many shall marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at mine.

A miracle reported of him after his death, but found a fable.

After his death, a fame went, that his head was grown to his body again: whereupon, the tenth day after his burial, his body by the Kings appointment was taken up, and then found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord *Thomas Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick* was brought forth, and charged with the like Treasons; but by the intercession of the Duke of *Lancaster* and other Lords, after confession of his fault, was only confin'd into the Isle of *Man*. Likewise the Lord *Cobham*, and Sir *John Cheney* were only banished; or (as *Fabian* saith) condemned to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this was held at *Shrewsbury*; where, for the love the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons of the Shire of *Chester*, he caused it to be Ordained, that from thenceforth it should be called and known by the name of the Principality of *Chester*: and herewith intituled himself Prince of *Chester*.

Chester made a Principality.

At this Parliament also, called the Great Parliament, he created five Dukes, and a Dutchess; one Marquess, and four Earls.

Dukes and Earls created.

The Earl of *Derby* was created Duke of *Hereford*; the Earl of *Nottingham*, Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Rutland* Duke of *Albemarle*; the Earl of *Kent*, Duke of *Surrey*; the Earl of *Huntington*, Duke of *Exceter*; and the Lady *Margaret Marshall* Countess of *Norfolk*, was created Dutchess of *Norfolk*; the Earl of *Somerset* was created Marquess of *Dorset*; the Lord *Spencer* was made Earl of *Gloucester*; the Lord *Nevil*, Earl of *Westmerland*; the Lord *Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltshire*: and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Lord Steward of the Kings house, was made Earl of *Worcester*; and for the better maintenance of their estate, he divided amongst them a great part of those lands that belonged to the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*.

What Articles are first to be handled in Parliament.

Also in this Parliament, the Judges gave their opinions, That when Articles are propounded by the King to be handled in Parliament, if other Articles be handled before those be first determined, that it is Treason in them that do it.

The whole authority of Parliament conferred upon certain persons.

And in this Parliament, the King brought it so about, that he obtained the whole power of the Parliament to be conferred upon certain persons, namely, *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* Duke of *York*; *Edmund* Duke of *Aumerle*, *Thomas* Duke of *Surrey*, *John* Duke of *Exeter*, *John* Marquess of *Dorset*, *Roger* Earl of *March*, *John* Earl of *Salisbury*, and divers others, or to any seven or eight of them; and these, by vertue of this Grant, proceeded to conclude upon many things, which concerned generally the things of the whole Parliament, to the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous example in time to come.

A general pardon, but only to fifty, and why.

A general Pardon was also granted for all offences, to all the Kings subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would not express, but reserved them to his own knowledge, That when any of the Nobility offended him, he might at his pleasure name him to be one of the number excepted, and so keep them still within his danger. And for the more strengthening the Acts of his Parliament, the King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing grievous censures and curses to them that should break them. And now the Heads of the opposite Faction having lost their heads, and all things as well setled as could be desired, the King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and he had indeed been safe, if Time and Fortune were not Actors in Revenge, as well as men: or rather, if a superiour power did not enterpose, whose wayes are as secret as himself is invincible.

1398.

Thomas Mowbray Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Duke of *Hereford*, accused each other.

It now fell out, (though writers differ what it was fell out) for Some write, that *Thomas Mowbray* accused the Duke of *Hereford*; Others, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* accused *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, for speaking words sounding highly to the Kings dishonour; to which the Duke of *Norfolk*, being called to answer, charged the Duke of *Hereford* before the King, that he lyed falsly.

Whereupon a Combat is agreed upon between them, and in what manner.

Whereupon a Combat was agreed upon between them. The King laboured to make them friends, but not prevailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and the place to be at *Coventry*; where at the day and hour appointed, the Duke of *Hereford*, mounted on a white Courser, barded with green and blew Velvet, imbroidered sumptuously with Swains and Antelops of Goldsmiths work, approached the Lists. Of whom the Marshal, being the Duke of *Surrey*, demanding who he was? he answered; I am *Henry* of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Hereford*, that am come hither to do my endeavour against *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, as a Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm, and me: Then incontinently he swore upon the holy Evangelists, that his quarrel was true and just; and thereupon required to enter the Lists, where in a Chair of green Velvet he sat down and reposed himself. Then came the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Horse barded with Crimson Velvet, imbroydered richly with Lions of Silver, and Mulbery-trees; and when he had taken his Oath before the Constable the Duke of *Aumerle*, that his quarrel was just, he entered the Lists, and sate him down in his chair of Crimson Velvet, curtained about with white and red Damask. Then the Marshal viewed their Spears, to see that they were of equal length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the Kings behalf, they should mount on Horseback, and address themselves to the Combat: but when they were set forward, and had their Spears in their Rests, the King cast down his Warder, and the Heralds cryed Stay, Stay. Then the King caused their Spears to be taken from them, and deliberated with his Council, what was fit to be done in so weighty a cause. After two long hours it was at last concluded, that *Henry* Duke of *Hereford* should within fifteen

But the King interpoſeth and baniſheth the Duke of *Norfolk* for ever: the Duke of *Hereford* for ſix years.

fifteen dayes depart out of the Realm, and not return before ten years were expired, upon pain of death; And that *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk* ſhould likewiſe avoid the Realm, and never return into *England*, upon the like pain. It is obſervable, that this Cenſure was paſſed againſt the Duke of *Norfolk*, the very ſame day twelve month in which he had taken order to put the Duke of *Gloceſter* to death at *Callice*, whereof he was then Governour. When theſe Judgements were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them ſwear that the one ſhould never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of *Norfolk* went into *Almain*, and from thence went to *Venice*; where after ſome time he dyed with ſorrow. The Duke of *Hereford*, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his Baniſhment releaſed; and then went to *Callice*, and from thence to *Paris*: where, of the *French* King he was ſo kindely received, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of *Berry*, Uncle to the *French* King, if King *Richard* by Meſſengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his baniſhment, in manner of a viſitation, if he had gone into *Spain*; for there he had two ſiſters married, the one to the King of *Portugal*, the other to the King of *Spain*, to whom his coming would have been moſt welcome: but he choſe rather to make his ſtay in *France*, as the place where he might ſooneſt have intelligence out of *England*; and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his Father, the Duke of *Lancaſter*: and heard withal that King *Richard* had ſeiſed into his hands, all the Lands deſcended upon him, contrary to his promiſe.

The delinquencies of great men puniſhed only with baniſhment; and the danger of it.

It was a cuſtom in thoſe dayes, to puniſh the delinquencies of great men by baniſhment out of the Realm, a Cuſtom not more grievous to the Subject then dangerous to the Prince: for by this courſe they had means to work ſo cloſely in their mines of revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof was never more plainly ſeen then at this time, in the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Hereford*; For they in their baniſhment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King *Richard*'s Government, fell at laſt to conſult by what means he might beſt be removed, ſeeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their conſultation about it, as if Fortune her ſelf meant to do their work for them, ſollicitations came from many parts of *England*, to move the Duke of *Hereford* to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to aſſiſt him. The Duke heated before by the Archbiſhop's inſtigation, and now ſet on fire by this ſolicitation, gives Fortune no leiſure to alter her minde, by delaying the time; but without further deliberation prepares to be going: and taking with him the Archbiſhop, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Erpington*, and Sir *Thomas Ramſton*, Knights; *John Norbury*, *Robert Waterton*, and *Francis Coynt* Eſquires, and about ſome threeſcore other perſons, as many as he could readily get, in three Ships which the Duke of *Britain* lent him, he put to Sea: where hovering about the Coaſt a while, to mark the countenance of the ſhores, he landed at laſt, about the beginning of *July*, at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*. Which no ſooner was known, but there repaired to him the Lords, *Willoughby*, *Roſs*, *Darcy*, and *Beaumont*; and ſhortly after, at *Doncaſter*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and his Son Sir *Henry Piercy*, with the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, and great numbers of the Gentry and common ſort: of whom though ſome had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that, for any cauſe of his coming, but made a ſolemn proteſtation, that he came only to take poſſeſſion of the inheritances deſcended upon him from his Father, which King *Richard* moſt unjuſtly, and contrary to his promiſe, had ſeiſed into his hands: for this was a reaſon had no objection: the other he reſerved, till his power ſhould not need to regard objections. And indeed, no ſnow-ball ever gathered greatneſs ſo faſt by rolling, as his Forces increaſed by marching forward; for by that time he came to *Berkley*, he had got a mighty Army: and within three dayes after, all the Kings Caſtles in thoſe parts were ſurrendred to him. The Duke of *York* left Governour of the Kingdom, uſed his beſt means to raiſe Forces to reſiſt him; but found few willing to bear Arms againſt him: whereupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Dukes coming was but only to take poſſeſſion of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to *Berkley* to him, to have there ſome communication about it. At *Berkley* at that time was arreſted the Biſhop of *Norwich*, Sir *William Elmham*, and Sir *Walter Burleigh*, Knights; *Lawrence Drew*, and *John Golofer* Eſquires. From *Berkley* the two Dukes went forward towards *Briſtow*, where in the Caſtle were the Lord *William Scroop*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, and Treaſurer of *England*; Sir *Henry Green*, and Sir *Henry Buſhy*, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of *Lancaſter*: and the day after arraigned before the Conſtable and Marſhal, found guilty of Treaſon for miſgoverning the King and the Realm, and preſently had their heads ſmitten off. Sir *John Ruſſel* alſo was taken there; but he feigning himſelf to be out of his wits, eſcaped for that time.

1399

He lands with three ſhips at *Ravenſpurre* in *Yorkſhire*.

He pretends his coming to be only to claim the inheritance deſcended upon him from his Father.

1399

Many Lords repair to him, and all the Kings Caſtles are ſurrendred to him.

The Lord *Scroope* Treaſurer of *England*, with Sir *Henry Green* and Sir *Henry Buſhie* have their heads ſmitten off.

The Duke of *Hereford* is ſolicited to return into *England*.

All this while King *Richard* was in *Ireland*, where he performed Acts in repreſſing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongſt other of the great Lords, the Duke of *Lancaſter*'s Son *Henry*, he there for his towardlineſs in ſervice, Knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he graced the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own abſence out of *England* had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now paſſed after the Dukes arrival in *England*; in all which time King *Richard* had no notice of it, by reaſon the windes were contrary to come forth of *England*: But as ſoon as he heard it, and in what hoſtile manner he proceeded, he then determined to return inſtantly into *England*; and had done it but that the Duke of *Aumerle*

King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, had no notice in ſix weeks of the Dukes arrival in *England*.

Hearing it, he prepares preſently to return;

Hearing it he prepares presently to return; but is otherwise counselled by the Duke of *Aumerle*.

Aumerle his principal Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors; or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perswaded him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King *Richard*'s ill luck to hearken to this ill counsel: but yet he presently sent the Earl of *Salisbury* into *England*, to provide him an Army out of *Wales* and *Cheshire*, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within six dayes at the most. The Earl landed at *Conway* in *Wales*, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the six dayes passed and no news of the King; which made the Souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of *Salisburies* perswasion, they were contented to stay for some dayes longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, they then would stay no longer, but departed and went home. At length, about eighteen dayes after that the King had sent away the Earl of *Salisbury*, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of *Aumerle*, *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Carlile*; and landed at *Barklowly* in *Wales*. He had about him some *Cheshire* men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of *Scotland* unto *Bristow* were delivered to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellours had lost their heads at *Bristow*; then, *solvuntur frigore membra*, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licenced every man to be gone, and so shift for himself. The Souldiers besought him to be of good chear, swearing they would stand with him to the death: but this encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he stole from his Army, and with the Dukes of *Exeter*, and *Surrey*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Stephen Scroop*, and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of *Conway*, where he found the Earl of *Salisbury* determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better stay. Here the Earl of *Worcester* Steward of the Kings house, broke his white staffe, and without delay went to the Duke of *Lancaster*; who understanding that King *Richard* was returned out of *Ireland*, he left the Duke of *York* at *Bristow*, and came back with his power to *Berkeley*, and from thence the next day came to *Gloucester*, and then to *Rosse*, after to *Hereford*, where came to him the Bishop of *Hereford*, and Sir *Edmund Mortimer*: on the Sunday following he went to *Leymster*, and there the Lord *Carleton* came to him: from thence he went to *Ludlow*, and the next day to *Shrewsbury*, and thither came to him Sir *Robert Leigh*, and Sir *John Leigh*, and many other, being sent from *Chester*, to offer their service; thither also came to him the Lord *Scales*, and the Lord *Bardolph*, forth of *Ireland*: From *Shrewsbury* he went to *Chester* and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Son and Heir (whom King *Richard* had left in custody in *Ireland*, with all speed to come into *England*; but the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some write, died of the plague; the sorrow whereof caused, shortly after, his Mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of *Northumberland* to the King, who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament assembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of *Lancaster* of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutiful services. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some say the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with assurance of a private quiet life, and that then he would resign his Crown; and that upon the Earls Oath that this should be performed, the King agreed to go with the Earl to meet the Duke: but after four miles riding, coming to the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of *Rutland*, where they dined, and from thence to *Flint* to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *Nicholas Ferebye*, and *James d' Artois* a *Gascoine*, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognisance of his Master King *Richard*, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

He sends the Earl of *Salisbury* before, and promiseth to come himself within six dayes. The Earl provides an Army of forty thousand; but when the King came not at his time, they all disbanded and went away.

The King coming over and finding the Army disbanded, falls to despair, and secretly the next night gets him to *Conway* Castle.

The Duke of *Lancaster* offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of *Northumberland* undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is entrapped in an Ambush, and carried to *Flint* Castle.

1399.

The King being in the Castle of *Flint*, and Duke *Henry* with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Duke of *Aumerle* and the Earl of *Worcester*, went before to the King; whom the King spying from the Walls where he stood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their knees, he took them up, and taking the Archbishop aside, talked with him a good while; and as it was reported, the Archbishop willed him to be of good comfort, for he should be assured not to have any hurt as touching his person. After this the Duke of *Lancaster* came to the Castle himself, all armed; and being within the first gate he there stayed till the King, accompanied with the Bishop of *Carlile*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and Sir *Stephen Scroop*, who bore the Sword before him, came forth, and sate down in a place prepared for him. As soon as the Duke saw him, he came towards him bowing his knee; and coming forward, did so the second time, and the third, till the King took him by the hand, and lift him up, saying dear Cousin, you are welcome. The Duke humbly thanking him, said: My Sovereign Lord and King, the cause of my coming at this present is, (your Honour saved) to have restitution of my Person, my Lands, and Heritage: whereto the King answered, Dear Cousin, I am ready to accomplish your will, so that you may enjoy all that is yours without exception. After this coming forth of the Castle, the King called for Wine; and after they had drunk, they mounted on horseback, and rode to *Chester*, the next day to *Nantwich*, then to *Newcastle*, from thence to *Stafford*, and then to *Litchfield*, and there rested Sunday: after that they

The Dukes reverence to the King in coming to him.

they rode forward, and lodged firſt at *Coventry*, then at *Daintree*, then at *Northampton*, next day at *Dunſtable*, then at St. *Albans*, and ſo came to *London*. In all which journey they ſuffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride ſtill in one ſute of rayment; and that but a ſimple one, though he in his time was exceeding ſumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thouſand Marks: and in this ſort he was brought the next day to *Weſtminſter*, and from thence the next day had to the *Tower*, and committed to ſafe Cuſtody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, but in the name of King *Richard*; in which many heinous points of Miſ-government were laid to his charge, and were ingroſſed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief were theſe.

Not yet is fully carried away and committed to the Tower.

Articles delivered to the Parliament againſt King Richard.

That he had waſtefully ſpent the Treaſure of the Realm.

That without Law or Juſtice, he had cauſed the Duke of Gloceſter, *and the Earl of* Arundel *to be put to death.*

That he had borrowed great ſums of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the ſame, and yet not one peny ever paid.

That he had ſaid, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and in his breaſt: by reaſon of which fantaſtical opinion, he deſtroyed Noblemen, and impoveriſhed the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgeſſes of the Parliament at his pleaſure.

That moſt tyrannouſly he ſaid, That the lives and goods of all his Subjects were in his hands, and at his diſpoſition.

That whereas divers Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the ſtate of the Kingdom; they being buſied about the ſame Commiſſion, he went about to appeach them of high Treaſon.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, *to condeſcend to his way, for the deſtruction of divers of the Lords.*

That he cauſed his Fathers own Brother, the Duke of Gloceſter, *without Law to be attached and ſent to* Callice, *and there without reaſon, ſecretly murthered.*

That notwithſtanding the Earl of Arundel, *at his arraignment pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard, but was ſhamefully and ſuddenly put to death.*

That he aſſembled certain Lancaſhire *and* Cheſhire *men, to make War upon his Lords; and ſuffered them to rob and ſpoil, without prohibition.*

That though he had made Proclamation That the Lords were not attached for any crime of Treaſon, yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treaſon to their charge.

That notwithſtanding his Pardon granted to them, he inforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the aſſent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels add Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

He is by Parliament depoſed.

Upon theſe, and ſome other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be depoſed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being adviſed by his own ſervants, rather voluntarily to reſign the Crown, then by compulſion to be forced to it, on the Monday before the nine and twentieth day of *September*, in the year 1399. he made a ſolemn reſignation, before divers Lords and others, ſent to him for that purpoſe; and an inſtrument of his reſignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himſelf, and then ſubſcribed it: and withal, made it his ſuit, that the Duke of *Lancaſter* might be his Succeſſour, and King after him; and for a ſign of his deſire hereof, he took his ſignet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of *Lancaſter*; that never man who had uſed a Kingdom with ſuch violence, gave it over with ſuch patience, or rather ſuch willingneſs, that he ſeemed rather to affect it, then that he was any way forced to it. This Reſignation of King *Richard* being ſhewed to the Parliament, both Houſes gave their aſſent; and then Commiſſioners were appointed to pronounce openly the ſentence of his depoſing, which was done by the Biſhop of *Aſaph*, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

He voluntarily reſigns his Crown to the Duke of Lancaſter.

And now it is eaſie to be obſerved, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and againſt King *Richard*, happened together; whereof if any one had been miſſing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in ſuch manner as he was: For firſt, if it had not happened that King *Richard* had been in *Ireland* at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been poſſible for him to compaſs his deſign as he did: And then if King *Richard* being in *Ireland*, he haſt not by misfortune of weather been kept ſix weeks from hearing of the Dukes arrival, he had not given him ſo large a time for raiſing of Forces, and ſo more eaſily might have reſiſted him: Or after King *Richard* heard of the Dukes arrival, if he had followed the Earl of *Salisbury*, and not ſtayed ſo many dayes longer then he promiſed, he had found an Army ready to receive him, ſufficient at leaſt to have given a ſtop to the Dukes proceedings: Or when at laſt he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battel, as his Souldiers themſelves would have had him to do, he could not chooſe but have made a better end of his buſineſs then now he did. But when all is done, there is no warding the blows of Fortune; or to ſay better, no reſiſting the Decree of Heaven: but ſeeing that Decree is an *Abyſſus* to us, and may perhaps but be conditional, we ſhall manifeſtly be Traitors to our ſelves, if we uſe not our uttermoſt endeauours to divert it: that it may truly be ſaid, King *Richard* loſt his Crown, more by his own Treaſon, then by the Treaſon of any other.

Of his Taxations.

IN his ſecond year, in a Parliament held at *Gloceſter*, was granted to be paid by the Merchants, upon every ſack of Wool a Mark, for this preſent year; and for every poundsworth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and ſold here, ſix pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, a Subſidy was granted to be levied of the great men

A Subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

men of the Realm, to the end the Commons might be spared: The Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Britain* paid twenty Marks; every Earl six Marks; Bishops and Abbots with Miter, as much: every Monk three shillings four pence: also every Justice, Sheriff, Knight, Esquire, Parson, and Vicar, were charged after a certain rate; but no Commons of the Laity. Also this year in another Parliament, was granted a Tenth by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity; but with this condition, that from thenceforth, which was in *March*, 1380. till the Feast of St. *Michael*, which should be in the year 1381. there should be no more Parliaments: but yet was not observed. In his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Northampton*, a new kinde of Subsidy was granted; of every Priest Secular or Regular, six shillings eight pence; and as much of every Nun; and of every man or woman, married or not married, being sixteen years of age (beggers only excepted) four pence. In his fifth year a Subsidy was granted by the Merchants of certain Customs of their Wools which they bought and sold, called a Maletot, to endure for four years. In his seventh year was granted him one Moiety of a Fifteenth by the Laity; and shortly after a Moiety, of the Tenth by the Clergy. In his ninth year, half of a Tenth, and half of a Fifteenth by the Laity. In his eleventh year, there was granted him a Tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity. In his twelfth year at a Parliament was granted of every sack of Wool, forty shillings; whereof, ten shillings to be applied presently to the Kings use; the other thirty to remain in the hands of Treasurers, towards the charges of Wars, if any should happen. Also there was a Subsidy granted, of six pence in the pound; whereof, four pence to the use last mentioned; the other two pence to be at the Kings pleasure. In his fifteenth year, at a Parliament, was granted a tenth of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity, towards the charges of *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, sent into *France*. In his eighteenth year a Tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a Fifteenth by the Laity, towards his own journey into *Ireland*. In his twentieth year the Clergy granted him a Tenth, to be paid that year. In his one and twentieth year, upon pretence of having aided the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick* against him, he caused blank Charters to be made, which he compelled both Citizens and Gentlemen in the Countrey to seal, whereby he might charge them afterward to pay whatsoever he required. In his two and twentieth year a Fifteenth and a half was granted; and for the Customs of Wools, fifty shillings upon every sack, of *English* men born, and three pounds of strangers.

A Maletot what it was

Blank Charters commanded to be sealed by Gentlemen, that he might charge them afterward at his pleasure.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN his second year, in a Parliament at *Glocester*, it was enacted, That Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Gross, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, it was ordained, that the Priviledges and Immunities of the Abbey of *Westminster* should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that took Sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Mayor of *London*, upon suggestion that the Fishmongers used great deceit in uttering of their Fish, obtained to have it Enacted, That from thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that sold any provision of Victuals should be admitted Mayor of the City: but in the Parliament next following were restored to their liberty again, saving that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Mayors Court. In his eleventh year, King *Richard* created *John Beauchamp* of *Holt*, Baron of *Kederminster*, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: for before this time, Barons were alwayes made by calling them to Parliaments by the Kings Writ. Till this time women used to ride astride as men do.

Barons first made by Letters Patents.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the second year of this Kings Reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope *Urban*, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticks, that had elected another Pope, whom they named *Clement*: which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through perswasion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Urban*'s request was granted, and *Clement* rejected. In his fourth year, *John Wickliffe* set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such sort as the Church of *Rome* did then teach. In his sixth year, *Henry Spencer*, Bishop of *Norwich* received Bulls from Pope *Urban*, to grant all priviledges of the *Crusado* to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope *Clement*; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition agreed, that it should go forward: and thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir *Hugh Calverley*, Sir *William Farington*, the Lord *Henry Beaumont*, Sir *William Elmham*, Sir *Thomas Tryvet*, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 20000. Franks, and the Army to 3000. Horse, and 15000. Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into *Flanders*, won the Towns of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Newport*: but at last encountred by a mighty Army of the *French*, he was put to the worst, and returned into *England*. In the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also in this year *Thomas* the late Earl of *Lancaster*, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was Canonized for a Saint. At this time also the *Wickleviists* marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of *Norwich*. In his thirteenth year Proclamation

Divers Lords and others undertake the Cross.

Thomas late Earl of *Lancaster*, Canonized for a Saint.

was made, that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of *Rome*, ſhould return into *England* by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices: and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewiſe. Alſo about this time a Statute was made, that no Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould poſſeſs Manours, Houſes, Lands, Revenues, or Rents whatſoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the Kings Licence and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the *Wickleviſts* were perſecuted, and Excommunication pronounced againſt them by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. In this Schiſm of the two Popes, the *French* Clergy wrote in behalf of *Clement* their Pope, and ſent it into *England*: The Clergy of *England* on the contrary wrote in behalf of Pope *Urban*, and ſo nothing was agreed.

The *Wickleviſts* perſecuted.

Works of Piety in his time.

IN the twentieth year of this Kings Reign, *William Bateman* B ſhop of *Norwich* builded *Trinity* Hall in *Cambridge*. In the third year of his Reign, *John Philpot*, Mayor of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them ſeven pence the week for ever; and as any of thoſe thirteen perſons dieth, the Mayor appointeth one to ſucceed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, King *Richard* cauſed the great Hall at *Weſtminſter* to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, *Simon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſlain by the Rebels upon *Tower-Hill*, built the Weſt-gate of *Canterbury*, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. *Thomas Fitz-Alan*, or *Arundel*, being Biſhop of *Ely*, built the great Gate-houſe of *Ely* Houſe in *Holborn*; and being after Biſhop of *Canterbury*, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the Weſt end of his Church there, called to this day, *Arundel* Steeple, and beſtowed a tunable ring of five Bells upon the ſame.

Trinity-Hall in *Cambridge* by whom founded.

Arundel Steeple in *Canterbury* by whom built.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, ſo great a mortality afflicted the North parts of *England*, that the Countrey became almoſt deſolate. In his ſixth year; on the 24th. day of *May*, there happened ſo great an Earth-quake, or (as ſome write) a Water-ſhake, that it made Ships in the Havens to beat one againſt the other. In *July*, in the year 1389. whilſt the King was at *Sheene*, there ſwarmed in his Court ſuch multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmiſhing with one another, that in the end they were ſwept away with Brooms by heaps, and Buſhels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in *March*, firſt there were terrible Windes; afterwards followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a buſhel of Wheat was ſold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was ſold for ſix pence, and Wool was ſold for two ſhillings a ſtone. In his fourteenth year, on *Chriſtmas* day, a Dolphin was taken at *London-Bridge*, being ten foot long, and a monſtrous grown Fiſh. In his eighteenth year, an Exhalation, in likeneſs of fire appeared in the night in many places of *England*; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and ſtayed as he ſtayed; ſometimes like a Wheel, ſometimes like a Barrel, ſometimes like a Timber-log: but when many went together, it appeared to be afar off. Alſo in a Parliament time, there was a certain Image of Wax made by *Necromancy* (as was ſaid) which at an hour appointed, uttered theſe words.

The price of Wheat and Wool in a dearth.

A Dolphin taken at *London-Bridge*.

A ſtrange Exhalation.

An Image of Wax, made by Necromancy, ſpake certain words.

The Head ſhall be cut off; the Head ſhall be lift up aloft; the feet ſhall be lift up above the Head: and then ſpake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the *Marvellous* Parliament, not long before the Parliament that *wrought Wonders*. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from *Bedford*, ſuddenly ceaſed his courſe, ſo as the channel remained dry by the ſpace of three miles; which was adjudged to ſignifie the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almoſt through all *England*, all Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was ſuppoſed to import ſome ſtrange event. About the year 1280. the making of Guns was found by a *German*, which may well be reckoned amongſt caſualties, ſeeing it was found by caſualty; for this *German* having beaten Brimſtone in a Mortar to powder, and covered it with a ſtone, it happened that as he ſtruck fire, a ſpark chanced to fall into the powder; which cauſed ſuch a flame out of the Mortar, that it raiſed a ſtone a great height: which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with ſome other ingredients, and ſo finiſhed that deadly Engine. The firſt that uſed it were the *Venetians* againſt the Inhabitants of *Genoa*.

All Bay-Trees withered: and after grew green again.

Guns found about this time by a *German*.

Of his Wives.

KIng *Richard* in his time had two Wives, the firſt was *Anne* Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, and Siſter to the Emperour *Wenceſlaus*; who lived his Wife ten years, and died without iſſue at *Sheene* in *Surrey*, in the year 1392. Whoſe death King *Richard* took ſo heavily, that he cauſed the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defaced; as though to revenge himſelf upon the place, could eaſe his minde, and mitigate his ſorrow. His ſecond Wife was *Iſabel*, Daughter to *Charles* the ſixth King of *France*; She was married to him at eight years of age, and therefore never co-habited. After King *Richard*'s death ſhe was ſent home, and married afterward to *Charles* Son and Heir to the Duke of *Orleance*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was the goodlieſt perſonage of all the Kings that had been ſince the Conqueſt; tall of ſtature, of ſtreight and ſtrong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and ſuch a one as might well be the Son of a moſt beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, then in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flatterers in his youth. He was of a credulous diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, apt to believe, and therefore eaſie to be abuſed. His greateſt tranſgreſſion was, that he went with his friends *ultra aras*, where he ſhould have gone but *uſque ad aras*. His greateſt imbecility, that he could not diſtinguiſh between a flatterer and a friend. He ſeemed to have in him both a *French* Nature and an *Engliſh*; violent at the firſt apprehenſion, calm upon deliberation. He never ſhewed himſelf more worthy of the Government, then when he was depoſed as unworthy to Govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not ſo dear unto him, as a private quiet life: which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

KIng *Richard* after his Reſignation, was conveyed to the Caſtle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pomfret*; where the common fame is, that he was ſerved with coſtly meat, like a King, but not ſuffered once to touch it, and ſo died of forced Famine: But *Thomas Walſingham* referreth it altogether to a voluntary pining of himſelf, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King *Richard*'s doings, ſaith, that King *Henry* ſitting one day at his Tables ſaid ſighing, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This ſpeech was ſpecially noted by one Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who preſently with eight perſons in his company went to *Pomfret*, commanding the Eſquire that took the Aſſay before King *Richard*, to do ſo no more, ſaying, Let him eat now, for he ſhall not eat long. King *Richard* ſitting down to dinner, was ſerved without Aſſay; whereat marvelling, he demanded of his Eſquire, why he did not his duty? Sir (ſaid he) I am otherwiſe commanded by Sir *Piers* of *Exton*, who is newly come from King *Henry*. When King *Richard* heard that word, he took the Carving Knife in his hand, and ſtroke the Squire on the head, ſaying, The Devil take *Henry* of *Lancaſter*, and thee together: And with that word Sir *Piers* entred the Chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King *Richard* perceiving this, put the Table from him; and ſtepping to the foremoſt man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and ſlew four of thoſe that thus came to aſſail him: but in concluſion was felled with a ſtroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir *Piers* gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be ſcarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without ſhewing any warrant, ſhould be admitted to do ſuch a fact. Sir *Piers* having thus ſlain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for ſo hainous a treſpaſs. King *Richard* thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all ſave the face, and then brought to *London*; where it lay at *Pauls* three dayes together, that all men might behold it, to ſee he was dead. The Corps was after had to *Langley* in *Buckinghamſhire*, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers: but afterward by King *Henry* the fifth, it was removed to *Weſtminſter*, and there honourably entombed, with Queen *Anne* his Wife; and that beautiful Picture of a King, ſitting Crowned in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in S. *Peters* at *Weſtminſter*, is ſaid to be of him: although the *Scots* untruly write, that he eſcaped out of Priſon, and led a ſolitary and vertuous life in *Scotland*; and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friers at *Sterling*. He lived three and thirty years, reigned two and twenty and three months.

Starved.

Murthered.

Men of Note in this Kings time.

MEN of Valour in his time were ſo many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task; and to leave out any would be an injury: yet to give an inſtance in one, we may take *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe valour was no leſs ſeen abroad then at home: In *France*, in *Germany*, in *Spain*; in all which places, he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men, we may name theſe: *William Thorne* an *Auguſtine* Frier of *Canterbury*, an Hiſtoriographer: *Adam Merimouth*, a Canon of *Pauls* Church in *London*, who wrote two Hiſtorical Treatiſes; one intituled *Chronicon* 40. *annorum*; another *Chronicon* 60. *annorum*. *William Packington* ſometimes Secretary to the *Black Prince*, an excellent Hiſtoriographer. *William Badby* a *Carmelite* Frier, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and Confeſſour to the Duke of *Lancaſter*: *John Bourg*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*: *William Sclade*, a Monk of *Buckfaſt* Abby in *Devonſhire*: *John Thoriſby* Archbiſhop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, and a Cardinal: *William Berton* Chancellour of *Oxford*, an adverſary to *Wickliffe*: *Philip Pepington* Abbot of *Leiceſter*, a Defender of *Wickliffe*: *Walter Brit*, a Scholar of *Wickliff's*, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: *John Sharp*, a great adverſary to *Wickliffe*, who wrote many Treatiſes: *Peter Pateſhul*, a great favourer of *Wickliffe*. *Marcel Ingelno*, an excellent Divine, one of the firſt Teachers in the Univerſity of *Heydelberg*: *Richard Withee* a learned Prieſt, and an earneſt follower of *Wickliffe*: *John Swaſham* Biſhop of *Bangor*, a great adverſary to the *Wickleviſts*: *Adam Eſton*, a great Linguiſt, and a Cardinal: *John Treviſe*, a *Corniſh* man, and a ſecular Prieſt, who tranſlated the Bible: *Bartholomew*, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; *Polychronicon* of *Ranulph Higden*, and divers other Treatiſes: *John Moon*, an *Engliſh* man, but a Student in *Paris*, who compiled in the *French* Tongue, *The Romant of the Roſe*; tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geoffry Chaucer*, and divers others.

The Romant of the Roſe tranſlated into *Engliſh* by *Geoffry Chaucer*, by whom compoſed.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* was Mayor.
Nicholas Twiford, *Andrew Pikeman*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
John Philpot was Mayor.
John Boſeham, *Thomas Cornwallis*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Hadley was Mayor.
John Heliſdon, *William Barra*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Mayor.
Walter Doget, William Knighthode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Mayor.
John Rotu, John Hinde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Mayor.
Adam Bamme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* was Mayor.
Simon Winchcombe, John Moor, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Mayor.
Nicholas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Nicholas Brembar* continued Mayor.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Mayor.
William Stondon, William More, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Mayor.
William Venor, Hugh Falstalfe, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twiford was Mayor.
Thomas Austen, Adam Carlehul, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Mayor.
John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Adam Bamme was Mayor.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Stondon was Mayor.
Gilbert Maffeld, Thomas Newington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year.
John Hardley was Mayor.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whitington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *John Froyfhe* was Mayor.
William Bramfton, Thomas Knolls, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *William More* was Mayor.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year
Adam Brown was Mayor.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Sir *Richard Whitington* was Mayor.
John Woodcock, William Afcham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir *Drew Barintin* was Mayor.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FOURTH.

Of his coming to the Crown.

Anno Dom. 1399.

AFter the Resignation of King *Richard*, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* riseth up from his seat; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and breast, he said, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*: *I* Henry *of* Lancaster *claim the Crown of* England, *as descended by right line from King* Henry *the third*: And having thus spoked, he sate down again. Upon this, the Archbishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their opinions, he turned to the Commons, asking them, if they would joyn with the Lords, in chooſing *Henry* of *Lancaster* for their King; who all with one voice cryed, Yea, Yea: whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, *cap. 9. Vir dominabitur in populo*: wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdome and Valour, and shewed the Duke of *Lancaster* to be such a one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King *Richard*. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any mans estate, as coming in by Conquest: but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; and accordingly, upon the 13 day of *October* following, the very day wherein the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rights and Ceremonies accustomed. At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oyl which a religious man had given to *Henry* the first Duke of *Lancaster*, together with this Prophesie, That the Kings anointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming to the hands of King *Richard*, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into *Ireland*, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to *Flint*, the Archbishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King *Henry*, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the *Bath*, whereof four were his own Sons, *Henry*, *Thomas*, *John*, and *Humphrey*, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of *Northumberland* he made Constable of *England*; the Earl of *Westmerland* was made Lord Marshal; Sir *John Serle*, Chancellour; *John Newbery* Esquire, Treasurer: and Sir *Richard Clifford* was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord *Henry* his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl *Chester*, and soon after also Duke of *Aquitain*: and the Crown was by Parliament Entailed to King *Henry*, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

King *Henry* claims the Crown as descended from King *Henry* the third.

He is Crowned the very day wherein the year before he had been banished.

Anointed with a special Oyl.

After this a Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King *Richard* were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attainted, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of *Arundel's* son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King *Richard*, were then fully restored to their liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of *Westmerland* the County of *Richmond* and to the Earl of *Northumberland* the Isle of *Man*, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entred into *England*. And now was the time for shewing of spleens. Sir *John Bagot* then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of *Aumerle* for speaking words against the Duke of *Lancaster*, now King: also the Lord *Fitz-water* accused him for the death of the Duke of *Gloucester*. The Lord *Morley* appealed the Earl of *Salisbury* of Treason; and one *Hall* accused the Duke of *Exeter*, for conspiring the death of *John* of *Gaunt* the King's Father: but King *Henry* having entred a Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the ones Accusations, he accepted of the others Excuses, and received

Accusations against many, but connived at by the King.

ceived the Duke of *Aumerle*, and the Duke of *Exeter* into as much favour, as if they had never been accuſed.

King *Henry* acquaints foreign Princes by what Title he came to the Crown.

And to qualifie the hard opinion which forein Princes might conceive of King *Richard's* Depoſing, he ſent Ambaſſadours into divers Countreys, to make it known, by what title, and by what favour of the people he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of *Rome* he ſent *John Trenevant* Biſhop of *Hereford*, Sir *John Cheyny* Knight, and *John Cheyny* Eſquire: into *France* he ſent *Walter Sherlow* Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter*: Into *Spain* he ſent *John Trevor* Biſhop of *Aſaph*, and Sir *William Parre*: and into *Germany* he ſent the Biſhop of *Bangor*, and certain others. Moſt of theſe Princes ſeemed either not to regard what was done, or were eaſily perſwaded that all was done well: only *Charles* King of *France* was ſo diſtemper'd with this indignity offered to his ſon in Law King *Richard*, that by violence of his paſſion he fell into his old pangs of Frenſie; but ſomewhat recovered, he reſolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of *France* ſhewed themſelves forward, but ſpecially the Earl of St. *Paul*, who had married King *Richard's* half ſiſter: yet having prepared an Army in readineſs, when afterward they heard of King *Richard's* death, they diſſolved it again, as conſidering the time was then paſt. The *Aquitains* alſo, and ſpecially the Citizens of *Burdeaux*, as being the place where King *Richard* was born, were mightily incenſed: but Sir *Robert Knolls* Lieutenant of *Guyen*, and afterward *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter*, being ſent to them by the King, ſo perſwaded them, that with much ado they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what ſhould be done with King *Richard*, (for he was not as yet murthered:) whereupon *Thomas Mercks* Biſhop of *Carlile*, a learned man and wiſe; and who had never given allowance to the depoſing of King *Richard*, now that he was in a place of freedome of ſpeech, roſe up and ſaid:

The Biſhop of *Carlile's* bold ſpeech in behalf of King *Richard*, and againſt King *Henry*.

"My Lords, The matter now propounded "is of marvellous weight and conſequence; "wherein there are two points chiefly to be "conſidered: the firſt, Whether King *Richard* "be ſufficiently put out of his Throne: the ſe- "cond, Whether the Duke of *Lancaſter* be "lawfully taken in. For the firſt, how can that "be ſufficiently done, when there is no power "ſufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot, "for of the Parliament the King is the head; "and can the body put down the Head? You "will ſay, But the head may bow it ſelf down; "and may the King reſign? It is true; but "what force is in that which is done by force? "and who knows not that King *Richard's* Re- "ſignation was no other? But ſuppoſe he be "ſufficiently out, yet how comes the Duke of "*Lancaſter* to be lawfully in? If you ſay by "Conqueſt, you ſpeak Treaſon; for what Con- "queſt without Arms? and can a Subject take "Arms againſt his lawful Soveraign, and not "be Treaſon? If you ſay, by Election of the "State, you ſpeak not reaſon; for what power "hath the State to elect, while any is living "that hath right to Succeed? But ſuch a Suc- "ceſſour is not the Earl of *Lancaſter*, as deſcen- "ded from *Edmund Crouchback*, the elder ſon "of King *Henry* the Third, though put by the "Crown for deformity of his body; for who "knows not the falſneſs of this allegation? "ſeeing it is a thing Notorious, that this *Edmund* "was neither the elder brother, nor yet crook- "backt, (though called ſo for ſome other rea- "ſon) but a goodly perſonage, and without a- "ny deformity. And your ſelves cannot for- "get a thing ſo lately done, who it was that in "the fourth year of King *Richard* was decla- "red by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown, "in caſe King *Richard* ſhould die without iſſue. "But why then is not that claim made? becauſe "*Silent leges inter arma*, What diſputing of Ti- "tles againſt the ſtream of Power? But how- "ſoever it is extreme injuſtice, that King *Ri- "chard* ſhould be condemned, without being "heard, or once allowed to make his de- "fence. And now, my Lords, I have ſpoken "thus at this time, that you may conſider of it "before it be too late; for as yet it is in your "power to undo that juſtly, which you have "unjuſtly done.

Much to this purpoſe was the Biſhop's ſpeech; but to as little purpoſe as if he had gone about to call back Yeſterday. The mater was too far gone; and ſcarce a perſon there preſent, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet againſt this ſpeech of the Biſhop there was neither Proteſting nor Excepting; It paſſed in the Houſe as but one mans opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he ſhould uſe much ſeverity againſt any Member of that Parliament which had ſo lately ſhewed ſo much indulgence towards him; nor indeed ſafe, to be too hot in his Puniſhment, when he was yet ſcarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to uſe their liberty of ſpeech with more moderation hereafter, the Biſhop was arreſted by the Marſhal, and committed to priſon in the Abbey of S. *Albans*, but afterward without further cenſure ſet at liberty, till upon a conſpiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party, he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King *Richard*, and *Edward Mortimer* Earl of *March*, enough was ſpoken by the Biſhop in both their behalfs to undo them both; and indeed King *Richard* was ſoon after made away: the Earl ſecured himſelf by retiring far off, to his Lordſhip of *Wigmore*; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entring the Liſts of Aſpiring. But although the Divine Providence, for cauſes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; yet in the third Generation after, the elder, the Houſe of *Clarence* recovered its right in King *Edward* the Fourth: that we may know it is but ſtaying the leiſure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Perſon, or by Proxie.

But did King *Richard* more hurt then good.

But whether incited by this ſpeech of the Biſhop, or otherwiſe out of the rancor of envy in ſome, and malice in others, it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards 1400.

towards King *Henry*; and came first to be a Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of *Westminster*. This Abbot was a kinde of a Book-statesman, but better read in the Politicks of *Aristotle* then of *Solomon*; who remembring some words of King *Henry*, which he had spoken long before, when he was but Earl of *Darby*, That Princes had too little, and Religious men too much; and fearing, lest being now King, he should reduce his words into act, he thought it better to use preventing Physick beforehand, then to stand to the hazard of a curing afterward: and thereupon invited to his house the discontented Lords; as namely, *John Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, *Thomas Holland* his brothers son, Duke of *Surrey*, *Edward* Duke of *Aumerle*, *John Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Spencer* Earl of *Gloucester*, *John* Bishop of *Carlile*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and *Maudlin* one of King *Richard's* Chappel: who after dinner conferring together, and communicating their spleens against King *Henry* one with another, they resolved at last, both to take away the Kings life, and of the way how to do it. The device was this: They would publish a solemn Justs to be holden at *Oxford*, at a day appointed, and invite the King to honour it with his presence; and there, in the time of acting the Justs, when all mens intentions should be otherwise busied, they would have him be murthered. This device was resolved on; Oaths for secrecy were taken; and Indentures sextipartite for performing conditions agreed upon between them, sealed and delivered: The Justs are proclaimed; the King is invited, and promiseth to come; secrecy of all hands kept most firmly to the very day. But though all other kept counsel, yet Fortune would not, but she discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the Duke of *Aumerle* was riding to the Lords at *Oxford*, against the day appointed, he took it in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of *York*; and having in his bosome the Indenture of Confederacy, his Father as they sate at dinner chanced to spy it, and asked what it was? to whom his son answering, It was nothing that any way concerned him; By S. *George* saith his Father, but I will see it; and therewithal snatching it from him, read it; and finding the Contents, and reviling his son for being now the second time a Traitor, before to King *Richard*, and now to King *Henry*, he commanded his Horses instantly to be made ready, and with all the speed he could make, rode to *Windsor*, where the King then lay: but the younger years of his son out-rid him, and came to the Court before him; where locking the Gates, and taking the Keys from the Porter, pretending some special reason, he went up to the King and falling on his knees, asked his Pardon, The King demanding, for what offence? he then discovered the whole Plot: which he had scarce done, when his Father came rapping at the Court-gates, and coming to the King, shewed him the Indenture of Confederacy which he had taken from his son. This, though it amazed the King, yet it informed him of the truth of the matter, whereof he was before doubtful; and thereupon lays aside his journey to see the Justings of others in jest, and takes care that he be not justled in earnest out of his Throne himself. In the mean time the confederate Lords being ready at *Oxford*, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Aumerle*, nor seeing any preparation for the Kings coming, were certainly perswaded that their Treason was discovered. Whereupon falling into consideration of the case they were in, they found there was no place left for them of Mercy; and therefore were to stand upon their Guard, and provide the best they could for their safety. To which purpose, the first thing they did was to apparel *Maudlin* in Princely Robes, a man as like to King *Richard* in countenance and personage, as one man lightly can be to another; and to give forth that he was King *Richard* escaped out of Prison, thereby to countenance their proceedings: The next thing was to dispatch messengers to the King of *France*, and require his assistance. This done they set forward in Battel-array towards *Windsor*, against King *Henry*; but finding him gone to *London* before they came, they then deliberated what course to take: Some advised to set King *Richard* at liberty before their counterfeit *Richard* should be discovered: Others thought best to follow the King to *London*, and set upon him unprovided, and before he had gathered Forces. In this division of Advices, when they could not do both, they did neither; but as men amazed, marched on, though they knew not well whither, till they came to *Colbrook*: by which time the King had gathered an Army of twenty thousand, and was marching towards them: but they not thinking so well of their cause, that they durst put it to the trial of a battel; or perhaps staying for aid out of *France*, withdrew themselves back to *Sunnings* near to *Reading*, where the young Queen lay: to whom their coming gave some flashes of comfort, but quenched before they were throughly kindled: and from thence they march to *Cicester*, where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* took up their lodging in one Inne; the Duke of *Exeter* and the Earl of *Gloucester* in another. And now a strange Accident, beyond the reach of all consultation, gave a period to their Deligh; for who would think that a private company durst oppose those Lords having their Army so near them? Yet the Bayliff of the Town upon Intelligence (no doubt that these Lords were up in Arms against the King,) taking with him a company of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the Inne where the Duke of *Surrey* and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay; who thus assaulted made shift to defend themselves till three a clock in the afternoon: but then, being in danger to be taken, a Priest one of their company, set divers houses in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to divert the Assailants from prosecuting the Lords, to save their houses: but this inflamed them the more; and so hotly they pursued their assault, that they wounded the Duke and the Earl to death; who dying that night their heads were stricken off and sent up to *London*. With them also were taken, Sir *Bennet Shelly*, Sir *Bernard Brocas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, and eight and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentlemen; who were sent to *Oxford*, where the King then lay,

A Conspiracy of Lords, begun in the house of the Abbot of *Westminster*

Which was to invite the King to a Justs at *Oxford*, and there to seize upon him.

How discovered.

The Lords provide an Army, but are by the the King dispersed.

By what accident.

lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of *Exeter* in the other Inne, hearing of this assault, fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the rescue; but the souldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing fire in the Town, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear dispersed themselves and fled: which the Duke seeing, he also with Sir *John Shelly*, fled into *Essex*, where wandring and lurking in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he sate at supper in a friends house, and led to *Plashey*, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsel and countenance, the Duke of *Gloucester* formerly had been apprehended: That we may observe how the Divine Providence in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of *Gloucester* fled towards *Wales*, but was taken and beheaded at *Bristow*. *Maudlin* the counterfeit King *Richard*, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with Mr. *Fereby*, another of King *Richard's* Chaplains. Divers other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, and a great number of mean persons, were in other places put to death; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of *Westminster*, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a Palsie; and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange piece of Treason is reported to have been practiced againg the Kings life: that there was found in his bed-cloaths an Iron with three sharp pikes standing upright; that when the King should have laid him down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it; it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth believing.

Maudlin the counterfeit King *Richard* is hanged and quartered.

Another Treason is practiced against the King.

1402.

But now that the hot *English* blood was well allayed, the *Welsh* blood springs up as hot; For now *Owen Glendour* an Esquire of *Wales*, brought up at the Innes of Court in *London*: partly out of a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a suit for lands in controversie between the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin* and him; but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the *Welshmen* to a general defection, telling them, that the *English* being at variance amongst themselves, now was the time to shake off their yoak, and to resume their own ancient Laws and Customs. To whose perswasions the *VVelsh* men hearkening, made him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, sets first upon his old Adversary *Reynold* Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, and takes him prisoner; yet with promise of releasement, if he would marry his daughter, which offer though the Lord *Grey* at first not only refused, but scorned: yet out of necessity at last he was contented to accept; when notwithstanding his deceitful Father in law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he died. But the *Welshmen* growing confident upon this success, break into the borders of *Herefordshire*, making spoil and prey of the Countrey as freely if they had leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord *Edmund Mortimer*, who had formerly withdrawn himself to his Castle at *Wigmore*; and having assembled the forces of the Countrey, and joyning battel with them, was taken Prisoner, and then fettered and cast into a deep and vile Dungeon. It was thought if *Glendour* had as well known how to use his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the *English* yoak into a great hazard to be shaken off: but he having killed 1000. of the *English*, thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired. The inhumanity of the *Welsh* Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carkasses of the *English*, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noses; whereof the one they thrust into their mouths, the other they pressed between their buttocks. Many noble men, specially his Kinsmen the *Piercies* solicited King *Henry* to deliver *Mortimer*; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sisters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

Owen Glendour stirreth up the *Welsh* to rebel.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the *VVelsh*, because the King was now imployed in a more dangerous service with the *Scots*; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the Kingdom (as it was alwayes their custom to do) had made an In-rode into the County of *Northumberland*; and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of *VVerk*, took and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the *English* invaded and spoiled certain Islands of the *Orkneys*. Then the *Scots* set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Logon*; but before he came to any action, he was encountred, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts, as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations: but at last it brake out into an open war upon this occasion. *Robert* King of *Scots* had offered to match his Son *David* with a Daughter of *George* Earl of *Dunbarre*, and had received money of him in part of her portion; and afterward, would neither suffer the Match to proceed, nor yet pay back the money: but married his son to a daughter of *Archibald* Earl of *Dowglass*. Upon which indignity, *George* of *Dunbarre*, flies into *England* to King *Henry*, and with his aid, makes divers incursions into *Scotland*: Whereupon *Robert* King of *Scots* sent to King *Henry*, that if he would have the Truce between them to continue, he should deliver to him *George* of *Dunbarre*. King *Henry* answered, that he had given him a safe conduct, and could not now recall it with his Honour; but as for continuing the Truce, King *Robert* might do in that what he thought best. Upon this answer, the King of *Scots* presently proclaimed warr against him; But King *Henry* as ready in that matter as he, stayed not for King *Robert's* invading of *England*: but himself with a puissant Army invaded *Scotland*, burning Castles and Cities, and not sparing Churches and Religious Houses. About the

The Peace between *England* and *Scotland*, how it brake out into open War.

the end of *September*, he beſieged the Caſtle of *Maydens* in *Edinburgh*; where Prince *David*, and the Earl of *Douglaſs* were: At which time, *Robert* D. of *Albany*, who in the King of *Scots* ſickneſs managed the buſineſs, ſent an Herald to K. *Henry*, proteſting upon his honour, that if he would ſtay but ſix dayes he would give him battel. K. *Henry* rewarded the Herald, and ſtayed; but ſix times ſix dayes paſſed, but neither Duke of *Albany*, nor any other for him appeared. And now Winter came on, victuals grew ſcant, and which was worſt, a mortality began in the *Engliſh* Camp; for which cauſes, King *Henry* removed his ſiege, and returned into *England*. As ſoon as he was gone, Sir *Patrick Hepborne* a *Scottiſh* man, having a good opinion of his valour, thought to do great matters; and with a competent Army of the men of *Lough-dean*, he invaded *Northumberland*, making great ſpoil, and loading his ſouldiers with prey, and priſoners: but in the Retreat marching looſly, and licentiouſly, was ſet upon by the Earl of *Northumberland* Vice-Warden, at a Town called *Neſhie*, where *Hepborne* himſelf and all the flower of *Lough-dean* were ſlain; Sir *John* and *William Cockburne*, Sir *Will. Buſſe*, *John* and *Tho. Hablington*, Eſquires, and a multitude of common Souldiers taken Priſoners: on the *Engliſh* part few ſlain, and none of any rank or quality. In revenge whereof *Archibald Douglaſs* with an Army of twenty thouſand entred *Northumberland*; but in a place called *Hamildon*, were encountered by the *Engliſh*, under the leading of *Henry* L. *Piercy*, ſurnamed *Hotſpurre*, and *George* Earl of *March*, who put them to flight; and after the ſlaughter of ten thouſand of them, took five hundred priſoners: whereof the chief were *Mordack* Earl of *Fife*, (ſon of the General, who in the fight loſt one of his eyes) *Thomas* Earl of *Murrey*, *Robert* Earl of *Angus*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Mentith*; and amongſt the ſlain, were Sir *John Swinton*, Sir *Adam Gourdon*, Sir *John Leviſton*, Sir *Alexander Ramſey*, and three and twenty other Knights.

The *French* aid *Owen Glendour*, but without ſucceſs.

In this mean time, *Glendour* of *Wales* had ſolicited the King of *France* for aid, who ſent him twelve hundred men of quality; but the windes were ſo contrary, that they loſt twelve of their Ships, and the reſt returned home. The *Engliſh* deriding this ill ſucceſs of the *French*, ſo exaſperated the *French* King, that preſently after he ſent twelve thouſand, who landed ſafely, and joyned with the *Welſh*; but as ſoon as they heard of the *Engliſh* Armies approach, whether miſtruſting their own ſtrength, or ſuſpecting the *Welſh* mens faithfulneſs, they ran to their Ships and diſgracefully went home.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, the relict of *John Montford* ſurnamed the Conquerour.

King *Henry's* Ambaſſadors lately ſent into *Britain* to fetch the Lady *Jane de Navarre*, Dutcheſs of *Britain*, the relict of *John de Montford* ſurnamed the Conquerour, with whom the King by Procurators had contracted Matrimony, in the beginning of *February* returned with her in ſafety: The King met her at *Wincheſter*, where the ſeventh of *February* the marriage was ſolemnized.

About this time ſome affronts were offered by the *French*. *Valerian* Earl of S. *Paul*, with ſeventeen hundred men, landed in the *Iſle of Wight*, where he burnt two Villages and ſome few Cottages; but hearing the people of the Iſland to have aſſembled, he made haſte to his Ships, and returned home. Alſo *John* Earl of *Clermont* (the heir of *Bourbon*) won from the *Engliſh* the Caſtles of St. *Peter*, St. *Mary*, and the *New-Caſtle*: The Lord *de la Brett*, won the Caſtle of *Calaſin*; places of great conſequence to the *Engliſh*.

Another conſpiracy hatching againſt King *Henry*, and why.

And now to make King *Henry* ſenſible that a Crown can hardly ever ſit eaſie upon the head, if it be not ſet on right at firſt, a new Conſpiracy is hatching againſt him. The *Piercies* Earls of *Northumberland* & *Worceſter*, with *Henry Hotſpur*, began about this time to fall off from K. *Henry*; their reaſon was, Firſt, becauſe the King at their requeſt refuſed to redeem their kinſman *Mortimer* from *Glendour's* ſlavery; and then becauſe he denied them the benefit of ſuch priſoners as they had taken of the *Scots*, at *Hamildon*, or *Neſhie*: whereupon they went of themſelves, and procured *Mortimer's* delivery, and then entred into a League offenſive and defenſive with *Glendour*; and by their Proxies, in the houſe of the Archdeacon of *Bangor*, they agreed upon a Tripartite Indenture under their hands and ſeals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all *England* from *Severn* and *Trent*, South and Eaſtward was aſſigned for the portion of the E. of *March*: all *Wales* and the lands beyond *Severn* Weſtward, were aſſigned to *Owen Glendour*; and all the remainder of Land from *Trent* Northward, to be the portion of the Lord *Piercy*. In this, as *Glendour* perſwaded them, they thought they ſhould accompliſh a Propheſie; as though King *Henry* were the Mould-warp curſed of Gods own mouth; and they were the Lion, the Dragon and the Wolf which ſhould divide the Land among them. In this mean time King *Henry*, not acquainted with this Conſpiracy, cauſed a Proclamation to be made, intimating that the Earl of *March* had voluntarily cauſed himſelf to be taken Priſoner, to the end, the Rebels having him in their cuſtody, might pretend ſome colour for their Conſpiracy; and therefore he had ſmall reaſon to take care for his deliverance. Hereupon the *Piercies* aſſiſted with a company of *Scots*, and drawing to their party the Earl of *Stafford*, and *Richard Scroope* Archbiſhop of *York* and many other, purpoſed to joyn with the Captain of the *Welſh*; but firſt they framed certain Articles againſt the King, and ſent them to him in writing. That he had falſifyed his Oath given at his landing, ſwearing that he came but only to recover his Inheritance, and would not meddle with the King, or with the Crown. That moſt traiterouſly he had taken Arms againſt his Soveraign Lord, impriſoned him, and then moſt barberouſly cauſed him to be murthered. That ever ſince the death of King *Richard* he had unjuſtly kept the Crown from his kinſman *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, to whom of right it belonged. That upon no occaſion he had impoſed divers Taxes upon the people. That by his Letters he procured Burgeſſes and Knights of the Parliament to be choſen; for which cauſes and many other, they defied him, and vowed his deſtruction, and the reſtoring of the Earl of *March* to his right. King *Henry* could not but know that all theſe Articles againſt him were true; yet ſeeing the knowing it hindred him not from ſeeking to get the Crown when he had it not, it could leſs hinder him from ſeeking to keep it now that he had it: and if he were able, being a private man, to get it from a King, he was

Articles framed by the Lords againſt King *Henry*, and ſent unto him.

likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private men; and as for any objections that Conſcience could make, he had enough to anſwer them all: For, if his Title were good againſt King *Richard*, by his Reſignation, it was good againſt *Mortimer* by his ſwearing Allegiance; and upon theſe grounds, with a minde as confident as if all circumſtances were of his ſide, he raiſed an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means joyn with the *Welſh*, and about *Shrewsbury* on Saturday S. *Mary Magdalens* Eve he encountred them: in which fight though the *Scots* and *Henry Hot-ſpur* ſhewed much valour, yet the victory reſted on the Kings ſide; *Hotſpur* himſelf was ſlain, the Earl of *Worceſter* was taken priſoner, together with Sir *Richard Vernon*, Sir *Theobald Truſſel*, the Baron of *Kinderton*; and the reſt fled. On the Kings part (beſides the Earl of *Stafford*, who had that morning revolted from the Conſpirators) were ſlain, Sir *Hugh Skirley*, Sir *John Clifton*, Sir *John Cockayn*, Sir *Nicholas Cauſell*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *John Calverley*, Sir *John Maſſie* of *Puddington*, Sir *Hugh Mortimer*, and Sir *Robert Gauſell*, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with Sir *Thomas Wendſley*, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of common ſouldiers about ſixteen hundred, but of the Conſpirators above ſix thouſand, whereof 36 the King ſlew with his own hands; but was once unhorſed by *Dowglaſſe*, who in his preſence ſlew Sir *Walter Blunt*, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, *Dowglaſſe* (being after by the fall of his horſe taken priſoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without ranſome ſet at liberty. In this battel, the young Prince *Henry*, though wounded in the face with an Arrow; yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting ſtill. After this victory the King cauſed publick thanks to be given to God, and then cauſed the Earl of *Worceſter* to be beheaded, and many others of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on *London* Bridge: And then the King ſent his Son *Henry* Prince of *VVales*, with his whole Army into that Countrey; but before his coming *Owen Glendour* was abandoned by all his Company: and lurking in the Woods was there famiſhed: many of his aſſociates were taken and put to death. Whileſt the Prince was in *VVales*, *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, of his own accord, came and ſubmitted himſelf to the King, proteſting his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treaſon and Rebellion; whoſe excuſe the King received for the preſent with gentle language, the rather for that he had the poſſeſſion of *Berwick* Caſtle and other places of ſtrength in his power: but yet he wiped not off the ſcore of his miſdemeanors out of his minde.

1403. King *Henry* with an Army encounters the Lords: where *Henry Hotſpur* is ſlain; the Earl of *Worceſter* taken priſoner with divers others.

King *Henry* ſlayes 36. of his Adverſaries with his own hands.

The Earl of *Worceſter* beheaded.

Owen Glendour lurking in the Woods, is famiſhed.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King *Henry* the fourth: thoſe that follow are but ſuch accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The *Britains* under the leading of the Lord of *Du Caſtile*, ſpoiled the Town of *Plimouth*, In revenge whereof, the Weſtern-men, under command of *VVilliam VVilford*, ſet forth a Fleet, which arriving in *Britain*, took forty Ships laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again the *French* landed a thouſand men in the *Iſle of VVight*, where they got together a great booty of Cattel; but the Iſlanders coming upon them took away their booty, and made many of them leave their Carkaſes for a booty to the Iſland. Yet the *French* would not leave ſo, but a while after, as having gotten new ſpirits, they caſt Anchor before the Iſle of *Wight*; and require no leſs then to have the Iſland into their poſſeſſion: but a reſolute anſwer of the Iſlanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of *Orleance*, brother to the *French* King, in a vaunting ſtyle, ſent a challenge to King *Henry* to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company: to which the King anſwered, that for his own valour it had ſufficiently been tried, and for this challenge of the Dukes, neither the perſon nor the cauſe were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this refuſal of the Kings, divers taunts and jeers were bandied between them, till at laſt the Duke in great paſſion, falls upon *Vergie* a Town in *Guyen*, but after three months aſſaulting it, being valiantly defended by Sir *Robert Antfield* and three hundred *Engliſh* men, he was glad to give over with loſs, and return into *France*. Preſently upon this the Admiral of *Britain*, accompanied with the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and thirty ſail of Ships, attempted to land at *Dertmouth* in *Devonſhire*, but were repelled, and the Lord *Du Caſtile*, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his men were ſlain, beſides two hundred taken priſoners; of whom the L. *Baquevile* Marſhal of *Britain*, was one. After this five hundred men of arms, five hundred Croſs-Bows, and a thouſand *Flemmings*, under the conduct of the Earl of St. *Paul*, laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Marck*, three leagues from *Callice*; but firſt by Sir *Philip Hall* Captain of *Callice*, and after by Sir *Richard Aſton* Lieutenant of the *Engliſh* pale, they were forced to retire and flie: The Earl of St. *Paul* eſcaped to S. *Omers*, but left many of his men of quality behinde him, and more taken Priſoners. After this, *Thomas* D. of *Clarence*, the Kings ſecond Son, and the Earl of *Kent*, with competent Forces entred the Haven of *Sluce*, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the relief of *Callice*, beſieged at that time by the *French*; and in the way took three Carricks of *Genoua* richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of *Rye*. And theſe were the troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was aſſembled at *Coventry*; which by ſome was called, the Lay-mens Parliament, becauſe the Sheriffs were appointed, that none ſhould be choſen Knights for the Counties, nor Burgeſſes for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill in the Laws of the Land.

1404.

The Duke of *Orleance* ſends a challenge to King *Henry*: and how he anſwers it.

But now at home the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now *Henry Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Richard Scroop* Archbiſhop of *York*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earl Marſhal, the Lords, *Haſtings*, *Faulconbridge*, and *Bardolf*, with divers others, conſpired at a time appointed, to meet upon *Yorks-Would Downs*, and there bid defiance to King *Henry*. Articles of Grievances were framed, and ſet up in all publick places, which drew

1405. Another Conſpiracy againſt King *Henry*.

multi-

multitudes to be partakers of the enterprize. But now *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmerland*, with the Lord *John* the Kings third Son, the Lord *Henry Fitz-Hughes*, *Ralph Evers*, and *Robert Humphrevile* make head againſt them; and coming into a Plain in the Foreſt of *Galltree*, they ſate down right againſt the Archbiſhop and his Forces, which were twenty thouſand; and *Weſtmerland* perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more then theirs, he uſed this Policy: he ſent to the Archbiſhop, demanding the reaſon why he would raiſe Forces againſt the King? who anſwering, that his Arms were not againſt the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the inſtigation of Sycophants, had threatned: withal he ſent him a ſcrowl of their grievance, which *Weſtmerland* read, and ſeemed to approve, and thereupon deſired a conference with him. The Archbiſhop more credulous then wiſe, perſwaded the Earl Marſhal to go with him to the place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon *Weſtmerland* ſeeming to commiſerate the Souldiers, having been in armour all day, and weary, wiſhed the Archbiſhop to acquaint his party, as he would his, with this their mutual agreement; and ſo ſhaking hands, in moſt Courtly friendſhip drank unto him. Whereupon the Souldiers were willed to diſband, and repair home; which they had no ſooner done, but a Troop of Horſe, which in a colourable manner had made a ſhew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned: and being come in ſight of the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, arreſted both the Archbiſhop and the Earl Marſhal, and brought them both Priſoners to the King at *Pomfret*; who paſſing from thence to *York*, the Priſoners likewiſe were carried thither, and the next day both of them beheaded. At *Durham* the Lords *Haſtings* and *Fauconbridge*, with two Knights, were executed. *Northumberland*, with the Lord *Bardolfe*, fled firſt to *Berwick*, and after into *Scotland*, where they were entertained by *David* Lord *Flemming*: whereupon the King gave ſummons to the Caſtle of *Berwick*, which at firſt they refuſed to obey, but upon the planting & diſcharging of a Piece, they preſently yielded without compoſition: and here *William Grayſtock*, *Henry Baynton*, and *John Blinkenſop*, Knights, and five other were preſently put to execution, and many others committed to ſeveral Priſons. About this time *James* Son and Heir of *Robert* King of *Scotland*, a childe of nine years old, attended by the Earl of *Orkney*, as he was ſailing into *France*, was taken by certain Mariners of *Norfolk*, who brought him to the King at *Windſor*, the 30. of *March*, 1408. and the King ſent them to the *Tower* of *London*.

Northumberland and *Bardolfe*, after they had been in *Wales*, *France*, and *Flanders*, to raiſe a power againſt King *Henry*, returned back into *Scotland*; and after a year with a great power of *Scots* entred *England*, and came into *Yorkſhire*, making great ſpoil and waſte as they paſſed: but Sir *Thomas Rokesby* Sheriff of *York*, levying the forces of the County, upon *Bramham-moor* gave them Battel; in which *Northumberland* was ſlain, *Bardolfe* taken, but wounded to death, and the reſt put to flight. About this time alſo, Sir *Robert Umphrevile* Vice-Admiral of *England*, with ten men of War entred *Scotland*, burnt their *Gallot*, and many other ſhips over againſt *Leith*, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other ſtaple commodities, which at his return he ſent into the Markets round about; and thereby brought down the prices of all things, and purchaſed to himſelf the name of *Mend-market*.

1410. Sir Robert Umphreville called *Mend-market*, and why.

The Prince had been a ſtudent in Queens Colledge in *Oxford*, under the tuition of his Uncle *Henry Beaufort*, Chancellour of that Univerſity, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln* and *Wincheſter*, and laſtly made a Cardinal, by the title of *Euſebius*. From *Oxford* the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Worceſter* was made his governour: but coming afterward to be at his own diſpoſing, whether being by nature valorous, and yet not well ſtayed by time and experience; or whether incited by ill companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his own greatneſs, he ran into many courſes ſo unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is ſaid he lay in wait for the Receivers of his Fathers Rents, and in the perſon of a thief ſet upon them and robbed them. Another time, when one of his companions was arraigned for felony before the Lord Chief Juſtice, he went to the Kings Bench Bar and offered to take the Priſoner away by force; but being withſtood by the L. Chief Juſtice, he ſtepped to him, and ſtruck him over the face: whereat the Judge nothing abaſhed, roſe up and told him, that he did not this affront to him, but to the King his Father, in whoſe place he ſate; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the *Fleet*. You would have wondered to ſee how calm the Prince was in his own cauſe, who in the cauſe of his companion had been ſo violent; for he quietly obeyed the Judges ſentence, and ſuffered himſelf to be led to Priſon. This paſſage was not a little pleaſing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of ſuch courage, and a Son of ſuch ſubmiſſion: but yet for theſe and ſuch other pranks he removed him from being Preſident of the Council, and placed in it his third Son *John*. This made the Prince ſo ſenſible of his Father's diſpleaſure, that he thought it neceſſary to ſeek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a way as ſtrange as that by which he loſt it; for attiring himſelf in a garment of blue Sattin, wrought all with elyt-holes of black ſilk, at every hole the needle hanging, by which it was ſowed, and about his arm a thing in faſhion of a hounds collar, ſtudded with *SS*. of Gold, he came to the Court at *Weſtminſter*: to whom the King (though not well in health) cauſed himſelf, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in preſence of but three or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cauſe of his unwonted habit and coming? who anſwered, That being not only his ſubject but his ſon, and a ſon ſo tenderly always regarded by him, he were worthy of a thouſand deaths, if he ſhould intend or but imagine, the leaſt offence to his ſacred Majeſty; and therefore had fitted himſelf to be made a ſacrifice: and therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the point to his Father, For (ſaid he) I deſire not to live longer, then I may be thought to be what I

But by a policy of the Earl of *Weſtmerland* defeated.

The Archbiſhop of *York* and *Mowbray* Earl Marſhal beheaded.

1408.

The Earl of *Northumberland* ſlain.

Prince Henry's diſorderly courſes.

He ſtrikes the Lord Chief Juſtice, who commits him to the *Fleet*.

In what manner the Prince preſents himſelf to his Father.

am and shall ever be, your faithful and obedient Vassal. With this or the like answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his Sons neck, and with many tears imbracing him, confessed that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforth no reports should cause any dis-affection towards him. The King about this time, made his Son *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*; he made also Sir *Thomas Beaufort* Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Arundel* he created Duke of *York*.

The King makes his Son *John*, Duke of *Bedford*, and his Son *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*: also Sir *Thomas Beaufort* he made Earl of *Dorset*, and the Earl of *Arundel* Duke of *York*.

The rest of King *Henry*'s dayes, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in minde for having shed so much *English* and Noble blood; for expiation whereof, or else to the end he might joyn Valour and Devotion in one action together, which hitherto he but used singly, he took upon him the *Crusado*; and at a Council in *White-Fryers*, order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to *Jerusalem*: But it was otherwise decreed in Heaven, and yet not so otherwise, but that he ended his life in *Jerusalem*, as shall be shewed hereafter.

1412. King *Henry* takes upon him the *Crusado*.

Of his Taxations.

IN the very beginning of his Reign, it might pass instead of a Taxation, that he found in King *Richard*'s Coffers, in Money and Jewels, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year, an extraordinary Subsidy was granted him; twenty shillings of every Knights Fee, and of every one that had twenty shillings a year in Land, twelve pence and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a Precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his sixth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh year, the Clergy granted a Tenth and a half, and the Commons two fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year, wherein there was no Parliament kept, a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops assented, but the Commons would not. In his seventh year, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidy was at last granted; so sharp, that even Priests and Friers who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

Controversies in Religion first punished by burning.

IN this Kings dayes, burning and execution by fire for controversies in Religion was first put in practice.

Also in the first year of his Reign, an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever, should after that day alledge for his excuse, any constraint or coarcting of his Prince, for doing of any unlawful act; and that such excuse, after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, that no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and menial Servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of less value then the old Noble by four pence.

Also that all Ripiers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts should sell their Fish in *Cornhill* and *Cheapside* themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

The *Dutchy* Court instituted by K. *Henry*.

Also this King instituted the *Dutchy* Court, which he did in honour of the House of *Lancaster*, to the end the Lands belonging to the *Dutchy*, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his sixth year, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and sent Process to the Sheriffs, that they should choose no Knights nor Burgesses that had any knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called, the Lay-mens Parliament. In his seventh year, the Mayor of *London*, for preservation of Fish, obtained, that all Wears which stood between *London* and seven mile beyond *Kingston*; as also such as stood between *London* and *Gravesend*, should be pulled up and taken away.

The Lay-mens Parliament, and why so called.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

BY reason of discord between *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop either in durance, could not, or in fear, durst not come to the Parliament House, at a time when the King required a supply of money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, that without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchesters* presence, they neither can nor will consult of any thing, he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. After this, the King called a Parliament at *Coventry*, and sent Process to the Sheriffs that they should choose no Knights or Burgesses that were Lawyers, and was therefore called the Laymens Parliament: And shortly after another Parliament was called, and named the unlearned Parliament; either for the unlearnedness of the persons; or for their malice to learned men. In which the Commons presented a Petition to the King and the upper House, desiring that the King might have the Temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergy; the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals for maimed Souldiers. They craved likewise, that Clerks convict should not be delivered to the Bishops Prison; and that the Statute made in the second year of the King against *Lollards* might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in person commanded them from thenceforth, not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such business; for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good state as he found it. In the twelfth year of his Reign certain learned men in *Oxford*, in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of *Wickliffe*; but the Bishops and Doctors of the University inhibited and condemned them. In his time was a great Schism in the Church, by reason of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an Assembly of Cardinals and Bishops,

The unlearned Parliament.

The Temporal possessions of the Clergy required to be given to the King; and how great it was.

A Schism in the Church, by two Anti-Popes.

shops, a third man was elected, named *Alexander* the fifth, who had been trained up at *Oxford*.

Works of Piety done in his time.

KING *Henry* founded a Colledge at *Battlefield* in *Shropshire*, where he overcame the Lord *Henry Piercy*. In his third year, the Conduit upon *Cornhil* was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir *Robert Knolls* made the Stone Bridge of *Rochester* in *Kent*; and founded in the Town of *Pomfret* a Colledge and an Hospital: He also re-edified the body of the *White-Friers* Church in *Fleet-street*, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the Ancestors of the Lord *Grey* of *Codnor*. In the eighth year of his Reign, *Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London* erected an house or Church in *London*, to be a house of Prayer, and named it after his own name, *Whittington Colledge*; with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also builded the Gate of *London*, called *Newgate*, in the year 1420. which was before a most loathsome prison: He builded also more then half of St. *Bartholomews* Hospital in *West-Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Friers* in *London*, now called *Christs* Hospital: He also builded a great part of the East-end of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chappel adjoyning to it, with a Library of Stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he that exceeded all at this time in Works of Piety, was *William Wickham* Bishop of *Winchester*; his first work was the building of a Chappel at *Titchfield*, where his Father, Mother, and Sister *Perrot* were buried: Next he founded at *Southwick* in *Hampshire*, near the Town of *Wickham*, the place of his birth, as a supplement to the Priory of *Southwick*, a Chauntry, with allowance for five Priests for ever: He bestowed twenty thousand Marks in repairing the houses belonging to the Bishoprick: He discharged out of Prison in all places of his Dioceſs, all such poor Prisoners as lay in execution for Debt, under twenty pounds: He amended all the High-wayes from *Winchester* to *London*, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of *March*, 1379. he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent Structure in *Oxford*, called *New-Colledge*, and in person laid the first stone thereof; in which place before, there stood *Natus-Colledge*, built by *Alver*, at *Natus* intreaty; and for the affinity of the name, came to be called *New-Colledge*. In the year 1387. on the 36. of *March*, he likewise in person laid the first Stone of the like foundation in *Winchester*, and dedicated the same, as that other in *Oxford*, to the memory of the Virgin *Mary*. The *Grocers* in *London* purchased their Hall in *Cunny-hope-Lane* for 320. Marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of *May*. King *Henry* founded the Colledge of *Foderinghey* in *Northamptonshire*; to which King *Henry* the fifth gave Land of the Priories of *Monks Aliens*, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, new builded a great part of St. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new Market in the *Poultrey*, called the *Stocks*, was builded for the free sale of Foreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year the *Guildhal* of *London* was begun to be new edified; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this Kings time *John Colepepper*, one of the Justices of the commons Pleas founded a Free-School with competent yearly maintenance in West *Peckham* in *Kent*.

The Conduit in *Cornhill* begun to be built.

Whittington Colledge by whom founded.

Newgate by whom builded.

William Wickham Bishop of *Winchester*, his works of Piety.

He builded New-*Colledge* in *Oxford*.

Also the like Colledge in *Winchester*.

John Gower the famous Poet his Work of Piety.

The *Stocks* in the *Poultrey* builded.

Guild-hall in *London* begun to be builded.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his third year, in the month of *March*, appeared a blazing Star; first betwixt the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: fore-shewing perhaps the effusion of blood that followed after in *Wales* and *Northumberland*. In the same year at *Danbury* in *Essex*, the Devil appeared in likeness of a Gray Frier; who entring the Church, put the people in great fear, and the same hour with a Tempest of Whirl-winde and Thunder, the top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad. In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the banks in *Kent*, that it drowned Cattel without numbers Also this year the Town of *Royston* in *Hartfordshire* was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a Winter and such abundance of Snow, continued *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

The Devil appears in the likeness of a Gray-Fryer.

A Snow that continued four months

Of his Wives and Children.

HE had two Wives, the first was *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Humfrey de Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex*, and *Northampton*; she died before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was *Jone*, Daughter to *Charles* the first King of *Navarre*, she being the Widow of *John de Montford* surnamed *Streany*, or the Conqueror, Duke of *Britain*; who died without any Issue by King *Henry*, at *Havering* in *Essex*, the year 1437. in the fifteenth year of King *Henry* the sixth, and lieth buried by her Husband at *Canterbury*. He had four Sons and two Daughters; of his Sons *Henry* his eldest was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Father, King of *England*. His second Son was *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence*, and Steward of *England*; who was slain at *Beaufort* in *Anjou*, and died without issue. His third Son was *John* Duke of *Bedford*; he married first with *Anne* Daughter of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*: and secondly with *Jacoba* Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburg*, Earl of St. *Paul*, but died also without Issue. His fourth Son was *Humfrey*, by his Brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, and was generally called the good Duke: he had two Wives, but died without issue, in the year 1446. and was buried at St. *Albans*; though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in St. *Pauls* Church. Of King *Henry* the fourths Daughters, *Blanch* the elder was married to *Lewis Barbatus*, *Palatine* of the *Rhene*, and Prince Elector: *Philippa* his younger daughter, was married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Of

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

CONcerning his body, He was of middle ſtature, ſlender limbs, but well proportioned. Concerning his minde, of a ſerious and ſolid diſpoſition, and one that ſtood more upon his own legs then any of his Predeceſſors had done: in caſes of difficulty not refuſing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm, but not better his own. He was neither merry nor ſad, but both: beſt pleaſed when he was oppoſed, becauſe this was like to do him good, by ſharpening his invention: moſt angry when he was flattered, becauſe this was ſure to do him hurt, by dulling his judgement. No man ever more loved, nor leſs doated upon a Wife then he. A good Husband, but not uxorious; that if there be reins to that paſſion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, not ſo much out of Ambition as out of Compaſſion, becauſe the oppreſſions of his Countrey he could not ſo well help being a Subject, as a King; for otherwiſe we may truly ſay, he was a loſer by the Crown, being not ſo great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever ſince been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why elſe would he take upon him the *Cruſado*, having been told by a skilful Soothſayer, that he ſhould dye in *Jeruſalem*? but it ſeems he did not believe him.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the forty ſixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a ſpirit to be idle, he took upon him the *Cruſado*, and great proviſion was made for his journey to *Jeruſalem*: but alas, his journey to *Jeruſalem* required no ſuch proviſion; for being at his Prayers at St. *Edward*'s ſhrine, he was ſuddenly taken with an Apoplexy, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*'s houſe; where recovering his ſenſes, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbots houſe, in a Chamber called *Jeruſalem*: Well then (ſaid he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the *Jeruſalem* where a Soothſayer told me I ſhould dye. And here he died indeed, on the 20. day of *March*, in the year 1413. when he had lived ſix and forty years, reigned thirteen and a half. It is worth remembring, that all the time of his ſickneſs, his will was to have his Crown ſet upon his bolſter by him; and one of his fits being ſo ſtrong upon him, that all men thought him directly dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown: when ſuddenly the King recovering his ſenſes, miſſed his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, ſaid, Sir, to all our judgements, and to all our griefs, you ſeemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but ſeeing to all our comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully then I took it, and pray God you may long live to wear it your ſelf. Well (ſaith the King ſighing) what right I had to it, God knows. But (ſaith the Prince) if you dye King, my Sword ſhall maintain it to be my Right againſt all oppoſers. Well (ſaith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Bleſſing, that thou adminiſter the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Juſtice, or be ſparing of Mercy: And then turning about, ſaid, God bleſs thee, and have mercy on me: and with thoſe words, gave up the Ghoſt. His body with all Funeral pomp was conveyed to *Canterbury*, and there ſolemnly buried.

He dies of an Apoplexy.

His admonitions to the Prince.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF men of Valour in his time, of whom there was ſtore, I ſhall need to ſay no more then what hath already been ſaid in the body of the ſtory; only I cannot but remember Sir *Robert Knolls*, who was born of mean parentage, made himſelf famous over all Chriſtendom; and dying at a Manour of his in *Norfolk*, was brought to *London*, and buried in the Church of the White-Friers in *London*, which himſelf had re-edified. But for men of learning, I muſt ſet in the firſt place, *William Wickham*, a man of no learning, yet well worthy to hold the place. In relating of whoſe life, I muſt have leave to expatiate a little. His Fathers name was *John Long*, or as ſome ſay, *Perot*; but as *Campian* proveth, *Wickham*; and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Pariſh Clerk of *VVickham* in *Hampſhire*, where he taught Children to write: In which quality his Son *VVilliam* proved ſo excellent, that *Nicholas VVoddal*, Conſtable of *VVincheſter* Caſtle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, firſt at *VVincheſter*, afterward at *Oxford*; till himſelf being made Surveyor-General of the Kings Works, he ſent for this *VVilliam* to ſerve him as his Clerk: who in ſhort time grew ſo expert in that imployment, that *Adam Tarleton* Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, commended him to the King, who imployed him preſently in ſurveying his Fortifications at *Dover*, and *Queenborough* Caſtles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at *VVindſor* Caſtle, and his houſes of *Henly* and *Eaſt-Hamſtead*. And here firſt envy roſe up againſt him, for having cauſed to be engraven on a ſtone of a Wall at *VVindſor* Caſtle, theſe words, *This made VVilliam VVickham*. Some that envied his riſing, complained to the King of his inſolency, as arrogating to himſelf, that excellent piece of Building to be done at his charge: but *VVickham* called before the King about it made anſwer, that his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent conſtruction could it import that *VVickham* made that Building, but that the ſame Building made *VVickham*, as being a means of the Kings great favour towards him: This anſwer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entred into the Miniſtry, was firſt made Parſon of St. *Martins* in the Fields, then Mini- of St. *Martins le Grand*, afterwards Archdeacon of *Lincoln*, Provoſt of *VVells*, and Rector of *Manyhens* in *Devonſhire*; ſo as at one time he had

William Wickham his parentage and riſing.

had in his hands so many Ecclesiastical Livings, that the value of them in the Kings Books amounted to eight hundred seventy six pounds, thirteen shillings: besides which, he was honoured with many Temporal places of great profit and respect, as to be his principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in *France*, and some other Offices. After which, the Bishoprick of *Winchester* falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him. And here, the second time, did envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity; Whereupon the King made stay of granting it: but when *Wickham* came before the King, and told him, that what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a Founder of Learning, This so satisfied the King that he bestowed the place upon him. After this he was made Lord Treasurer of *England*; and here the third time did envy rise up against him: for the King requiring of his Subjects a supply of money, it was answered, that he needed no other supply then to call his Treasurer to accompt. This blow strook deep upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give accompt for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds: and whilst he was busie in preparing his accompt, all his Temporalties, upon importunity of *John* of *Gaunt*, were seised into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of *Wales*, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case he dismisseth his train, and sendeth copies abroad of his accompt, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of *John* of *Gaunt* against him upon this ground (as was thought.) Queen *Philippa* Wife to King *Edward* the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told *Wickham*, that *John* of *Gaunt* was not the lawful Issue of King *Edward*, but a suppositious Son: for when she was brought to bed at *Gaunt* of a Daughter, knowing how desirous the King was to have a Son, she exchanged that Daughter with a *Dutch* Woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much she confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, that if the said *John* of *Gaunt* should at any time either directly or indirectly attempt the Crown; or that rightfully, through want of Issue, it should devolve unto him; that then he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King, and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding *John* of *Gaunt*, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his supposed Mother, advising him not to seek higher then a private state; for else he was bound by Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of *John* of *Gaunt* not only aspiring, but possessed of the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of *Carlile*, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that *Wickham* was a Temporizer, or that *John* of *Gaunt* was a most patient man, to suffer the affront of such an indignity, with less then the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an enemy, but by making *Alice Pierce* his friend, by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his livings; and afterward K. *Edward* being dead, and *Alice Pierce* banished; by the means of a greater friend then *Alice Pierce* (his full purse) he obtained in the second year of King *Richard*, a general pardon under the great Seal of *England*; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this King *Henry* the fourth, being then of the age of above 80 years, and lieth buried in the Church of St. *Swithins* in *Winchester*, in a monument of his own making in his life time; leaving for his heir *Thomas Perrot*, the son of his sister *Agnes*, married to *William Perrot*.

John of *Gaunt* said to be a suppositious son.

Another great example of the volubility of Fortune, in Professors of Learning, was *Roger Walden*, who died in the ninth year of this King: He was at first a poor Scholar in *Oxford*; and the first step of his rising, was to be a Chaplain in the Colledge there of St. *Maries*; from thence by degrees he got to be Dean of *York*; and after this, a high step, to be Treasurer of *England*; and yet a higher after that upon the banishment of *Thomas Arundel*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury*: But being now at the top, he came down again; for in this Kings time, *Thomas Arundel* being restored to the Archbishoprick, *Walden* was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompt for the Treasureship: and though he shewed his *Quietus est*, yet all his Temporalties were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbishop *Arundel*, he was made Treasurer of *Callice*, and after promoted to be Bishop of *London*.

Roger Walden his Rising and Fall.

The next place after these, is justly due to *Geoffry Chaucer*, and *John Gower*, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of *English* Poets in all the times after. *Chaucer* died in the fourth year of this King, and lieth buried at *Westminster*: *Gower*, in this Kings ninth year, and was buried at S. *Mary Overies* Church in *Southwark*. And now come others to be remembred, who lived and died in this Kings time. *Hugh Legate* born in *Hartfordshire*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, who wrote *Scholies* upon *Boetius de Consolatione*. *Nicholas Gorham*, born also in *Hartfordshire*, a Dominick Frier, and the *French* Kings Confessor, though an *English* man. *Walter Disse*, so called of a Town in *Norfolk*, where he was born, Confessor to the Duke of *Lancaster*. *Lawrence Holbeck*, a Monk of *Ramsey*, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionary. *John Cotton* Archbishop of *Armagh*. *Richard Scroop*, brother to *William Scroop* Lord Treasurer of *England*, made Archbishop of *York*; and writing an invective against King *Henry*, lost his head. *William Thorpe*, an earnest follower of *John Wickliffe*, for which he was committed to *Saltwood* Castle, where he died. *Stephen Patrington*, born in *Yorkshire*, and *Robert Mascal*, a *Carmelite* Frier of *Ludlow*; both of them Confessors to King *Henry* the fifth. *Boston* a Monk of the Abbey of *Bury* in *Suffolk*, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. *John*

Purvey

Purvey, who was convented for teaching Doctrine contrary to the Church of *Rome*, and compelled to recant. *Thomas Rudburn* Bishop of St. *Davids*, who wrote a Chronicle. *Nicholas Riston* who considering the strife between the then Anti-Popes, wrote a Book, *De tollendo schismate*. *Robert Wansham* a Monk in *Dorsetshire*, who wrote a Book in Verse, *Of the Original and Signification of words*, *Robert Wimbledon* an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon he made upon this Text, *Redde rationem Villicationis tuæ.*

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls* was Mayor.
William VValdren, *VVilliam Hende*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *John Francis* was Mayor.
John Wakel, *VVilliam Ebot*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *John Shadworth* was Mayor.
VVilliam Venor, *John Fremingham*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Walcot was Mayor.
Richard Marlow, *Robert Chichely*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *VVilliam Ascham* was Mayor.
Thomas Falconer, *Thomas Pool*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
VVilliam Louth, *Stephen Spilman*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *John VVoodcock*, was Mayor.
Henry Barton, *VVilliam Cremer*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *Richard VVhittington* was Mayor.
Nicholas VVatton, *Geoffry Brooke*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *VVilliam Stondon* was Mayor.
Henry Pontfract, *Henry Halton*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Drew Barentine* was Mayor.
Thomas Buck, *VVilliam Norton*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Richard Marlow was Mayor.
John Law, *VVilliam Chichely*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Knolls*, was Mayor.
John Penne, *Thomas Pike*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
John Rainwel, *VVilliam Cotton*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
VVilliam VValdren was Mayor.
Ralph Lovenham, *VVilliam Sevenoke*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE FIFTH.

Anno Dom. 1412.

HENRY of *Monmouth* (so called from the place in *Wales*, where he was born) eldest Son of King *Henry* the fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *England*, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessors: and afterwards on the ninth of *April*, in the year 1412. he was Crowned at *Westminster*, by *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all Rites and Solemnities in such case accustomed: And as the Scripture speaks of *Saul*, *That as soon as Samuel had anointed him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man then he was before*: so was it with this King Henry. For presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his old Companions, who had been *fratres in malo* with him, strictly charging them not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, until such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners; and lest any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent means whereby to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the *Scots* and *Welsh*, that in times of change they would commonly take advantage, to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in fit places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking; and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalties of the Clergy: and the Bishops fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another string, which they knew would be more pleasing to him, which was to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of *France*. And thereupon *Chichely* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a long narration, deduced the King's right from *Isabel* Daughter to *Philip* the fourth, married to King *Edward* the second; from whom it descended by direct line to his Majesty, and no hinderance of enjoying it but pretension of the *Salique* Laws; which (said he) was neither according to the law of God, nor yet intended at first to that Nation: and though his Predecessors by reason of other incumbrances forbore to prosecute their claim, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no less power then right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more then true glory, so in nothing more then in warlike actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of *France*. First therefore he begins to alter in his Armes the bearing of *Semy-de-Luces*, and quarters the three *Flower-de-Luces*, as the Kings of *France* then bare them; and that he might not be thought to steal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Ambassadours to *Charles* the sixth then King of *France*, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of *France*: which if he would yield unto, then King *Henry* would take to Wife his Daughter *Katharine*; but if he refused to do it, then King *Henry* would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadours sent, were the Duke of *Exeter*, the Archbishop of *Dublin*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of *Norwich*, with five hundred Horse; who coming to the Court of *France*, were at first received and feasted, with all the honour and shew of kindeness that might be: but as soon as their Message was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainment was altered, and they were sent away with as little Complement, as they were before received with honour; only told that the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadours: and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of *Vendosme*, *William Baratier* Archbishop of *Bourges*, *Peter Fresnel*, Bishop of *Lyseaux*, with others, were arrived in *England*, as soon almost as the *English* were returned. But being come, the Arhbishop of *Bourges* made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady *Katharine*, and 50000. Crowns with her in Dower, besides some Towns of no great importance: To which K. *Henry* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* made answer, That these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demands, he would never desist from that he intended; and with this answer the *French* Ambassadours were dismissed. It is said, that about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of *France* his sickness managed the State) sent to King *Henry* a Ton of Tennis Balls, in derision of his youth, as fitter to play with them, then to manage Arms; which

King Henry hath homage sworn to him before he was Crowned.

Being once Crowned, he discharged all his disorderly companions.

A Subsidy granted him without asking.

The Bishops shew him his right to the Crown of *France*.

He quarters in his Arms the three *Flower-de-luces*.

He sends Ambassadours into *France* to claim the surrender of the Crown.

The King of *France* returns answer by his Ambassadours.

The Dauphin or his friends send King *Henry* a Ton of Tennis Balls in derision, and King *Henry*'s Answer.

King *Henry* took in such scorn, that he promised with an Oath, it should not be long e're he would tosse such Iron Balls amongst them, that the best Arms in *France* should not be able to hold a Racket to return them. And now all things are prepared and in a readiness for the Kings Journey into *France*, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on Shipboard; when suddenly a Treason was discovered against his person, plotted by *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Masham*, Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland*, and plotted and procured by the *French* Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Treason, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, second Son of *Edmund* of *Langley*, did *Richard* afterward Duke of *York* claim and recover the Crown from the *Lancastrian* Family. This Execution done, and the winde blowing fair, King *Henry* weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200. Sail, (*Grafton* saith but 140. Ships) but *Enguerant* saith, 1600. attended with six thousand Spears, and 24000. Foot, besides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at *Caux*, where he made Proclamation, that no man upon pain of death should rob any Church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed: and from thence passing on, he besieged *Harflew*; which when no succour came within certain dayes agreed upon, the Town was surrendred and sacked. Of this Town he made the Duke of *Exeter* Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, Sir *John Falstoffe*, with a Garrison of 1500. men. It is said that when King *Henry* entred *Harflew*, he passed along the streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. *Martin*; where with great devotion he gave most humble thanks to God for this first atchieved Enterprize. From thence he marched forward, and coming to the River of *Soame*, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. *Maxens*, where 30000. *French* appearing, he pitcht his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the Order of Knighthood to *John* Lord *Ferrers* of *Groby*, *Reynold Grayftock*, *Piercy Tempest*, *Christopher Morisby*, *Thomas Pickering*, *William Huddleston*, *Henry Mortimer*, *John Hosbalton*, *Philip Hall*: but not perceiving the *French* to have any minde to fight, he marched by the Town of *Amyens* to *Bowes*, and there stayed two dayes, expecting Battel; and from thence marched to *Corby*, where the Peasants of the Countrey, with certain men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the *English*, which was led by *Hugh Stafford* Lord *Bourchier*, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by *John Bromeley* of *Bromeley*, a Commander in the Lord *Stafford*'s Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same, with sight whereof, the *English* were so encouraged, that they presently routed the *French*, and put them to flight; which valiant exploit, the Lord *Stafford* recompensed, by giving to *Bromely* an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in *Staffordshire*. After this the King marched towards *Callice*, so strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a silver Pixe out of a Church, he not only caused the same to be restored, but the Souldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline both kept the rest from offending in that kinde, and drew the people of the Countrey, underhand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The *French* King hearing that King *Henry* had passed the River of *Soame*, by advice of his Counsel (who yet were divided in Opinion) sent *Montjoy* the *French* King at Arms to defie King *Henry*, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King *Henry*, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of *Stafford*, the Bishop of *Norwich*, the Lord *Molines* and *Burnel*, were lately dead: yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message; and first having cleared a passage over a Bridge, where of necessity he was to pass, on the 22. of *October*, he passed over with his Army. At which time the Duke of *York* that led the Rereward, had discovered the Enemy to come on apace; whereof he sent word to the King, who thereupon made a stand: and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the Battel should begin. The *French* Army was divided into three Battels; in the first were placed eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Cross-bows, the wings consisting of two thousand two hundred men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Constable of *France* himself, the Dukes of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, the Earls of *Ewe*, *Richmond*, and *Vendosme*, the Lord *Dampier*, the Lord Admiral of *France*, the Admiral *Bouciqualt*, and others. The middle Battel wherein were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of *Barre* and *Alanson*, and by the Earls of *Vaudemont*, *Salings*, *Blamont*, *Grantpee*, and *Rousey*. In the Rereward were all the Remainder of the *French* Forces, guided by the Earls of *Marle*, *Dampmartin*, *Fauconbridge*, and the Lord *Lonrey*, Captain of *Ardy*: The *Frenchmen* thus ordered, being six times, some say ten times, as many as the *English*, (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing but of the booty they should get. In the mean time King *Henry* having made choice of a piece of ground half-fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had rested the night before, on both sides having strong hedges and ditches, begun there to order his Battel: but first he appointed an ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a watch-word given, should discharge their whole flight upon the whole flank of the Enemies Horse. The Vaunt-guard consisting of Archers only, was conducted by the Duke of *York*, who out of an heroick courage made suit for that place; with whom were joyned the Lords *Beaumont*, *Willoughby*, and *Fanhope*. The main Battel was led by the King himself, which consisted of Bill-men, and some Bow-men: with him were the Duke of *Glocester* his Brother,

A Treason discovered against King *Henry*.

Richard Earl of *Cambridge*, *Henry* Lord *Scroop*, Lord Treasurer, and *Thomas Grey* Earl of *Northumberland* put to death.

1415. King *Henry* passeth with an Army into *France*.

His Devotion.

His strict Discipline.

The *French* Army, how marshalled.

Six times as many as the *English*.

King *Henry*'s Army how marshalled.

ther, the Earl Marshal, *Oxford*, and *Suffolk*. The Rereward was led by *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, the Kings Unkle, consisting of all sorts of weapons; the horsemen, as wings guarded the companies on both sides. The King to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavalry, by the direction of the Duke of *York*, appointed divers stakes studded with iron at both ends, of six foot long, to be pitched behinde the Archers, and appointed Pioneers to attend to remove them, as they should be directed. These things thus ordered, publick Prayers were humbly made, and the on-set was presently given by the *French* Horsemen; whereupon Sir *Walter Orpington*, according to direction, caused the Bow-men behinde the hedges to let flie their Arrows; which so galled the *French* horses, that either they cast their Riders, or through their unrulinesse, so opened their Ranks, that the right wing of the *English* horse had way to come in upon the *French* foot; and withal, the *French* horse disorderly retiring, they were miserably trodden down and dis-ranked by their own company. Upon which, the King with his main Battel came on with such resolution, that himself in person charged the Duke of *Alanson*, by whom he was well-near unhorsed; but afterward, having first slain two of the Dukes men, he charged the Duke again, and with his Sword beat him from his horse; whom the King's Guard, notwithstanding the King cried out to the contrary, slew out-right: and with his fall the main Battel of the *French* first gave ground, then turned their backs, and lastly cast away their Weapons and fled. But then certain of the *French* horsemen that first ran away, led on by *Robert Bondile* and the Captain of *Agincourt*, meaning to wipe away the blot of running away from Souldiers, by fighting with Boyes, set upon the Pages and Laundresses that were left in the Camp; who gave such a lamentable shreek, that King *Henry* verily thought some fresh forces had been come: whereupon he caused all the Arrows that were sticking in the field, to be gathered, and the stakes to be plucked up, and made ready to be again used: amongst which the Duke of *York*'s body was found, miserably hacked and defaced: the sight whereof, together with danger of a second Charge, made King *Henry* give order, the Prisoners should be all slain, except only some principal men, whom he caused to be bound back to back, and so left. For which fact, though done in cold blood, yet the King could not justly be taxed with cruelty, seeing the number of the Prisoners was more then of his own Souldiers; and nothing could give assurance of safety, but their slaughter. But all was not yet done; for the Earls of *Marle* and *Fauconbridge*, with six hundred men at Arms, who had stood still all day, began now to stir, and gave a brave charge upon King *Henry*'s Army: but being but few, and their horses galled with the stakes, they had only the honour to dye bravely; and indeed they slew more of the *English*, then the whole Army had done before. And now at last, the King being satisfied by the scouts, that no Enemy was more to be seen, he asked what the place was called? and being told, *Agincourt*; Well then (said he) this shall be from henceforth called the Battel of *Agincourt*: and presently he caused the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; causing the Clergy there present, to sing the Psalm of *David, In exitu Israel de Ægypto*; and made Proclamation, that every one at the verse, *Non nobis Domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam*, should kneel down, and the horsemen bow their bodies: and then singing *Te Deum* and other Holy Hymns, they marched to the enemies Camp, where the Souldiers had liberty given them to take the spoil.

A Policy.

The Duke of *York* slain.

The prisoners taken were all slain: how justified.

This Battel was fought at *Agincourt*. 1416

His devotion after the Victory.

A great Victory no doubt, but yet a victory by which the *English* gained not one foot of ground in *France*, more then they had before; and which *Monstrelet* attributeth not so much to the valour of the *English*, as to the indiscretion of the *French*, who had so straightned the Vantguard of their Army, and pent them up so close together, that they had not room to draw out their Swords; so true is that saying, *Quos Deus vult perdere dementat*. The next day after the Battel, *French* Heraulds came to ask leave to bury their dead, and had it, and the *English* Heraulds appointed to make search, made return that there were slain of the *French* above ten thousand, whereof a hundred twenty six were of the Nobility bearing Banners, of Knights and Gentlemen of Coat-Armour, seven thousand eight hundred seventy four, whereof five hundred were Knighted the night before the Battel; and of common Souldiers, about sixteen hundred. Amongst the slain of the Nobility, were *Charles le Brets*, High Constable, *Jaques* of *Chatillon*, Admiral of *France*, the great Master of *France*, the Master of the Cross-Bows, the Duke of *Alanson*, *Brabant*, and *Barre*; the Earls of *Neuers*, *Marle*, *Vaudemont*, *Beaumont*, *Grandpee*, *Rousey*, *Fauconbridge*, *Foys*, and *L'estreuck*: There were taken Prisoners, *Charles* Duke of *Orleance*, *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords *Danvert*, *Fosseux*, *Humiers*, *Roy*, *Cawny*, *Fancourt*, *Noel*, *Bouciqualt*; to the number in all of fifteen hundred. On the *English* part were slain, *Edward* Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk*, and not full six hundred in all; but (saith *Caxton*) not above six and twenty in all; and *Paulus Æmilius* saith, besides the two Lords, only two Knights, and but ten private Souldiers in all: a Miracle rather then a Victory. But not only King *Henry* was the death of the *French* Lords before named, in the field with his Sword: but of another great Prince at home, with his Victory; for *Lewis* the Dauphin, eldest Son of *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, presently upon it, without any other cause apparent, fell sick and died. Yet King *Henry*, to make his enemies the better contented with their overthrow, and to take away the envy of his Victory, at his return into *England* with his Prisoners, which was on the sixth of *November* following, presently gave strait order, that no Ballad or Song should be made or sung, more then of Thanksgiving to God for his happy Victory and safe return; but without words of either disgracing the *French*, or extolling the *English*. At his entrance into *London*, the City presented him with a thousand pounds, and two Basons of Gold worth five hundred pounds more. The bodies of the Duke of *York* and the Earl *Suffolk* were

An error of the *French* in ordering their Battel, 'cause of the overthrow.

The number of *French* slain in the Battel.

And who of the Nobility

The small number of the *English* that were slain.

The Dauphin with grief dieth.

brought into *England*, and the Dukes buried at *Fodringham* in *Northamptonshire*, the Earls at *New-Eime* in *Oxfordshire*.

The Emperour *Sigismund* comes into *England*.

About this time the Emperour *Sigismund*, Cousin-german to King *Henry*, having been first in *France*, came accompanied with the Archbishop of *Rhemes*, Ambassadour from the *French* King, into *England*; for whom there were thirty great Ships sent from the King to waft him over: but approaching to land at *Dover*, the Duke of *Gloucester*, with a company of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn, stept up to the knees in water, saying to him, That if he came as the Kings friend, he should be welcome; but if as claiming any Jurisdiction, they would resist him: whereupon the Emperour renounceth all Imperial Authority, and is thereupon admitted to land, and received with as much honour as could be done him; and afterward together with *Albert* Duke of *Holland*, who was lately likewise arrived at *Vincheſter*, is elected companion of the Order of the Garter, and sate in their Cells at the solemnity of the Feast. A principal cause of the Emperour's coming, was to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*; wherein he had brought King *Henry* to a good degree of inclination; till news came of the besieging of *Harflew* by the *French*, and of the Earl of *Arminiack* setting upon the Duke of *Exeter*, being Governour there: and then he presently grew so averse from Peace, that he would hearken no more to any Treaty of it. Not that he misliked they should treat of Peace with their Swords in their hands, as all wise men would do; but that to treat of Peace, and in the time of the Treaty to do acts of Hostility, was an affront to all honesty, and not to be tolerated with any patience.

1417. *Harflew* besieged by the Earl of *Arminiack*.

And now the Earl of *Arminiack* having set down before the Town, the Vice-Admiral of *France* brought up the whole Navy of the *French*, with intent whilst the Earl should assail it by land, to have entred the Town by the waters side: but of this purpose the valour and diligence of the Duke of *Exeter* prevented them. As soon as King *Henry* had intelligence hereof, he would presently have gone himself; but being diſſwaded by the Emperour, he sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford*, with the Earls of *March*, *Oxford*, *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *Devonshire*, and divers others, with two hundred Sail, to the rescue of *Harflew*; who upon the Feast of the Assumption of our Lady, came to the mouth of the River *Seyne*: whereupon, *Norbon* the *French* Admiral set forward, and got the mouth of the Haven: and here began a fight, which was resolutely maintained on both sides, until the *English* having sunk five hundred Vessels one and other of the *French*, and taken three great Carricks of *Genoua*, won the Harbour; and at last, though with some opposition made by their Gallies, relieved *Harflew*, and made the Earl of *Arminiack* glad to raise his siege. Upon the news hereof, the Emperour desisted from mediating any further for Peace with *France*; and entring into a League Defensive and Offensive with King *Henry*, wherein only the Pope was excepted, on the 19. of *October* he departed towards *Germany*, whom King *Henry* accompanied to *Callice*, whither the Duke of *Burgundy* came to confirm the League concluded onbefore by the Earl of *Warwick* and him, concerning *Flanders* and *Artois* only. In the mean time the *French* had hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of the *Genoese* and *Italians*, which joyning with the *French* Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of *Seyne*, under the command of *Jaques* Bastard of *Bourbon*, to hinder all succours from coming to *Harflew*; but *John* Earl of *Huntington* (Son to the Duke of *Exeter* beheaded at *Chicheſter*) being sent to scowre the Coasts, encountred with him, and after a long fight, took him Prisoner, and three of his great Carricks, with all the money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and sinking three other of his Carricks, and dispersing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River, and then returned to the King at *Southampton*. And now upon the twenty third of *July*, in the fourth year of his Reign, the King himself, with the Dukes of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Huntington*, *Warwick*, *Devonshire*, *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Somerset*, the Lords *Rosse*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-Hugh*, *Clynton*, *Scroop*, *Matrevers*, *Bourchier*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Fanhope*, *Grey* of *Codnor*, Sir *Gilbert Umphreville*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and an Army consisting of twenty five thousand five hundred and twenty eight fighting men, besides a thousand Artificers and Pyoneers, took shipping at *Portsmouth*, and upon the first of *August* landed in *Normandy* near to the Castle of *Tonque*, which he presently besieged, and upon the ninth of *August* had it yielded to him, at which time the Earl of *Salisbury* took the Castle of *Albervilliers* which the King gave to him and to his heirs, being the first land given by the King in *France*.

The Emperour enters League Offensive and Defensive with King *Henry*.

King *Henry* with a great Army passeth in person into *France*, and besiegeth *Tonque* Castle, and takes it.

At the winning of *Tonque*, the King made eight and twenty Knights; and from thence marched with his Army to *Caen*; where to prevent the Citizens from sallying out, he cast up a Mount; and then making many assaults, but finding them to do little good, he caused his Pyoneers to undermine the Walls: which being done, upon the fourth of *September*, he offered the Besieged their lives, if they would submit; which they refusing, he thereupon made a shew of a general assault, whilst many of his men entred the City under the foundation, of whom the Duke of *Clarence* with his Company was the first: and they coming upon the backs of those that defended the Walls, easily overcame them; and then the whole Army entred without resistance. The next day the King caused all the principal men of the Town to come before him at their Senate house, where some of them for their stubborn refusing the grace he had offered them, were adjudged to death, and the rest fined: The spoil of the Town was distributed amongst the Souldiers. The Captain of the Castle stood out a while: but being advertised that the King had sworn to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, he gave twelve Hostages, that if it were not relieved before the twentieth of *September*, he would then give it up; which not coming he performed; and so the King had possession both of *Caen* and the Castle.

Five hundred *French* ships sunk by the *English*.

Harflew rescu'd by the Duke of *Bedford*.

And now *Charles* the new Dauphin, being but seven-

Difference between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin makes easie way for K. *Henry*'s proceeding.

seventeen years of age, and bare of money, had got into his possession all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which so incensed her against him, that to do him a spight; she placed the Duke of *Burgundy* in chief authority about the King, who by reason of his infirmity, was unable himself to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant first to repress the growing boldness of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatness, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adversary. And thus while private respects were preferred before publick, whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first intentions one against another, not looking after King *Henry*, but in the second place, after their own turns served, an easie way was left for King *Henry*'s proceedings, and he went on at his pleasure with small opposition. He sent the

1418. Duke of *Clarence*, who took in the City of *Bayeux*, as likewise the Duke of *Gloucester* the City of *Lyseux*; whilst himself remaining still at *Caen*, put out of the City the Natives that were impotent or young Infants, to the number of 1500. and in their places put *English* people, and finding a great mass of Money and Plate,

King *Henry*'s liberal dealing with the Citizens of *Caen*.

deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caused the same upon proof, to be respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and just dealing won him more hearts then the force of his Arms had won him knees; specially with the *Normans*, who are easier to be drawn with gentleness and love, then forced by violence and compulsion. From hence the King marched the first of *October* to *Corfye* Castle, which within three dayes yielded. The fourth of *October* he came to *Argenton*, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendred. The Town of *Alanson* endured eight dayes siege, but in the end did as other their neighbour Towns had done. From *Alanson* the Earl of *Salisbury* was sent to *Fayles*, to view the strength thereof, whom the King presently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of *January*, then to yield up the Town. No relief coming, the Town was yielded up, and soon after upon the like terms, the Castle. From hence the King returned to *Caen*, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formerly made; That if the Inhabitants of *Normandy* that were fled, returned not by a day assigned, he would then grant their Lands to his Souldiers: and thereupon he gave to the Duke of *Clarence*, during life, the Vicounties of *Auge*, *Orver*, and *Pontius*, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at *Bayeux*, whilst his Navy still kept the Seas, and daily took many *French* Ships, but on the sixteenth of *July* such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with *Southampton*; and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Merchandize were in the very Haven drowned. In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Talbot* besieged the strong Castle of *Damfront*: the Duke of *Clarence* took *Courton* and *Burney*; and many other being taken, as *Chambois*, *Bechelouyn*, *Harcourt*, *Fantgernon*, *Crevener*, *Anvyillers*, *Bagles*, in all of them he placed Captains and Garrisons, and particularly in *Fresay*, Sir *Robert Brent*, lately made Viscount: The Duke of *Gloucester* also, with the Earl of *March*, and the Lord of *Codnor*, took in all the Isle of *Constantine*, except *Chereburg*, and then returned to the King but was sent back to take in that City also; which after some time, when no relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendred; although by this time the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled and began to joyn their Forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of *Exeter* the King's Uncle, with a supply of fifteen thousand men out of *England*, came to the King, who presently took in the City of *Eureux*; and the Earl of *Ryme*, the strong Castle of *Mille le Vesco*.

King *Henry* besiegeth *Roan*. His policies in the siege.

The next thing attempted, was the siege of *Roan*, a City strongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the City of *Lovies*; to this City therefore he first layes siege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was surrendred; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a stone-bridge which hindred the approach to *Roan*, being exceeding strongly guarded: For this, King *Henry* devised floats of wicker covered with Beasts Hides, by which the Duke of *Clarence* with his quarter passed the River, and then laid siege to the Town on that side; and for the other side, he had other devices made with Hogsheads and Pipes, fastned to Fir Poles and Barges, with which he passed his men over at pleasure; and in the mean time he caused divers of his Souldiers that could swim, to make shew of passing the River three miles off another way; with which the *French* men being deluded, drew all their Forces thither, and by this means the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the Souldiers were taken to the Kings Grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of *Exeter* was sent, and with him *Windsor* the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not only gave proud answers, but also made a sally forth, though with the loss of thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacy of theirs, the King presently orders his siege; his own quarter was the *Charteux*, the Duke of *Clarence* at St. *Gervase*, the Duke of *Exeter* at Port St. *Dennis*, and every great Commander had his quarter assigned, so as the City was begirt round, and a great chain of Iron set upon piles, and a strong wooden Bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of *Kilmayne* with sixteen hundred *Irish*, came to the King, and had their quarter assigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour. The Kings Cousin german, the King of *Portugal*, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River *Seyne*, which stopped all passage of succour to *Roan*. Many policies and practices were used

But nothing prevailed till at last, Famine.

uſed againſt the City, but none prevailed, till famine forced it; for there being in *Roan* 210000. perſons at the beginning of the ſiege, and the ſiege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and ſuch like: Great numbers of the poorer ſort were thruſt out of the City, who not ſuffered to paſs the *Engliſh* Army, miſerably periſhed; only upon *Chriſtmaſs-day*, in honour of Chriſts Birth, the King relieved and ſuffered to paſs as many as were at firſt put out, but not others that were put out the ſecond time, but ſuffered them to periſh.

In this diſtreſs, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithſtanding their miſery, yet ſtood upon ſuch high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight dayes was granted them; the eight dayes ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongſt themſelves, they crave one day longer, and neither in that day could any thing be agreed on: then they crave four dayes more, in which the multitude and common people ſo preſſed the Magiſtrates, and Governours of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of *January*, the City was ſurrendred, and the Inhabitants themſelves, and all their Goods were yielded to the Kings mercy; the Duke of *Exeter* was appointed to take poſſeſſion, who accordingly entred with his Souldiers. The next day after being *Friday*, the twentieth of *January*, the King himſelf made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Biſhops, ſixteen Barons, and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady Church; where after publick thankſgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgeſſes and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, ſhould enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their poſſeſſions: whereupon many came in, and many Towns were ſurrendred. In this time of the Kings lying at *Roan*, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Hunflew*, *Munſter de Villiers*, *Ewe*, and *New-Caſtle*; the Duke of *Clarence* took *Vernon*, and *Naunt*; and the Earl of *Warwick*, *la Roche Guyon*.

Roan is yielded up to King *Henry*.

1419.

1420.

And now the Duke of *Burgundy* ſeeing the great ſucceſſes of King *Henry*, could think of no better way for his own ſafety, then to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambaſſadors are ſent to procure their meeting: at which time, King *Henry* for their ſervice already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant *Gaſcoigne* Captain *le Beauff*, Earl of *Longueville*, Sir *John Gray* Earl of *Tankervile*, and the Lord *Bourchier* Earl of *Ewe*. Upon the laſt of *May*, King *Henry* accompanied with the Dukes of *Clarence*, *Glocester*, and *Exeter*, his Unkle *Beaufort*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with the Earls of *March*, and *Salisbury*, and a thouſand men at Arms, entred the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The *French* Queen (her Husband being taken with the Frenzy) with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of St. *Paul*, and a company of *Ladies*: amongſt whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Daughter, the beautiful Lady *Katharine*; with whoſe ſight, though the King was marvellouſly taken, yet he made no ſhew thereof, till other things ſhould be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made means to the Duke of *Burgoigne* to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected; whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, that he would have both the Lady, and all his other demands; or elſe drive the King of *France* out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this, the Duke thought it beſt to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the ſixth of *July*, Articles of their reconcilement are ſigned and ſealed. In the mean time the Earl of *Longuevile* ſurprized the Town of *Ponthoyſe*, but had ſcarce been able to make good the ſurprize, if the Duke of *Clarence* had not come to his ſuccour. From thence the Duke marched to *Paris*, and there ſtayed two dayes; but perceiving no ſhow of ſally to be made, he returned to *Ponthoyſe*, whither the King himſelf came; and from thence marching on, took in the Caſtle of *Vaynon Villeirs*; and on the laſt of *Auguſt*, the Caſtles of *Gyſors*, and *Galyard*, and *Dumal*: ſo that now all *Normandy* (*Mount St. Michael* only excepted) was reduced to the poſſeſſion of the King of *England*, which had been wrongfully detained from him, ever ſince the year 1207.

A meeting for reconciliation appointed between the two Kings of *England* and *France*.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconcilement with the Duke of *Burgoigne*, yet inwardly bearing a ſpleen againſt him, intended nothing ſo much as his deſtruction: which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at *Mounſtrew*; where the Duke though humbling himſelf in reverence to the Dauphin on his knee, was moſt barbarouſly murthered; which act, was ſo much the leſs to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kinde, upon the like interview, he had cauſed *Lewis* the Duke of *Orleance* to be murthered. But though this barbarous act might juſtly incenſe *Philip* Earl of *Carolois* the Duke of *Burgoigne's* Heir to ſeek revenge; yet as a wiſe and politick Prince, he forbore for the preſent, to make any ſhew of choler or diſtemperature; and conſidering with himſelf, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King *Henry* the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propoſe an overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that end Ambaſſadors are ſent from the King of *France*, and the young Duke of *Burgoigne*, whom the King kindly entertained, but ſeemed to intimate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propoſitions, unleſs the Lady *Katharine* would joyn in them, whoſe innocence he knew would never abuſe him. Whilſt theſe things are in agitation, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in *Freſney*, and the Earls *Marſhal* and *Huntington*, entred into *Mayn*, who approaching *Mentz*, was encountred by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they ſlew five thouſand, and took two hundred priſoners; for which, news being brought to *Roan*, whither King *Henry* was come to ſolemnize the Feaſt of Chriſt's Birth, thankſgiving to God was publickly made; and in the inſtant thereof, arrived other Ambaſſadors from the King and Queen of *France*, and a Letter from the

The Duke of *Burgoigne* treacherouſly murthered by the Dauphin

the Lady *Katharine* to King *Henry*, was secretly by the Bishop of *Arras* delivered. The conclusion of all was, that the King of *England* should speed himself to *Troyes*, there to be espoused to the Lady *Katharine*; and to have assurance of the Crown of *France*, after the decease of the present King *Charles*. Whereupon with a Guard of fifteen thousand choice Souldiers, accompanied with the Duke of *Clarence* and *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Salisbury*, *Huntington*, *Longueville*, *Tankerville*, and *Ewe*, the King of *England* came to *Troyes* in *Champaign*, upon the 18. day of *May*; where he was met by the Duke of *Burgoign*, and divers of the *French* Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*, and the Lady *Katharine*, gave him Princely entertainment; and after some intercourse of complement between the Princes and the Ladies, King *Henry* tendered to the Lady *Katharine*, a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and afterward, upon the twentieth day of *May*, she was affianced to him in St. *Peter's* Church, and on the third of *June* following, the marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King *Henry* was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*: the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in *England* and in *France*, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of account, were sworn to observe them; and in particular the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

King *Henry* affianced to the Lady *Katharine*, the King of *France's* Daughter; and withal proclaimed Regent of *France*, and heir apparent of the Crown.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succession in the Crown, which the *Genius* of *France* will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of *June*, King *Henry* with the *French* King, *James* King of *Scots*, who was newly arrived, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Prince of *Orange*, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of *French*, *English*, *Scotish*, *Irish*, and *Dutch*, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day laid siege to the Town of *Seyns*, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four dayes siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of *Bedford* in their company, who was newly come out of *England* with large supplies of men and money to *Monstreau*; which was taken by *Escalado*, only the Castle held out still: during the siege whereof, King *Henry* created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heraulds over the *English* men, and intitled him *Garter*; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbraided; for punishment of which his presumption, a Gibbet was erected, and in view of Mounsieur *Guitrey*, the said Captain, and twelve of his friends were executed. Whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight dayes together would not grant so much as a Parly: so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced, (their lives saved) simply to yield. From thence the King marched to *Melun* upon *Seyn*, and besieged it the thirtieth of *July*; the Captain whereof was *Barbason* a *Gascoigne*, no less politick then valiant, who countermined some, and stopt other Mines made by the *English*, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King *Henry*: yet at last through Famine and Pestilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a hand in the murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, he was sent Prisoner to *Paris*; and presently thereupon, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and his Dutchess, with a Royal Train came thither, where the *French* King was lodged in the house of St. *Paul*, and the King of *England* in the Castle of *Louvre*. And here the three States of *France* anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King *Henrie's* Succession in the Crown of *France*; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of *England*, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at *Westminster*.

King *Henry* with an Army of six hundred thousand marcheth against the Dauphin.

Garter King of Arms when first created.

And now King *Henry* began to exercise his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coyn which was called a *Salute*, to be made, whereon the Arms of *France* and *England* were quarterly stamped: He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of *Exeter* with five hundred men, to the Guard of *Paris*: He awarded out Process against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble-Table at *Paris*, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and by the Sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

King *Henry* makes a new Coin in *France* called a *Salute*.

After this, the King making *Thomas* Duke of *Clarence* his Lieutenant General of *France* and *Normandy*, on the 6. of *January*, with his beloved Queen *Katharine* left *Paris*, and went to *Amyens*, and from thence to *Callice*; and thence landing at *Dover*, came to *Canterbury*, and afterward through *London* to *Westminster*, where the Queen upon St. *Matthew's* day, the fourth of *February* was Crowned; the King of *Scots* sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Kings Unkle the Bishop of *Winchester* being on the right hand. All were served with covered messes of Silver, but all the Feast was Fish, in observation of the Lent season.

1421.

A Coronation Feast all of Fish.

After this the King took his Progress through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for administring of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at *Leicester*, where they kept their Easter.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Clarence* making a Road into *Anjou*, came to the City of *Ampers*, where he Knighted Sir *William Rosse*, Sir *Henry Goddard*, Sir *Rowland Vyder*, Sir *Thomas Beaufort* his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised that the Duke of *Alanson* intended to intercept his passage: whereupon he sent the Scout-Master, *Andrew Fogosa*, a *Lombard*, to discover the face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought report, that their number was but small, and those but ill ordered; that if he presently charged there

there could be no resistance. The Dukes Credulity caused him to draw all his Horses together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behinde, which were his chiefest strength, with his Horse only he makes towards the Enemy: but the Traitor leading to a straight, where by his appointment an Ambush was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat, nor flee, he soon perceived the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horse, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-laid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of *Tankervile*, the Lord *Rosse*, the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *John Lumley*, Sir *John Verend*, and above two thousand *English* slain: The Earls of *Somerset*, *Suffolk*, and *Pearch*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir *Ralph Nevil*, Sir *William Bows*, and 60. Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The body of the Duke of *Clarence* was by Sir *John Beaufort* his base Son, (the Duke dying without other Issue) convey'd into *England*, and buried at *Canterbury* besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at *Beverley* when he heard of his Brothers death, and presently thereupon dispatched away *Edmund* Earl of *Mortaigne* into *Normandy*, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament to *Westminster*, requiring aid by money, to revenge his Brothers death, which was readily granted: and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* with an Army to *Callice*, consisting of four thousand men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, whom about the middle of *May* he followeth himself, and safely arriving at *Callice*, hasted to relieve *Charters*, which the Dauphin with seven thousand men had besieged; but hearing of the Kings coming was retired to *Tours*. The King of *Scots*, with the Duke of *Gloucester*, about the eighth of *July* besieged *Dreux*; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the twentieth of that month, then to surrender it: no relief coming it was surrendred. The King pursued the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surprized the Town of *Bawgency*, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewise he did at *Rougemont*; from thence he went to *Orleance*, and from thence to *Vignes St. Yon*, and from thence to *Paris*; where having fitted himself with supplies, he went and sate down before *Menixe* in *Brye*, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had possession of all the Fortresses in the Isle of *France*, in *Lonuans*, in *Brye*, and in *Champaigne*.

The Duke of *Clarence* by treachery slain, with divers others.

1422. Queen *Katharine* is brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*: and King *Henries* Prophetical speech of him.

Upon St. *Nicholas* day, in the year 1422. Queen *Katharine* was brought to bed of a Son at *Windsor*, who was by the Duke of *Bedford* and *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Countess of *Holland* Christned by the name of *Henry*; whereof, when the King had notice, out of a Prophetick rapture he said; Good Lord! I *Henry* of *Monmouth* shall small time reign, and much get, and *Henry* born at *Windsor* shall long time reign and lose all, but Gods will be done.

About this time the Dauphin laid siege to *Cosney*, which the King was intentive to relieve, as being a Town of the Duke of *Burgoign's*; and therefore tendred it more then if it had been his own; and making over-hasty journeyes, he over-heat himself with Travel; and coming to *Senlys*, found himself so ill at ease, that he was forced to remain there, and to send his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* to prosecute his design, which the Duke performed, and the Dauphin upon his approach, retired into *Berry*; whereof in mockage he was after called the King of *Berry*. But the Kings Fever and Flux increasing, he was removed to *Boys de Vincens*; where growing worse and worse, within a few dayes he died. But somewhat before his departure, he had made his Brother the Duke of *Bedford* Lieutenant General of *Normandy*, and Regent of the Kingdom of *France*, and his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester*, he had made Protector of *England*, and of his Sons person: Exhorting all to be true and faithful to the Duke of *Burgoign*, to be at unity amongst themselves, to be loyal to their young Prince, to be serviceable to his dearly beloved Queen, to hold and preserve what he by his Valour and Gods assistance had won; and never to conclude contract of amity with the Dauphin or Duke of *Alanson*, until they had submitted themselves to the Kings Grace. And so giving God thanks for all his favours and blessings bestowed upon him, in the midst of saying a Psalm of *David*, he departed this life; who might have justly prayed God with *David*, *Take me not away in the midst of my dayes*, for he died about the age of five or six and thirty years, which in *David's* account is the midst of the number of the dayes of mans life: but though he died in the midst of his dayes, yet he died in the fulness of his Glory; and of whom it may be said,——*Jamque arce potitus, Ridet anhelantes duri ad fastigia montis*: When he had reigned nine years and five months.

King *Henry* with over-hasty journeyes in *France*, falls sick and dies.

His Exhortations to his Lords at his death.

Of his Taxations.

IN his first year, an incredible sum of money was given him by the Clergy, to divert him from a motion propounded to take away their Temporalties; and in the same year a Subsidy was granted him both by the Clergy and the Laity. In his fourth year was granted him, towards his Wars in *France*, two whole Tenths of the Clergy, and a Fifteenth of the Laity; which being far too short to defray his great charge, he was forced to pawn his Crown to the Bishop of *Beaufort* his Unkle for a great sum of money, as also certain Jewels to the Lord Mayor of *London*, for ten thousand Marks. In his ninth year a Parliament at *Westminster*, for revenge of the Duke of *Clarence's* death, two Tenths of the Clergy, and one Fifteenth of the Laity, which because the haste of the business could not stay the usual course of Collection, the Bishop of *Winchester* brought in presently twenty thousand pounds, to receive it again when the Subsidy should be gathered. The same year also the Duke of *Bedford* in the Kings absence called a Parliament, wherein was granted towards his Wars, one Fifteenth to be paid in such money as was at that time current. These were all the Subsidies that were given him, notwithstanding his many and great Atchievements, by which it appears what great matters

King *Henry* pawneth his Crown to raise money.

matters a moderate Prince may do, and yet not grieve his Subjects with Taxations.

Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

No gold to be offered in payment unless it were weight and thereupon Weight ordained.

HE Ordained the King of Heraulds over the *English*, which is called *Garter*.

In his ninth year in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, it was ordained that no man should offer Gold in payment, unless it were weight; and thereupon were appointed ballances and weights.

An Act made in the thirteenth year of King *Richard* the second, which disabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefices within *England*, was in the beginning of this King's Reign put in execution; and further, this King excluded also the *French* from all preferment Ecclesiastical; and those Priors Aliens Conventual who had institution and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose, or to be disclosed, the Counsel and secrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Sir *John Old-Castle* censured for maintaining *Wickliff's* doctrine.

IN the beginning of his Reign, the *Wickleviſts* increased greatly, of whom Sir *John Oldcastle* was chief; who by marriage of a Kinswoman of the Lord *Cobham's* of *Cooling* in *Kent*, obtained that Title: This Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at *London* accused for maintaining of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the Censure of the Church: But Sir *John Oldcastle* told the King, that he owed his subjection only to his Majesty: and as for others, he would stand for the Truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this he was served by Process to appear in the Archbishop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at *Rochester*, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretick; who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be Translated into the *English* tongue. But mark the Judgement that fell upon his own Tongue, whose Roots and Blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last starved by famine, he so died. In the mean time Sir *John Oldcastle* wrote his Belief, and presented it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him in his Presence and Privy Chamber to be summoned; who appearing before the Archbishop, after divers examinations, was condemned of Heresie, and committed to the *Tower* of *London*, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into *Wales*. The King by his Proclamation, promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in; but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the Kings offer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of *Wales*, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord *Powes*, who brought him to *London*, before the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the *Tower* to St. *Giles* Field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after consumed by fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his first Conviction, four years before, it was rumor'd, that twenty thousand men in Arms were assembled in St. *Giles* Field: whereupon the King, at midnight, himself in person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir *John Oldcastle*, but without any intent against the King: yet was Sir *Roger Acton*, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in *Smithfield*; and all the Prisons in and about *London* were filled with them.

A Judgement of God upon the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for denying the Scriptures to be translated into *English*.

Sir *John Oldcastle* condemned of Heresie, is hanged in St. *Giles* field, in a chain by the middle.

In his third year, the Order of Church Service throughout *England*, was changed from the use of *Pauls* to the use of *Salisbury*, to the great disliking of many in those dayes.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at *Constance*, whither he sent Ambassadours, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Bishops of *Salisbury*, *Bath*, and *Hereford*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, and the Prior of *Worcester*: In which Council it was decreed, that *England* should have the Title of the *English* Nation, and should be accounted one of the five principal Nations in rank before *Spain*; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all *Wickliff's* Positions condemned; Also *John Huss*, and *Hierome* of *Prague* (notwithstanding the Emperours safe Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the space of nine and twenty years, was reformed. *Benedict* the 13. had been elected by the *Spaniard*; *Gregory* the 12. by the *French*: *John* the 24. by the *Italians*: And now in this Council, begun in *February*, 1414. and continued above three years; wherein were assembled, besides the Emperour, the Pope, and the Palsgrave of *Rhein*, four Patriarchs, twenty seven Cardinals, seven and forty Archbishops, one hundred and threescore Bishops, Princes, and Barons with their attendants, above thirty thousand; The foresaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned; and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected *Otho Colunna* by the name of *Martin* the Fifth.

In a Council holden at *Constance*, *England* ranked before *Spain*.

John Huss burned.

Three Anti-Popes put down and a ninth established.

In this year also fell out an accident, which shews the strict observance of Ecclesiastical censures in those dayes. The wives of the Lord *Strange*, and Sir *John Trussel* of *Warmington* in *Cheshire*, striving for place at a Sermon in St. *Dunstan's* Church in the East, their Husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their Wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both sides, some slain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church suspended; and upon examination, the Lord *Strange* being found guilty, was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* adjudged to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parson of St. *Dunstans* went before, after whom followed all the Lords Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himself bareheaded, with a Wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady bare-footed;

Penance enjoyned for fighting in the Church.

and then laſt, came the Archdeacon *Reynold Renwood*: in which order they went from *Pauls*, where the ſentence was given, to St. *Dunſtans* Church. Where at the re-hallowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Veſſels with water; and according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds: and the Lord a Pixe of ſilver of five pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the Diſcipline of the Church had in thoſe dayes allowed it: but it ſeems the commutation of Penance was not as yet come in uſe.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at *Leiceſter*, a hundred and ten Priories alient were ſuppreſſed, becauſe they ſpoke ill of his Conqueſts in *France*; and their poſſeſſions were given to the King: but by him, and King *Henry* the ſixth were afterward given to other Monaſteries, and Colledges of learned men.

Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.

THis King re-edified his Royal Manor, which was then called *Sheene*, now *Richmond*, and founded two Monaſteries not far from it; the one of *Carthuſians*, which he named *Bethleem*; the other of Religious men and women of the Order of St. *Bridget*, which he named *Sion*: He alſo founded the Brotherhood of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate* in *London*. In the ſecond year of his Reign, *Moor-gate* near to *Coleman-ſtreet* was firſt made, by *Thomas Fawkener* Mayor of *London*, who cauſed alſo the Ditches of the City to be cleanſed, and a common Privy that was on the *Moore* without the Wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon *Walbrook*, into the which Brook he cauſed the water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron, in divers places. In his ſixth year, *William* of *Sevenoke* Mayor of *London*, founded in the Town of *Sevenoke* a Free-School, and thirteen Alms-houſes. This man was found at *Sevenoke* in *Kent*, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Chriſtned and brought up, bound Prentice in *London*, and came at laſt to be Mayor of the City. Alſo *Robert Chichely* Mayor of *London* gave liberally to the Alms-houſes founded by his brother *Henry Chichely*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, at *Higham Ferrers* in *Northamptonſhire*, where they were born. But *Henry Chichely* the Archbiſhop founded two Colledges in *Oxford*; one called *Bernard* Colledge, renewed by Sir *Thomas White*, and named St. *Johns* Colledge; the other called *All-Souls*, which continueth at this day as he left it. Alſo *John Kempe*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, converted the Pariſh Church of *Wye* in *Kent*, where he was born, into a Colledge of Secular Prieſts.

Moor-gate when firſt built.

The ſtrange fortune of *William Sevenoke*.

Saint *John's* Colledge, and *All-Souls* Colledge in *Oxford*, by whom founded.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN the fifth year of his Reign, a great part of the City of *Norwich* was burnt, with all the houſe of the Friers Preachers, and two Friers of that Order. In his third year, on the Feaſt of the Purification, ſeven Dolphins came up the River of *Thames*, whereof four were taken.

Seven Dolphins in the River of *Thames*.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

HE married *Katharine* the Daughter of King *Charles* the ſixth of *France*, who was his Queen two years and about three months, married at *Troys* in *Champaign* the third day of *June*, 1420. and afterward *February* the fourteenth Crowned at *Weſtminſter*. She ſurviving King *Henry*, was re-married to *Owen Teudor* an Eſquire of *Wales*, who pretended to be deſcended from *Cadwallader* the antient King of *Wales*, though ſome write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whoſe meanneſs of Eſtate was recompenſed by the delicacy of his perſonage; ſo abſolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumſtances. By him ſhe had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Jaſper*, and *Owen*, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son *Owen* took the Habit of Religion at *Weſtminſter*, the other two were by King *Henry* the ſixth (their half-Brother) advanced in honour: *Edmund* was created Earl of *Richmond*, and marrying the ſole Heir of *John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, was Father by her, unto *Henry* the ſeventh, King of *England*, the only Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Jaſper* her ſecond Son was firſt created Earl of *Pembroke*, and after Duke of *Bedford*, but died without lawful Iſſue. This Queen, either for Devotion, or her own ſafety, took into the Monaſtery of *Bermondſey* in *Southwark*; who dying the ſecond of *January*, 1436. ſhe was buried in our Ladies Chappel within S. *Peter's* Church at *Weſtminſter*: whoſe Corps taken up in the Reign of King *Henry* the ſeventh, her Grand-childe, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her Husband's Tomb, hath ever ſince ſo remained, and never ſince re-buried, where it ſtandeth (the cover being looſe) to be ſeen and handled of any that will. By her King *Henry* had only one Son, named *Henry*, who ſucceeded him in the Kingdom.

Owen Teudor marries King *Henry's* Widow.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, lean of body, and his bones but ſmall, but ſtrongly made, ſomewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautiful of face, ſwift in running ſo as he with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wilde Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and Muſical Inſtruments, inſomuch that in his Chappel amongſt his private Prayers, he uſed certain Pſalms of *David*, tranſlated into *Engliſh* Metre by *John Lydgate* Monk of *Bury*. And indeed it may be truly ſaid of him as was ſaid of *Æneas*: *Quo juſtior alter, Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major & armis*; for he ſeldom fought battel where he got not the Victory; and never got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thankſgiving. He was a better man, a King then a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orb, and therefore no marvail if he were ſomething exorbitant. He was of a merciful diſpoſition, but not to the prejudice of Wiſdom; as thinking wiſe cruelty to be

be better then foolish pity. He was no less politick then valiant, for he never fought Battel, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by stratagem as by force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from Vain-Glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of *Cæsar* which *Alexander* the Great had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of *Alexander* the Great, which *Cæsar* had not, that he would not be flattered. He was indeed a great affecter of Glory, but not of the Glory, the blast of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the sails of Time. He died of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the same again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy-men; insomuch as by many he was called the Prince of Priests.

King Henry called the Prince of Priests.

Of his Death and Burial.

SOme say he was poysoned, which *Polydore Virgil* saith, was much suspected. The *Scots* write that he died of the Disease called Saint *Piacre*, which is a Palsie and a Cramp: *Enguerant* saith that he died of St. *Anthonie's* fire: But *Peter Basset* Esquire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleurisie, which at that time was a sickness strange and but little known. Being dead, his body was embalmed and closed in lead; and laid in a Chariot Royal richly apparelled in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from *Bois de Vincennes* to *Paris*, and so to *Roan*, to *Abbevile*, to *Callice*, to *Dover*, and from thence through *London* to *Westminster*, where it was interred next beneath King *Edward* the Confessour; upon whose Tomb Queen *Katharine* caused a Royal Picture to be laid, covered all over with silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of massie silver: All which at that Abbeys suppression were sacrilegiously broken off and transferred to prophaner uses. He died the last day of *August*, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five months, lived eight and thirty years; though some say, two years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his time.

MEN of valour in his time were so frequent, that we may know it to be a true saying, *Regis ad Exemplum*; and men of learning likewise in such numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron. First *Alande Lin*, a *Carmelite* Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatises; Then *Thomas Otterbone* a *Franciscan* Fryer, who wrote an History of *England*; Then *John Seguerd*, who kept a School in *Norwich*, and wrote sundry Treatises, reproving as well the Monks and Priests, as Poets for writing of filthy Verses. *Robert Ryse* a *Carmelite* Fryer in *Norwich*, who writing many Treatises, yet said nothing against the *Wicklevists*. *Richard Cayster* born in *Norfolk*, a man of great holiness of life, favouring (though secretly) the Doctrine of *Wickliffe*: *William Wallis* a Black Fryer in *Lyn*, who made a Book of Moralizations upon *Ovids Metamorphosis*; *William Taylor* a Priest and Master of Art in *Oxford*, a stedfast follower of *Wickliffe's* Doctrine, and burnt for the same at *Smithfield*, in *London*, the last year of this Kings Reign. *Bartholomew Florarius*, called so of a Treatise which he wrote called *Florarium*; who wrote also another Treatise of Abstinence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the profession of the Fryers Mendicants. Also *Titus Livius de Foro Livisis*, an *Italian* born, but seeing he was resident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Sir *William Cromar* was Mayor.
John Sutton, *John Michael*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Thomas Falconer* was Mayor.
John Michael, *Thomas Allen*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Nicholas Wotton* was Mayor.
William Cambridge, *Alan Everard*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Mayor.
Richard Whittington, *John Coventry*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Marlow* was Mayor.
Henry Read, *John Gedney*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
William Sevenoke was Mayor.
John Brian, *John Barton*, *John Parvess*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Richard Whittington* was Mayor.
Robert Whittington, *John Butler*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Mayor.
John Butler, *John Wells*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Robert Chichely* was Mayor.
Richard Gosselin, *Willliam Weston*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE SIXTH.

Anno Dom. 1422.

THere hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be said rightly, *Pulcherrima Proles, Magnanimi Heroes nati melioribus Annis*; For King *Edward* the third had many Sons, not inferiour in Valour to the many Sons of King *Priamus*, not excepting his valiant Son *Hector*, having so equal a match for him as *Edward* the *Black Prince*, who wanted but an *Homer* to have been an *Achilles*. Then *John* of *Gaunt* likewise had divers Sons, men as valorous as any that age afforded. Then *Henry* the Fourth had four Sons, of so Heroical Disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King *Henry* the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the Heroical nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King *Henry* the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her self she was a Princess of a noble Spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazy Father, what marvel if she proved the Mother of a crazy Issue? And yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts, in their kinde, though not of parts kindely for a Prince; in a private man praise-worthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the soft temper of King *Henry* the Sixth was made of: and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text; *Va Genti cujus Rex est puer*, *Wo to that Nation whose King is a childe*; for he was not above eight months old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a childe in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a childe in abilities of ruling, whereof though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a childe in years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the providence of his careful Unkles; but as soon as he left being a Childe in years, and yet continued a Childe in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things *In pejus ruere, & retro sublapsa referri*, all things went to wrack both in *France* and *England*. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of *Nilus*, in King *Henry* the sixth.

King *Henry* but eight months old when his Father died.

Henry called of *Windsor*, because born there, the only Childe of King *Henry* the Fifth, as yet scarce nine months old, succeeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of *England* on the last of *August*, in the year 1422. by reason of whose Infancy King *Henry* his Father had before, by his Will appointed; and now the Lords by their consent confirmed the Regency of *France* to *John* Duke of *Bedford*, the Government of *England* to *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, the Guard of his Person to *Thomas* Duke of *Exeter*, and *Henry Beaufort* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Lord Chancellour: wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, lest it should prove a spur to aspiring, and withal stay them from envying one another, when many were alike placed in the highest form of Authority. And indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

John Duke of *Bedford* is appointed Regent of *France*, and *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* Guardian of the Kings person.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, was to keep that by the Sword, which King *Henry* the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Assistants, specially the two terrors of *France*, *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *John* Lord *Talbot*: and amongst the *French* themselves the Duke of *Burgoigne*, a friend no less powerful, then firm unto him. The Dauphin also (now crowned King at *Poytiers*, and called *Charles* the seventh of *France*, his Father being newly dead, within a little more then a month after King *Henry*) had likewise great assistants, the Duke of *Alanson*, and many other Peers of *France*, and of the *Scots* many, and some perhaps of the *English* that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first act of the Duke of *Bedford*'s Regency, was an Oration which he made to the *French* in *Paris*, which wrought this good effect; that King *Henry* is Proclaimed King of *England*, and of *France*, and such *French* Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first act of hostility was performed by the new King of *France*, who sends the Lord *Granvile* to *Pont Meulan*, who surprized it, putting all the *English* Souldiers to the Sword: but the Regent sending thither *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, so strongly beleaguered it, that the Lord *Granvile* not only surrendred it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of *England*. From thence the Earl marched to *Seyne*, which he took by assault; and

Assistants to the Duke of *Bedford*.

The Dauphin. Crowned King at *Poytiers*, and called *Charles* the seventh. What assistance he had.

King *Henry* is proclaimed in *Paris* King of *England* and *France*.

and put all the Souldiers (except the Captain Sir *William Maryn*) to the Sword.

1423. The Duke of *Bedford* marries the Sister of the Duke of *Burgoigne.*

At this time the Regent, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, *John* Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother-in-law the Earl of *Richmond*, (who revolted afterward to the new King of *France*, and was by him made Conſtable of *France*) met at *Amyens*; and there not only renewed the old League, but further enlarged it, to the offenſive and defenſive reſpectively: and to make the friendſhip the more firm, the Regent married *Anne* the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne* at *Troys*. In this mean time the *Pariſians* taking advantage of the Regent's abſence, conſpired to have let in the new King into *Paris*: but the day before the night appointed for his admiſſion, the Regent with his power entred, apprehended the Conſpirators, and put them to publick execution. That done, he furniſhed all the Forts, and places of ſtrength with *Engliſh* men, and ſent Sir *John Falſtoffe*, who took in *Pacye*, and *Courſay*, two ſtrong Caſtles; whilſt himſelf with his Forces took in *Traynels*, and *Braye* upon *Seyne*.

The *Pariſians* aſpiring are repreſſed by the Regent.

The Conſtable of *France* the mean while with the new Kings Forces, laid ſiege to *Cravant* in *Burgoigne*; but the Regent ſent thither the Earl of *Salisbury*, who ſet upon the *French*, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, ſlew about 1800. Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thouſnd common Souldiers, *Scots* and *French*, took priſoners the Conſtable himſelf, the Earl of *Ventadour*, Sir *Alexander Alerdyn*, Sir *Lewis Ferignye*, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the *Engliſh* part, were ſlain Sir *John Grey*, Sir *William Hall*, Sir *Gilbert Halſal*, *Richard ap Maddock*, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to *Montaguillon*, and ſate down before it, which after five months ſiege he took, whilſt the Duke of *Suffolk* took in the two ſtrong Caſtles of *Cowcy*, and *le Roche*.

The *Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury* defeats a great Army of the *French*.

1424. *James* the firſt King of *Scots*, after 18. years impriſonment, is releaſed, and the manner of doing his Homage.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *France*, in *England* the Protector ranſomed and inlarged the young King of *Scots*, *James* the firſt (who by the ſpace of eighteen years had been kept a Priſoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the *Scots* out of *France*, taking Homage and Fealty of him for the Crown of *Scotlands* in theſe words, *I* James Stuart, *King of* Scots, *ſhall be true and faithful to you Lord* Henry, *King of* England and France, *the Superiour Lord of* Scotland, *and to you I make my fidelity for the ſaid Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and ſhall do you ſervice for the ſame, ſo God me help, and theſe holy Evangeliſts:* and therewithal, with conſent of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Wife, *Jane* Daughter to the deceaſed Duke of *Somerſet*, and Couſin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. *Mary Overies* in *Southwark*; yet all this courteſie could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful, and unthankful.

And now the Protector ſent over to the Regent ten thouſand well furniſhed Souldiers, with which freſh ſuccour he won many Towns and places of ſtrength; which the *French* ſeeing, and finding themſelves too weak by plain force to withſtand the *Engliſh*, they ſought by ſubtilty to compaſs their ends: and firſt, they work upon the inconſtancy of the Duke of *Britain*, and his Brother *Arthur*, by King *Henry* the fifth created Earl of *Yewry*, whom by gifts and promiſes they ſuborned, perfidiouſly to deliver over into their poſſeſſion the Caſtles of *Crotoye*, and *Yerney*: but the *Engliſh* before the *French* Garriſons were ſettled, fell upon *Crotoye*, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beſieged *Yerney*, and by ſecret mining, and violent Batteries, ſo ſhook the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time. Whereupon the Duke of *Alanſon* with ſixteen thouſand *French* came to the reſcue; but perceiving the *Engliſh* prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to *Vernoyle*, and ſwore to the Townſmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and reſcued *Yerney*, which they believing, rendred up *Vernoyle* to him: but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of ſome freſh Companies of *Scots* come to his ſuccour, he came to a Battel in the Field, where the *Engliſh*, with the loſs of two thouſand one hundred common Souldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord *Dudley*, and the Lord *Charleton*, got the honour of the day; and ſlew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viſcounts, twenty Barons, and above ſeven thouſand other of the *French*, beſides two thouſand ſeven hundred *Scots* lately arrived: and took Priſoners the Duke of *Alanſon* himſelf, the Lord of *Hernys*, and divers other *French*, and Sir *John Tournbul*, and two hundred Gentlemen, beſides common Souldiers. This Battel was fought the eight and twentieth day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1424. and thereupon *Vernoyle* was preſently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of *Salisbury* with ten thouſand men, taketh in the ſtrong Town of *Maunts*, the Town of St. *Suſan*, the Fort of St. *Bernard*, and others; from thence he went to *Anjou*, where he performed ſuch Heroick acts, that his very name grew terrible in all *France*; as for inſtance, the new High Conſtable perfidious *Richmond*, with forty thouſand men, laid ſiege to the good Town of St. *James* in *Benyon*, the Garriſon whereof conſiſted but of ſix hundred *Engliſh*, who being driven to ſome extremity, ſallied forth, crying, Saint *George*, a *Salisbury*; which word of *Salisbury* ſo frighted the *French*, thinking he had been come to reſcue them, that caſting away their weapons, they ran all away, ſaving ſome few that yielded themſelves Priſoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and ſome Treaſure behinde them. After which, other Caſtles, as that of *Beaumont*, of *Vicount*, *Teuney*, *Gilly*, *Oſce*, *Ruſey*, *Vaſick*, and many more were taken in by Sir *John Montgomery*, and Sir *John Falſtoffe*; ſo as once again the *French* are glad to betake themſelves to their old courſe of fraud; they compounded with a *Gaſcoigne* Captain for delivery of *Alanſon* to them; whereof the Regent having notice, he ſent the Lord *Willoughby* and Sir *John Falſtoffe* to prevent it, who encountring with *Charles de Villiers*, that with two hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and ſlew them all, except ſome few Horſe which ſaved themſelves by flying. After which, the Earl of *Salisbury* took in and demoliſhed above forty

The Regent gives the *French* a great overthrow at *Vernoyle*.

The Earl of *Salisbury* doth great acts in *France*.

His very name defeated an Army of forty thouſand.

The *French* uſe fraud, but to their own hurt.

forty Caſtles and ſtrong Piles, for which there was publick Thankſgiving to God in *London*.

Whilſt theſe things were done in *France*, an unkinde variance fell out between the Protector, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Lord Chancellour; for appeaſing whereof, the Regent having ſubſtituted the Earl of *Warwick*, Lieutenant General in his abſence, came into *England*: where in a Parliament he compounded all differences between them. In honour whereof, King *Henry* kept a ſolemn Feaſt, at which time the Regent dubbed the King Knight, not yet above four years old; and then the King preſently inveſted with that Dignity, many of his Servants: and *Edmund Mortimer*, the laſt Earl of *March*, at this time dying, his Inheritance deſcended to *Richard Plantagenet*, Son and Heir to *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, beheaded at *Southampton*, who was now created Duke of *York*, and was afterward Father to King *Edward* the Fourth: and at this time alſo, *John Mowbray*, Son and Heir to *Thomas Mowbray*, Duke of *Norfolk*, baniſhed before by King *Richard* the ſecond, was reſtored to the Title of Duke of *Norfolk*. And now all things peaceably ſettled in *England*, the Regent with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned into *France*; where, at the interceſſion of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, the Duke of *Alanſon* was ranſomed for two hundred thouſand Crowns: and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* returned to *Callice*, where he was inveſted with the Dignity and Hat of a Cardinal, which his Brother the Regent put upon his head.

King *Henry* at four years old dubbed Knight by the Regent.

Richard Plantagenet created Duke of *York*, Father to King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made a Cardinal.

In the fourth year of this Kings Reign, a Parliament was holden at *Leiceſter*, called of the common people, the Parliament of Bats; becauſe, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bats to follow their Lords and Maſters to the Parliament.

An. Reg. 4. 1425.

About this time the Duke of *Gloceſter*, Protector, took ſome blemiſh in his Honour, by marrying another man's Wife, *Jaqueline* Counteſs of *Heynault*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*, who was married before to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, yet living, and had lived with him ten months as his lawful Wife; but at that time upon ſome diſcontent, gone from him, intending to be divorced. At which injury offered to the Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being his Couſin, took ſo great offence, that firſt by friendly Letters he admoniſhed the Duke of *Gloceſter* of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed: but in the mean time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who conveyed her to *Gaunt*; from whence, by friendſhip of a *Burgoignian* Knight, in man's apparel, ſhe eſcaped into *Holland*, and there made a defenſive War againſt her Husband the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Burgoigne*. To her aid, the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſent the Lord *Fitz-water*, with a power of a thouſand men: but ſhe being diſcomfited by the Duke of *Brabant*, and the Pope alſo pronouncing the firſt Marriage legal, the Duke of *Gloceſter* deſerted her, and then took for a ſecond Wife *Eleanor* Daughter of the Lord *Cobham* of *Sterborough*, his old Miſtriſs: and the Lady *Jaqueline*, after the death of *John* Duke of *Brabant*, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* impriſoned, and brought her ſelf to live in much trouble.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* marries another man's wife, and the trouble that grew about it.

And now in *France*, the Conſtable with forty thouſand men, beſieged the Town of St. *James de Benuron*; and having made a breach fit for aſſault, whilſt his Captains ſtood ſtraining of courteſie, which of them ſhould firſt enter, Sir *Nicholas Burdet* with all his Forces ſallied forth, crying a loud, A *Salisbury*, a *Suffolk*: whoſe names ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Beſiegers, that they ſtood like men amazed, of whom ſix hundred were ſlain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Priſoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Conſtable was glad to quit the place, and give over the ſiege.

Forty thouſand *French* frighted away with crying, A *Salisbury*.

At the ſame time alſo the Earl of *Warwick* and the Lord *Scales*, with ſeven thouſand, beſieged *Ponterſon* many weeks together; but Proviſion waxing ſcant, the Lord *Scales* with three thouſand men went a forraging into the Enemies Countrey: and in his return with plenty of Proviſion, was encountred with ſix thouſand *French*, of whom he ſlew many hundreds, took above a thouſand priſoners, and then returned ſafe into the Camp.

The Lord *Scales* defeats an Army of *French*.

About this time alſo Sir *John Falſtoffe* beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Graville*, which after twelve dayes, offered to render it ſelf by a day, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refuſed to render the Caſtle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the ſight of them within the Caſtle, and there openly put to death.

Pledges put to death for not having promiſe kept.

And now a Conſpiracy of the Clergy and Magiſtrates in *Maunts* ſo prevailed, that the Marſhals of *France* with five hundred men, about midnight came to the Town-Walls, where the Guard of *Engliſh*, by thoſe that ſeemed their friends, were ſuddenly maſſacred; and ſetting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarum given, the Earl of *Suffolk* with the ſurviving *Engliſh*, withdrew to the Caſtle, wherein they were ſharply aſſailed by the *French*, who yet had more minde to ranſack houſes, and to make good cheer; whereof the Lord *Talbot* having intelligence by Captain *Goffe*, whom he had ſent to diſcover the ſtate of the *French*, he ſecretly gave notice to the Earl of *Suffolk*, who thereupon ſallied forth of the Caſtle at a time when the Lord *Talbot* was ready with his Troops: and on both ſides crying St. *George*, a *Talbot*, they fell upon the careleſs *French*, who loſt four hundred of their beſt men, the reſt were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conſpirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Prieſts, and fifteen Fryers, condemned and put to Execution.

An Army of *French* defeated with crying a *Talbot*.

Whilſt theſe things went on proſperouſly in *France*, a great diſaſter fell out in *England*; for the right Noble *Thomas Beaufort* (Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, and *Katharine Swinford*) Duke of *Exeter*, and Guardian of the King, makes King *Henry* his Heir: and at *Eaſt-Greenwich* in *Kent*, ended his life. Whoſe place was preſently ſupplyed by the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Earls place in *France* by the Earl of *Salisbury*; who thereupon with five thouſand men came to *Orleance*,

Tho. Beaufort Duke of *Exeter* dies.

Orleance, and beſieged the City, and won from the *French* the great Fort. But here happened another great diſaſter, for from an high Tower in this Fort, the Beſiegers obſerved the paſſages of the Townſmen; when the Noble Earl of *Salisbury*, intending to inform himſelf of the State of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, a great ſhot from the Town ſtriking the Bars of the Window, the ſplinters thereof were driven into his head and face: of which wounds within eight dayes he died. This was now a ſecond weakening to the *Engliſh* party, but in his place the Earl of *Suffolk* ſucceeded, to whom the Regent ſendeth Sir *John Falſtaffe* with freſh ſupplies; whom the Lords *De la Brets*, nine thouſand ſtrong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir *John* reſolving to abide the charge, placeth his Carriages behinde, the Horſe next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching ſtakes behinde the Archers, who having diſcharged their firſt Volley, retired behinde the ſtakes: on which the *French*, forgetting their former defeats by that courſe, ran and goared their Horſes, by which their Vaward being diſordered, the Battel, made a ſtand. Which Sir *John* perceiving, cryeth out, St. *George*! *they flie!* at which words they fled indeed, and loſt two thouſand five hundred of their men, with the Lords *De la Brets*, and *William Stewart*; eleven hundred were taken priſoners: with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before *Orleance*. And this Battel, becauſe moſt part of the carriage was Herring and Lenten ſtuff, was by the *French* men called the Battel of Herrings. But the beſieged having notice of this defeat, they offered to ſubmit themſelves to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; who was contented to receive them, ſo as the Regent would conſent: But the Regent conſented not, and therefore in the mean time, the beſieged made means to the Duke of *Alanſon*, who furniſhed the Town with freſh Forces and Proviſions; which put ſuch ſpirits into the Citizens, that they made a ſally out, ſlew ſix hundred *Engliſh*, and adventured upon the *Baſtile*, where the Lord *Talbot* commanded, who repelled them with great ſlaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of *Suffolk* gave over his ſiege, and diſperſed his Army into their Garriſons.

1428. The noble Earl of *Salisbury* unfortunately ſlain.

Sir *John Falſtaffe* defeats the *French* by politick ordering his Army.

The *Engliſh* ſide begins to go down.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, which once ſet a going was not eaſie to be ſtayed. And firſt the Duke of *Alanſon* took by aſſault the Town of *Jargeux*, and in it the Earl of *Suffolk*, and one of his Brothers, and ſlew Sir *Alexander Pole*, another of his Brothers, and many other Priſoners in cold blood, by reaſon of a contention amongſt the *French*, to whom the Priſoners ſhould belong. Preſently upon this, another great blow was given the *Engliſh*; for the Lord *Talbot*, *Scales*, and *Hungerford*, going to fortifie the Town of St. *Meum*, were encountred by the ſaid Duke of *Alanſon*, and *Arthur* of *Britain*, with three and twenty thouſand men, with whom the *Engliſh* Lords interchanged ſome Blows: but oppreſſed with multitude, were all three taken priſoners, all ſore wounded, twelve hundred of their company ſlain, and the reſt hardly eſcaping to *Meum*, where they fortified themſelves the beſt they could againſt future aſſaults.

The Duke of *Suffolk* taken priſoner.

The Lords *Talbot* and *Scales* taken priſoners.

Theſe were great blows given to the *Engliſh* Fortune in *France*; *Salisbury* ſlain, and now *Talbot* taken Priſoner: which though they made her a little to totter, yet there muſt be great blows given before ſhe will fall. And indeed, theſe diſaſters were ſeconded by the perfidious ſurrender of many Towns and ſtrong holds to the *French* King; who now encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, marcheth into *Champaign*, where by compoſition he took *Troyes* the chief City of that Province: *Chaltous* rebelleth, and enforceth their Captain to yield it up; by whoſe examples the Citizens of *Rhemes* do the like, where the *French* King is anew Proclaimed, and with accuſtomed Ceremonies Anointed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns ſubmit themſelves to him, and revolt from the *Engliſh*. Upon this the Duke of *Bedford* (to make the *French* know, that all the *Engliſh* ſtrength conſiſted not only in *Salisbury* and *Talbot*) with ten thouſand *Engliſh*, beſides *Normans*, marched out of *Paris*, and ſent Letters of defiance to the *French* King, affirming, that deceitfully and by unjuſt means he had ſtolen many Cities and places of importance belonging to the Crown of *England*: which he was come to juſtifie by Battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of *France* making a ſlight anſwer, the Regent marched apace toward him; and as faſt the King of *France* marcheth away. The Regent followed him, but could not overtake him, till he came near to *Senlys*: there both the Armies encamped and embatteled, yet only ſome light Skirmiſhes paſſed between them. And a night or two after, the *French* King fled with his Army to *Bray*, which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him further off from *Paris*, of whoſe fidelity he had no great aſſurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to aſſiſt Pope *Martin* in *Bohemia*, the Regent borrowed them of him for a preſent expedition; and with them marched into *Champaign*, where he found the *French* King encamped upon the Mount *Pihall*: whoſe number being twice as many as the Regents, yet by no provocations could be down to Battel, but ſecretly fled to *Criſpis*; whereupon the Regent alſo returned to *Paris*.

The *French* King recovers many Towns.

The *French* King Crowned at *Rhemes*.

The Regent purſueth the *French* King.

The *French* King declineth Battel.

Whilſt theſe things are done in *France*, in *England*, upon St. *Leonard's* day the 6. of *November*, 1429. King *Henry* not yet eight years old, was with great ſolemnity Crowned at *Weſtminſter*: at whoſe Coronation were made ſix and thirty Knights of the *Bath*, and after the Solemnity, a Feaſt; and if any man deſire to know much Cookery, he may read in *Fabian*, all the diſhes of meat that were ſerved at that Feaſt.

Aa. Reg. 8. 1429. King *Henry* Crowned at *Weſtminſter*.

About this time, in *France*, a ſtrange Impoſtor ariſeth: A maid called *la Pucelle*, taking upon her to be ſent from God, for the good of *France*, and to expel the *Engliſh*: and ſome good indeed ſhe did; for by her ſubtle working the King was received into *Champaigne*, and many Towns were rendred to him, whilſt the Lord

La Pucelle [illegible]

Longueville

Longeville took by ſurprize the Caſtle of *Aumerle*, and ſlew all the *Engliſh* that were in it. But all theſe were but petty acqueſts to the King of *France*: there is a knot of friendſhip between the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which muſt be broken, or he will never be able to compaſs his deſigns. He therefore labours by all means poſſible to diſunite them; wherein he ſo little prevailed, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* acquaints the Regent with all the practices, who thereupon, with many thanks, exhorteth him to continue firm, of which he ſhould never have cauſe to repent him: and becauſe *Normandy* was a principal part of the *Engliſh* ſtrength in *France*, he goeth thither, and by many reaſons perſwades them, as their Anceſtors had alwaies been, to be faithful to the Crown of *England*.

In this time of the Regent's abſence from *Paris*, the King of *France* drew all his forces thither, uſing all means poſſible, by Eſcalado, Battery, and burning the gates, to enter the City: but was ſo withſtood by the vigilancy of the Citizens, that he was glad to ſound a retreat, leaving his ſlain and maimed Souldiers behind him, all but the *Pucelle*, who being hurt in the Leg, and almoſt ſtifled with myre in the ditch, was by a ſervant of the Duke of *Alanſon* drawn up, and conveyed after the King to *Berry*, who by the way received the ſubmiſſion of the Inhabitants of *Laignye*. Some other ſervices were performed on both ſides, by the Duke of *Suffolk* and Sir *Thomas Kyrriel*, for the *Engliſh*; by the baſtard of *Orleance* and Sir *Stephen le Hye*, for the *French*; but of no great importance: till at laſt, the *Pucelle*, (who a little before had cauſed an *Engliſh* Captain's head to be cut off, becauſe he would not humble himſelf to her upon his knee) was by Sir *John* of *Lutzemburgh* taken, and preſented to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who ſent her to the Regent, and he to the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, who judicially proceeding againſt her as a Sorcereſs, and deceiver of the King and his ſubjects, ſhe was (after many delaies of promiſe to diſcover ſecret practices, and laſtly of her feigning to be with childe) publickly burnt at *Roan*.

La Pucelle taken and burnt at *Roan* for a Sorcereſs.

An. Reg. 10. 1431.

And now the Regent finding how much the Crowning of the *French* King had furthered his deſigns, he made account the like effect would follow the Crowning of King *Henry* in *France*: whereupon he is ſent for to come over; and coming to *Paris*, was by his Unkle the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and Cardinal of *Euſebius*, not yet above nine years old, with all uſual ceremonies Crowned King of *France*, receiving the oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the *French* Nobility that were preſent, and of all the Inhabitants of *Paris*, and of the places adjacent. Upon this, Pope *Eugenius* laboured a reconcilement between the two Kings, but could effect nothing, but only a Truce for ſix years: which agreed upon, King *Henry* returns into *England*, and landeth at *Dover*, the eleventh of *February*. But the ſix years Truce was ſcarce openly proclaimed, when the *French* had cunningly poſſeſſed themſelves of divers Caſtles and places of ſtrength, juſtifying their actions, affirming, That what was politickly obtained without blowes, was no infringement of the Truce: and afterwards they perfidiouſly conveyed two hundred men into the Caſtle of *Roan*, with intent to have ſurpriſed it; but being diſcovered, they were all taken, and either ranſomed or put to execution. Upon this, the Regent (whoſe Wife, the Siſter of the Duke of *Burgoigne*, being lately dead, and he married again to *Jaqueline* the Earl of S. *Paul's* daughter, with whom he went over into *England*) returned again to *Paris*; to whom the Lord *Talbot*, having now paid his ranſome, cometh, bringing with him ſeven hundred tried Souldiers; and with them the Regent takes the field, where the *French* Army lay, but the *French* ſlunk away in the dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a battel.

King *Henry* is Crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.

A Truce abuſed.

About this time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, taken at the battel of *Agincourt*, after eighteen years impriſonment, paying eighteen thouſand pounds for his Ranſome, the ſame day he was enlarged died at *London*.

The Regent and the Duke of *Burgoigne* fall at variance, and for what.

And now a very great effect was produced out of a very ſmall cauſe: There had been ſparks of unkindneſs between the two great Dukes of *Bedford* and *Burgoigne*, which brake out into a flame upon this occaſion: A time and place was appointed, where they ſhould meet to compound ſome differences that were between them; The place agreed upon, was St. *Omers*, a Town in *Burgoigne*: When the time came, they ſtood upon this nice point, Which of them ſhould firſt come to the place; as thinking that he which did ſo, ſhould thereby acknowledge himſelf to be the meaner perſon. The Duke of *Richmond* thought he had no reaſon to do it, ſeeing he was Regent of *France*, and therefore ſuperiour to any ſubject in the Kingdom: And the Duke of *Burgoigne* thought he had no reaſon to do it, ſeeing it was to be done in his own Dominions, where he was himſelf the Soveraign Lord. Upon this nice point they parted without meeting; and the unkindneſs grew afterward to ſo great hatred, that the Duke of *Burgoigne* choſe rather to be friends with him that had murthered his father, then ever to have any more commerce with the Duke of *Bedford*. Thus was one great branch of aſſiſtance lopt off from the *Engliſh* which had been a great means before to make it flouriſh: and it was not ſo much, that the aſſiſtance was taken from the *Engliſh*, as that it was added to the *French*: for after this, the Duke *Burgoigne* brought more aſſiſtance to the new King of *France*, then ever he had done before to the King of *England*. By which we may ſee, when the Divine providence hath a work to effect, what ſlight occaſions it oftentimes takes to effect the work.

The Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France* dies in *Paris*.

Great blowes had been given before in *France*, to the *Engliſh* fortune by the enemy, but now a blow was given to it by Deſtiny, which made the Enemies blowes the more incurable; for now the wiſe, valiant, faithful Regent of *France*, Duke of *Bedford*, *Anjou*, and *Alanſon*, Earl of *Mayne*, *Harcourt*, *Drieux*, *Richmond*, and *Carlile*, and Viſcount *Beaumont*, upon the fourteenth of *September* 1435, ended his life at *Paris*, which was in a manner the ending the life of the *Engliſh* fortune in *France*: all former blowes had been upon inferiour members, 1431.

members, but this was a blow upon the head, and therefore mortal; and indeed the *Englisb* fortune in *France*, never after lifted up its head but very weakly. He was buried in our Ladies Church at *Roan*, whereat the Nobility of *Normandy* much repined, who would have had their own Territory honoured with his Sepulchre: yet see the levity of these men, who a few years after in the Reign of *Lewis* the Son of *Charles*, would have had his Monument to have been demolished, as being dishonourable, such an Arch-Enemy to *France* should be interred in the Metropolitan City of that Province. But *Lewis* answered, God forbid, I should give way to so dishonourable an act, to disquiet his dead bones, who living, would have disquieted us all; and it savours of too much baseness to insult upon a dead Lion.

The noble disposition of King *Lewis* of *France*.

The Duke of *York* is made Regent of *France*, which the Duke of *Somerset* envying, hinders his proceedings all he can.

But yet in these disasters there might have been some reparation by a good Successor, had not Envy and Ambition bred disturbance: the Duke of *Somerset* desired the Succession, but the Duke of *York* obtained it; which bred such an envy in the Duke of *Somerset* towards him, that he laboured nothing so much as to cross his designs, and was a means to hinder the Duke of *York*'s going to his charge so long, that the *Parisians* had time to think of freeing themselves from the *Englisb* servitude: and thereupon the City after it had remained seventeen years in the possession of the *Englisb*, yields to the Constable, and upon composition expels all the *Englisb*; and which was worse, many other Towns followed this example of *Paris*, for what Town would not willingly do as *Paris* did, the Epitome as it were of all *France*? and which they stick not to call *Le Monde de Paris*, as though there were upon earth no other world but *Paris*. Even the *Normans*, who had alwayes been most firm to the *Englisb*, yet had run the same course, if the Lord *Talbot* had not kept them in awe, with the slaughter of five thousand of them that way inclined. And now after these great losses, we must be content to play smaller games, cast at Castles and Forts, and some small Towns, like the struggling of dying men, doing acts of life, till there be no more life remaining; And this was now our case in *France*. The new Regent with eight thousand Souldiers arrived at *Harflew*, and from thence marched to *Roan*; where he won the reputation of justice and uprightness, notwithstanding all the calumniations of the Duke of *Somerset*: when the revolted Duke of *Burgoigne* pretending Title to the Town of *Callice*, approacheth it with an Army of forty thousand men, takes the poor *Bastile* of *Oye*, and slaughters and hangs many of the defendants. The *Picards* besieged the Castle of St. *Mark*, took it, and demolished it; from thence they begirt *Callice* with a siege but were repelled: Then the Duke of *Burgoigne* sent the Lord *Croy* to besiege the Castle of *Guysnes*, but were repelled there also. In the mean time *Pembroke* the Herald brought a defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne* from the Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector, that he would give him Battel if he would abide it; to whom the Duke of *Burgoigne* answered, he should be sure to finde him where he now was. Whereupon he calleth a Council, and whilest they are debating what is best to be done, the *Callicians* make a sally, take the *Bastile* which they had builded, by force, and slew eightscore of the *Burgoignians*; which so terrified them, that they upbraid the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and make both him and the Lord *Croy* to quit their quarters: and in such haste to be gone, that they left a great part of their best Ordnance, and all their Provision for the relief and help of the besieged. And it seems they had reason so to do, for the next day being the seven and twentieth of *July*, the Duke of *Gloucester* landed at *Callice*, with five and twenty thousand good fighting men; who finding the Enemy recoiled, forraged all the Countrey thereabout, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of *Flanders*, *Artois*, and *Heynault*: and then returning by St. *Omers*, *Arde* and *Guisnes*, arrived at *Callice*.

1436. *Paris* expells all the *Englisb*, and by their example many other Towns likewise.

The Duke of *Gloucester* the Protector sends defiance to the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

The Duke *Gloucester* lands at *Callice* with 25 thousand fighting men.

And now we must look a little home, for the Duke of *York* returning into *England*, findes the Castle of *Roksborough* besieged by the King of *Scots*, with thirty thousand men; but he hearing of the Earl of *Northumberland's* approach, and the Duke's return, incontinently fled. And now again to *France*, where the Town of *Harflew* was sold to the *French*, but the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Talbot* besetting it both by Sea and Land, though the Earl of *Ewe*, and the Bastard of *Orleance* and *Bourbon*, with four thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition it was surrendred.

1437. The Dutchess of *Bedford* marries Sir *Richard Woodvile*.

And here we may have leave to speak of a private matter, for about this time the Dutchess of *Bedford* married Sir *Richard Woodvile*, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small means; which though it offended her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him: and amongst the rest, of the Lady *Elizabeth*, afterwards married to King *Edward* the fourth. Also about this time *James* King of *Scots*, who before had been eighteen years Prisoner in *England*, and afterward released, with a Wife of a Noble House, a great Dower, and many honourable Presents, yet proved ungrateful, was murthered in his Bed-Chamber by night, whose murtherers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to *France*, when the Duke of *Burgoigne* could neither by force nor policy take *Callice*, he attempted a ridiculous practice, to cut a Ditch that should drown both the Town and Countrey; but after much labour and expence, his design like a vapour vanished into air. The Lord *Talbot* besieged *Tankervile*, and after four months siege had it rendred to him. In revenge whereof, the *French* King in his own person layes siege to *Monstreau*; which whilest the Duke of *York* was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his Office, done of purpose by his Enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy shall be suffered to undermine the publick safety; and by this means Sir *Thomas Gerard* had the more opportunity to sell the Town, for which, if he were a gainer in money, he was yet a loser in reputation, and hated both of *French* and *Englisb*, in much discontentment. *Arthur*, Constable of *France*, and *John* Duke of *Alanson*, besieged the Town of *Auranches*, but

James King of *Scots* murthered.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* attempts *Callice*, but without success.

Sir *Thomas Gerard* betrayes the Town of *Monstreau* to the *French*.

but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord *Talbot*: After this, *Le Hyre* sent Letters to them, that he had a promise from divers Burgers of *Roan* to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to *Ryze*, within four Leagues of *Roan*, but the Lord *Talbot* having notice hereof, marched covertly to *Roan*, and from thence before day to *Ryze*, where he surprizeth the *French*, takes the Lord *Fountaines*, Sir *Alan Geron*, and many others, and with a rich booty returneth to *Roan*. The sixth day of *November*, in the sixteenth year of the Kings Reign, the Earl of *Warwick* having oftentimes been aboard, and still beaten back by Tempests, landed at *Harflew* with a thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to *Roan*; but in the mean time the Duke of *Burgoigne* seeing no new Regent yet come, besiegeth the Town of *Crotoy*: to the relief whereof, the new Regent now come, sent the Lord *Talbot* with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke not enduring, retired to *Abbevile*, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the *Bastile* by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant *Talbot* sent word to the Duke, that if he would save his Countrey from vastation, he should come to a Battel; but the Duke not liking the match, conveyes himself to *Amyens*. Twenty dayes together did the Lord *Talbot* with fire and sword, pass through *Picardy* and *Artois* without opposition, and then returned. Sir *Thomas Kyrriel* seized upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in *Crotoy*, victual enough for six hundred men for a whole year, he brought the rest to the Earl of *Warwick*. And now *Henry* Earl of *Mortaigne*, Son to *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, took the Castle of St. *Anyon*, wherein were three hundred *Scots* and *French*; the *Scots* he slew all, and hanged the *French* because they had sworn fealty to *England*, and broke it: he took likewise the Castle of *Algarchie*, and by means of an Ambush, taketh the Lord *Camorois*, coming to the rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of *Neuxin*, *Bry*, and *Susan*, were sold and delivered to the *French* by the treacherous Burgers. In *June* the Earl of *Huntington*, with two thousand Archers, and four thousand Spears was sent into *Gascoigne*, whither the Earl of *Dancis* was lately come to buy Towns and Castles; but the Earl of *Huntington* upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such Bargains: and so far had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in *Normandy* the *English* Captains had but small confidence in the Natives, and not much in some of their own Nation; whereupon Sir *Richard Woodvile*, Sir *William Chamberlain*, and *William Peto* were sent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

The L. *Talbot* doth great acts. 1438.

At this time the Council of *France* procured a reconcilement between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long jealousies and dissention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great Frost and Snow, the *English* under the conduct of Sir *John Clifford*, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white *Alman* skulls, came to *Ponthois* by night, and undiscover'd pass'd the Ditches, scaled the Walls, slew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance: for presently upon it the Earl of *Warwick* died in the Castle of *Roan*, and conveyed into *England* was buried in the Castle of *Warwick*. To reduce *Ponthois*, the *French* King in person layeth siege unto it, when *Richard* Duke of *York* being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Ewe*, levies a power to raise the siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him Battel: but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight stole away to *Poyssy*: thither also the Regent follows him, but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

Sir *John Clifford* gets *Ponthois* by a wile.

The Earl of *Warwick* dies. 1439.

Richard Duke of *York* made the second time Regent of *France*.

About this time, a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at *Callice*, by the mediation of the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*, a *Portugal* Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of *Orleance* who had been prisoner to the *English* five and twenty years, is by the Dutchess mediation ransomed with three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of *Burgoigne's* money. The Lord *Willoughby* besieged *Deepe*, which the Dauphin with sixteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young *Talbot* is taken prisoner, with Sir *John Peto*, and Sir *John Repley*, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakning happened to the *English* party, the Earl of St. *Paul* forsakes them, and is reconciled to the King of *France*. The *English* lay siege to *Tartus*, for the raising whereof, the *French* King marcheth thither with 60000. men, relieveth the Town, and then marcheth to *Saverine*, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir *John Ramston*; after which he took in *Arques*, but then the *English* cutting off all convoyes of Victuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose departure, the *English* recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, slaying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord *Talbot* taketh in *Conquet*, and driveth the Bastard of *Orleance* from the siege of *Gagliarda*; but the *French* in the Castle of *Cornhil* detained many *English* prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist* used this stratagem, he apparelled half a dozen lusty young fellows like Peasants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Victuals, and sends them to the Castle, while he with his Company lies in Ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the six unsuspected are admitted, and coming to the Captains Chamber, seize upon him, and withal give the sign to the Ambush, who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the sword, set the prisoners at liberty, burnt down the Castle, and with the booty and Captain of the Castle, returned to *Roan*.

1440.

The Duke of *Orleance* after 25. years imprisonment is ransomed.

A stratagem of Sir *Francis* the *Aragonist*.

Whilest these alterations passed in *France*, a more unnatural passed in *England*, the Uncle riseth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the

Difference between the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and the Cardinal.

the Uncle; The Duke of *Gloceſter* Articles againſt the Cardinal, charging him with affecting preheminence, to the derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being moſt of the Clergy, durſt not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other ſide, the Cardinal finding nothing whereof directly to accuſe the Duke of *Gloceſter* himſelf, accuſeth his other ſelf, the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* the Dukes Wife, of Treaſon, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the Treaſon, ſhe is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her hand, hoodleſs (ſave a kerchiffe) through *London*, divers dayes together, and after to remain in perpetual impriſonment in the *Iſle of Man*. The crime objected againſt her, was procuring *Thomas Southwel*, *John Hunne*, Prieſts, *Roger Bullingbrook* a ſuppoſed Necromancer, and *Margery Jordan*, called the Witch of *Eye* in *Suffolk*, to deviſe a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in ſuch ſort by ſorcery, that as the Picture conſumed, ſo the Kings Body ſhould conſume: for which they were all condemned: The Witch was burnt in *Smithfield*, *Bullingbrook* was hanged, conſtantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Dutcheſs, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, then only to know by his Art, how long the King ſhould live. *John Hunne* had his pardon; and *Southwel* died the night before he ſhould have been executed.

1441.

The Duke of *Gloceſter*'s Wife accuſed of Sorcery, and her Penance.

King *Henry* affianceth the Earl of *Arminiack*'s Daughter, but is by the King of *France* croſſed.

About this time the Counteſs of *Cominges* being dead, the King of *France* and the Earl of *Arminiack* are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes poſſeſſion, but fearing the King of *France* his greatneſs, makes offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of *England*, with a large portion in money; and beſides, to deliver full poſſeſſion of all ſuch Towns and Caſtles as were by him or his Anceſtors detained in *Aquitaine*, and had been formerly by the Progenitors of the King of *England*, conquered: The Ambaſſadours for this buſineſs, were by King *Henry* graciouſly heard, and honourably returned: after whom were ſent Sir *Edward Hall*, Sir *Robert Roſs*, and others, to conclude all things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affianced to King *Henry*: But the King of *France* not liking the proceeding of the Match, ſendeth the Dauphin with a puiſſant Army, who took the Earl, with his youngeſt Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of *Arminiack*, *Louverne*, *Rovergne*, *Mouleſſenois*, with the Cities of *Severac* and *Cadeack*, chaſing the Baſtard of *Arminiack* out of the Countrey; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in ſuſpenſe.

In this diſtraction of Chriſtendom, many Princes, the Kings of *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Hungary* became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*. Ambaſſadors of both ſides are ſent, many meetings were had, many motions made; but in concluſion only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time the Earl of *Suffolk* one of the Commiſſioners for the peace, takes upon him beyond his Commiſſion; and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of *England*, and a Kinſwoman of the King of *France*, Neece to the *French* Queen, Daughter to *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, ſtyling himſelf King of *Sicilie* and *Naples*: In which buſineſs he was ſo intentive, that it brought an aſperſion upon him of being bribed: but howſoever, an enterview betwixt the two Kings is appointed, without any warrant of King *Henry*'s part, to be between *Charters* and *Roan*. The Commiſſioners return, the Earl of *Suffolk* ſets forth the beauty of the propoſed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was eaſily induced to credit the Relation; but divers of the Kings Council, eſpecially the Duke of *Gloceſter*, oppoſed it; partly for the meanneſs of the match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly for the wrong which ſhould hereby be offered to the Duke of *Arminiack*'s Daughter, to whom the King had been in ſolemn manner publickly affianced. But reaſons could not prevail againſt favour: the Earl of *Suffolk*'s affirmation muſt not be undervalued. And hereupon, a new creation of Lords firſt made, (*John Beaufort* Earl of *Somerſet*, made Duke of *Somerſet*; *John* Lord *Talbot*, made Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *John Holland* Earl of *Huntington*, made Duke of *Exeter*; *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, made Duke of *Buckingham*; *Henry Beauchamp* Earl of *Warwick*, made Duke *Warwick*; *Edmund Beaufort* Earl of *Dorſet*, made Marqueſs *Dorſet*; and *William de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, made Marqueſs of *Suffolk*:) This new Marqueſs honourably accompanied, is ſent into *France* to fetch the Lady *Margaret* the propoſed Bride: who ſhortly after is married at *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, and Crowned Queen of *England* at *Weſtminſter*, on the 30. day of *May*, 1444. in the three and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign. And now inſtead of benefits by this Marriage, there preſently followed great inconveniences; for firſt in exchange of her Perſon, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, the City of *Maunts*, with the whole County of *Mayne*, (the beſt props of the Dutchy of *Normandy*) are agreed to be ſurrendred into the hands of the *French*: and then the Duke of *Arminiack*, to revenge the injury offered to his Daughter, is a means to expel the *Engliſh* out of all *Aquitain*.

The Earl of *Suffolk* propounds another match for the King.

Dukes and Earls created.

1444.

King *Henry* proceeds in the match which the Earl of *Suffolk* propounded.

At this time the Duke of *Somerſet*'s ſpleen againſt the Duke of *York*, not only is revived, but is grown ſtronger; for the Duke of *York*, who was now after the death of the Earl of *Warwick*, made the ſecond time Regent of *France*, is ſo undermined by him, through aſſiſtance of the new Marqueſs of *Suffolk*, who bore now all the ſway with the King and Queen; that not only he ſupplanted him in his place, but planted himſelf in it, to the great heart-burning of the Duke of *York* and his friends; but he wiſely diſſembled his anger, and for the preſent paſſed it over. And now is no man in grace but the new Marqueſs of *Suffolk*; all favours from the King and Queen

The Duke of *York* diſplaced of his Regency, and the Duke of *Somerſet* placed in it.

must pass by him, and the extent of his power over reacheth all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Countess of *Warwick*, and of the Lady *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, afterward Mother to King *Henry* the Seventh. And now the Kings weakness in judgement grows every day more apparent than other, whilest governed by no Counsel but of his Queen, and she by no counsel but her own will, and the new Marques of *Suffolk*: King *Henry* is himself the least part of the King, and serves but to countenance the devices of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame must needs be his; if well, the benefit and honour others. For by instigation of the Queen, he suffers the Duke of *Gloucester*, for his care of the Commonwealth called the good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, but from the Council-Table; and permits informers, set on by the Marques of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Cardinal Bishop of *Winchester*, and the Archbishop of *York*, to come against him: who lay to his charge, that he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law: wherein though he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary partaking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned; and to this end a Parliament by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at *Bury*: to which the Duke of *Gloucester* resorting, is on the second day of the Session, by the Lord *Beaumont* Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of *Buckingham*) arrested and put in Ward, all his followers sequestred from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his imprisonment, he is found in his bed murthered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Imposthume, though all that saw his body saw plainly he died of a violent and unnatural cause: some say, strangled; some, that a hot spit was put up at his fundament; and some, that he was stifled between two Feather-Beds. His Corps the same day was conveyed to Saint *Albans*, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, Sir *Roger Chamberlain* Knight, *Middleton*, *Herbert*, *Artzis*, Esquires, and *John Needham* Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at *Tyburn*, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marques of *Suffolk*, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the business, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and so their lives were saved. It is no unmemorable thing which Sir *Thomas Moor* writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of *Gloucester*. It happened the King coming one time in Progress to St. *Albans*, a Beggar born blinde, as he said, at the shrine of St. *Alban* obtained in his sight: which miracle being noised in the Town, the Duke of *Gloucester* being there with the King, desired to see him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blinde; who told him, Yes truly; And can you now see? (saith the Earl) Yes I thank God and St. *Alban*, saith the Beggar; then tell me saith the Earl what colour is my Gown? the Beggar readily told him the colour; and what colour saith the Earl is such a mans Gown? the Beggar likewise told him presently, and so of divers others. Then saith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knave; if you had been born blinde, and could never see till now, how come you so suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be set in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not so intelligent or not so provident as she might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primogeniture would have kept back the Duke of *York*'s claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth Son of *Edward* the Third, where this Duke *Humfrey* was descended from the Fourth. And here were the first seeds sown between the two Houses of *Lancaster*, whose badge was the Red-Rose; and *York*, whose badge was the White-Rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *York* began amongst his Familiars, privily to whisper his right and title to the Crown; but so politickly carried his intent, that all things were provided to further his project, before his purpose was any whit discovered.

King *Henry* begins to shew his weakness in Judgement.

The Duke of *York* begins to whisper his Right to the Crown.

1447. And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of *Winchester* dies, who lying on his death-bed, as Doctor *John Baker* his Privy Counsellour and his Chaplain witneth, used such like words; Why should I dye, saith he, having so much riches? If the whole Realm would save my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hired? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeeded in his Bishoprick a more deserving Prelate, *William Wanflete*, called so of the place in *Lincolnshire* where he was born, though his name was *Patterna*, of the Worshipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marques of *Suffolk* might not come behinde them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this time made Duke of *Suffolk*.

The Bishop of *Winchester*'s prophane speech at his death.

1448. The Marques of *Suffolk* is made Duke of *Suffolk*.

In *France* about this time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better then an overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, Sir *Francis Suryens* an *Aragonois*, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honourable Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the security of the *French* Garrisons, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called *Fougiers* belonging to the Duke of *Britain*; the Duke advertiseth the *French* King thereof, who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of *England*, and to the Duke of *Somerset* then Regent in *France*: answer was made it was the fault of the *Aragonois*, who did it without warrant from either the King or the Council; nevertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at *Louviers*, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but in the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the *French* by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load of Hey coming over the Drawbridge, caused the Axletree to break, and while the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out; the Town

Th Duke of *Gloucester* secretly murthered.

Five Gentlemen hanged, but were cut down quick, and lived.

The Duke of *Gloucesters* pregnancy in discovering an Impostur.

Fraud answered by Fraud.

Town of *Ardes* surprized, and the Lord *Fawconbridge* Captain thereof was taken Prisoner. Restitution being required by the *English*, answer is made them in their own language, it was done without warrant from either the *French* King, or any of his Council, so it was but one for another; and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both sides, and all things grow worse and worse. The *French* King by composition taketh *Louviers*, *Gerbury*, and *Vernoile*, whilest the Regents stands demurring what was best to be done; if he command, not obeyed; if he counsel, not followed, as it happens to men once blemished in Reputation, to have an ill construction made of all their actions: by which means the *French* go on without resistance, get *Constance*, *Guisard*, *Gatiard*, St. *Lee*, *Pesthamp*, and many other pieces in *Normandy*. Upon notice whereof, *Maulesson* in *Guyen* surrenders to the Earl of *Foix*, and by their example the City of *Roan* it self takes composition to surrender; where the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Butler*, heir to the Earl of *Ormond*, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, succours were provided to be sent out of *England*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *York*; but a Rebellion happening in *Ireland*, which was thought of more importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither: where not only he suppressed the Rebels, but so won the hearts of that people, that it was no small furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A fresh supply indeed of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Sir *Thomas Kyriel* is sent over; but what could a handful of men do against such multitudes as opposed them? For he marching with the rest of the Army towards *Beaugeaux*, was encountred by the Earl of *Clermont*, with seven thousand *French* and *Scots*, whom yet at first he made to recoil, till the Constable of *France* with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the rescue; and then fresh men coming upon them that were already tired, the *English* lost three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this loss of men, follows presently a loss of Towns; *Harflew* is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir *Robert Curson*, yet surrendred at last upon composition: Then the *French* King with an Army Royal, besiegeth *Caen* in *Normandy*, a Town belonging to the Duke of *York*, defended in his absence by his Lieutenant Sir *David Hall*; but the Duke of *Somerset* being Regent, in commiseration of his Dutchess being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout opposition of Sir *David Hall*, surrenders it upon composition to the *French*; whereof Sir *David* giving notice to the Duke of *York*, it bred such a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after throughly reconciled. And thus is all *Normandy* recovered from the *English*, after it had been in their possession a hundred years; and finally, all *France* is reduced to the obedience of *Charles* the *French* King.

The *French* King recovers many Towns, through the demurring of the Duke of *Somerset*.

1449.

Sir *Thomas Kyriel* defeated, with the loss of near 400. men.

All *Normandy* recovered from the *English*.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad, but there will be the more to do at home; and more blood will be shed in *England* by civil dissensions, then was shed before in all the Wars of *France*. This loss of *Normandy* and other parts in *Normandy*, is imputed much to the Duke of *Somerset*, at that time Regent; but the Duke of *Suffolk* must bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cause of the surrender of *Anjou* and *Mayne*, and the chief procurer of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s death, and partly for having wilfully wasted the Kings Treasure, and been a means to remove the ablest men from the Council Board; of all which aspersions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trenched upon the Dukes destruction and her own, she so wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the *Black-Fryers*, is adjourned to *Leicester*, and from thence to *Westminster*: but though all means were used to stop these accusations against the Duke, yet the lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances against him: That he had Traiterously incited the Bastard of *Orleance*, the Lord *Prosigny*, and others to levy War against the King, to the end that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his Son *John* who had married *Margaret* Daughter and sole Heir of *John* Duke of *Somerset*, whose title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case King *Henry* should dye without issue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the *French* King had gotten possession of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and had taken prisoners the valiant Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and others: but to these accusations he peremptorily affirmed himself not guilty, so much as in thought. Then were further allegations made against him, that being with others, sent Ambassador into *France*, he had transcended his Commission; and without privity of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of *Anjou*, and the delivery of the County of *Maunts* to Duke *Rayner*, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown: That he had traiterously acquainted the *French* King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy, by which the Enemy was throughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the *French* King, to divert and disappoint all succours sent to the Kings friends in *France*. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to blear the peoples eyes, he is committed to the *Tower*; but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty. Which so incensed the common people, that they made an insurrection; and under the leading of a desperate fellow, styling himself *Blue-beard*, they committed many out-rages: but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chusing of Burgesses, presuming thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of *Suffolk*; but his personal appearance at the Parliament gave such a general distaste to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forbore not to begin the Assembly, with petitioning the King for punishment to be inflicted upon such

Accusations laid to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Upon which committed to the *Tower* is presently upon the dissolution of the Parliament released.

An Insurrection made by *Blue-beard* soon pacified.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is questioned again in Parliament: is banished formally for five years; but taken at Sea, hath his head chopt off.

1450

as had plotted or consented to the Resignation of *Anjou* and *Maine*, whereof by name they instanced in the Duke of *Suffolk*, *John* Bishop of *Salisbury*, Sir *James Fines*, Lord *Say*, and others. This Petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House: whereupon to give some satisfaction to the Houses, the Lord *Say*, Lord Treasurer, is sequestred from his place, the Dukes Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years, but with an intent after the multitude had put out of minde their hatred against him, to have revoked him: But God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in *Suffolk*, with intent to have passed over into *France*, he was met by an *English* man of War, taken and carried to *Dover* Sands, and there had his head chopt off, on the side of the Long-boat, which together with the body was left there on the Sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke *Humfrey*.

The Duke of *York* begins to make his way to the Crown.

Whilest these things are done in *England*, the Duke of *York* in *Ireland* began to make his way to the Crown, as descended from *Philippa*, Daughter and Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder Brother to *John* of *Gaunt*, great Grandfather to the present King *Henry* the sixth. And for a beginning it is privately whispered, that King *Henry* was of a weak capacity, and easily abused; the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloodily ambitious; the Privy Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit, then the publick good; that through their delinquencies, all *France* was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped possession of King *Henry*. With these suggestions the *Kentish* men seemed to be taken; which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of *York*, called *Mortimer*, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever, from those insupportable burthens of Taxations, so often, upon every slight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and Freedom from Impositions, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and make *Mortimer*, otherwise *Jack Cade*, their Leader; who styling himself Captain *Mend-all*, marched with no great number, but those well ordered to *Black-heath*, where between *Eltham* and *Greenwich*, he lay by the space of a month exercising his men, and sending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased. Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons, That the Queens Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmost undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings Houshold, for which they are not paid, nor any assurance for payment thereof given, but only Court-promises: That upon the apprehension of any man for Treason or Felony, the Kings menial Servants, before conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful proceedings are used by subornation of witnesses, embracery of Jurors, and great mens Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the Innocent after attainted, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightful owners of Inheritance dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just soever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in passing their Accompts by new extorted Fees; and by being inforced to procure a late invented Writ of *Quorum Nomina*, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their suing out their *Quietus* at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the Green Wax out of the *Exchequer*, do levy greater sums then are by the Record justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgesses are commoniy chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five dayes journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made to live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into favour, the truly noble Prince the Duke of *York*, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of *Exeter*, *Buckingham*, and *Norfolk*, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of *Suffolk* and his complices, commanded from his presence; and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other Instruments of Extortion out of the *Exchequer*; a qualification of proceedings in the *King's-Bench*; an inhibition of unequal purveyance of provision for the Kings Houshold, and a present execution of the Promoters, *Slegge*, *Cromer*, *Isell*, and *East*, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the Kings Privy Council; who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather than intreaty; which advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to *Greenwich*, and appointeth divers Lords to assail the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who sought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traytors as the Lord *Say* the Kings Chamberlain was. Whereupon the Lord *Say* is presently committed to the *Tower*, the King and Queen

Jack Cade makes an Insurrection; and brings an Army to *Black-heath*.

He presents the complaints of the Commons to the Parliament.

The Complaints are exploded by the Kings Privy Council.

The King raiseth an Army to suppress the Rebels.

Queen retire to *London*, from whence within two dayes, the King being now fifteen thousand strong, marcheth in person towards Captain *Mend-all*, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into *Sevenoke*-Wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to *London*, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two *Staffords*, Sir *Humfrey* and *William*, with many hot-spurs in the Court, to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain *Mend-all* in good order ready to receive them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir *Humfrey*, and afterwards his Brother, and put all the rest to flight. The Kings Forces being at *Black-heath*, could neither by threats nor intreaties be gotten to go to the Rescue; but rather wished the Queen and her Favourites in the *Staffords* case: or that the Duke of *York* were in *England*, to aid his Cousin *Mortimer* (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred) and many of them stole away to the Rebels, whose number from *Suffex* and *Surrey* daily increased, whom yet their Captain restraineth from forraging or taking away any thing by force; and so returneth again to *Black-heath*, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to *Greenwich*. And now the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Duke of *Buckingham* are sent to expostulate with the Rebels about their demands; to whom *Jack Cade* gave very good language, but directly affirming no cessation from Arms, unless the King in person would hear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word for the reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to *Killingworth* Castle in *Warwickshire*, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord *Scales* only to guard the *Tower*. *Jack Cade* taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to *Southwark*, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no out-rage, nor do wrong to any; which was duly observed. The next morning he marcheth to *London*-Bridge, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no resistance being made against him; and so in good order marched up by *London-stone*, upon which he strook his Sword, saying, Now is *Mortimer* Lord of *London*. The Mayor of *London*, Sir *Thomas Chalton*, standing upon the threshold of his door, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City; To whom he made answer, Let the world take notice of our honest intention by our actions. And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people: And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sendeth out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to *Thomas Cock*, Draper of *London*.

The Rebels slay Sir *Humfrey* and Sir *William Stafford*.

The King flieth to *Killingworth* Castle.

Jack Cade cometh to *London*.

By this our writing ensealed, we grant, That *Thomas Cock* of *London* Draper, shall safely come into our presence, and avoid from us again at his pleasure, with all other persons coming in his company. *Subscribed thus*,

His Majesties loyal Subject, *John Mortimer, Captain Mend-all.*

Upon *Cock*'s admission, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: *You shall charge all* Lombards *and Merchant-strangers*, Genoeses, Venetians, Florentines, *and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Captain, twelve Harness compleat of the best fashion, four and twenty Brigandines, twelve Battle-axes, twelve Glaves, six Horses with Saddle and Bridle compleatly furnished, and a thousand Marks in ready Money: and if they shall fail herein, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get.* But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of *July*, returns to *London*; and presently sends to the Lord *Scales*, to bring his Prisoner the Lord *Say* to the *Guild-hall*, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his Brethren; before whom he caused the Lord *Say* to be arraigned, who craving to be tried by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carried to the Standard in *Cheap*, and there had his head chopt off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was borne before him to *Mile-end*, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of *Essex*; and by the way meeting with Sir *James Cromer*, High Sheriff of *Kent*, who had lately married the Lord *Say*'s Daughter, he caused his head also to be strucken off, and carried likewise before him in derision. The next morning he came again to *London*; where after publick execution done upon some of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named *Paris*, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman *Malpas*, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman *Horn* in five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more insolent then other, they sent to the Lord *Scales* for assistance, who sendeth *Matthew Gout* an old Souldier to them, with some Forces and Furnitures out of the *Tower*; who presently make a stand at the Bridge, where *Cade* notwithstanding forceth his passage, and then began to set fire on horses, where many aged and impotent people miserably perished. Captain *Bough*, Alderman, *Sutton* and *Robert Hayson*, valiantly fighting, were slain; yet upon a fresh supply, the *Londoners* recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stoop in *Southwark*; at which time, both sides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat, *Cade* finding he had lost many of his best men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in *Southwark*, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his company entring into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances, their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* having notice, he with the Bishop of *Winchester* came from the *Tower* by water to *Southwark*, and there shewed the Kings General Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew

He commandeth Horses and Furniture to be sent him.

He cuts off the Lord *Say*'s head and heapeth.

Also Sir *James Cromer*'s head.

Upon the Kings General Pardon, the Rebels leave him.

drew themſelves that night to their ſeveral habitations. *Jack Cade* with ſome few followers, bent his journey to *Queenborough* Caſtle, where being denyed entrance, he diſguiſed himſelf, and privily fled; but upon Proclamation, with promiſe of a thouſand Marks to any that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was afterward, by one *Alexander Eden* Gentleman, attached: and making reſiſtance, in a Garden at *Hothfield* in *Suſſex*, was there ſlain. His body was brought to *London*, beheaded and quartered, his head ſet upon *London-Bridge*, his quarters diſperſed in divers places in *Kent*. Upon the news whereof, the King ſends Commiſſioners into *Kent*, to enquire of the Abettors of this Rebellion; whither he followeth himſelf in perſon: and though five hundred were found guilty, yet eight only were executed. Though *London* were the chief ſtage of this Rebellion, yet other Countreys were not free, eſpecially *Wiltſhire*; for the Rebels there, upon the nine and twentieth day of *June*, drew *William Aſkot* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, from the High Altar, where he was ſaying Maſs in *Edington* Church, to the top of the Hill: and there in his Prieſtly Robes moſt inhumanely murthered him.

Jack Cade flieth and is ſlain.

This Inſurrection was not unknown to the King of *France*, who taking advantage thereof, ſeizeth upon all places which the *Engliſh* had in *France*, leaving them nothing but only *Callice*, and the Caſtles of *Hames* and *Guiſnes*; and this was the Iſſue of the Duke of *Somerſet's* Regency in *France*: whereupon coming into *England*, at a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth of *November* in the nine and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, he was put under Arreſt. Upon notice whereof, the Commons at *London* deſpoiled his houſe at *Black-fryers*, and ceaſed not till Proclamation was made to prohibit them; for diſobeying whereof, there was one man beheaded, at the Standard in *Cheap*.

Upon this Inſurrection in *England*, the King of *France* ſeizeth upon all the *Engliſh* Territories, and leaves the *Engliſh* nothing but *Callice*.

1451.

At this time the Duke of *York* under pretence of coming to the Parliament, comes out of *Ireland*; and at *London* had private conference with *John* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other his aſſured friends: where it was reſolved to keep the chief purpoſe, (the Claim to the Crown) ſecret, and only to make ſhew, that his endeavours were but to remove ill Counſellors from the King, of whom they inſtanced in the Duke of *Somerſet* as chief; and hereof, the Duke ſent divers Letters to the King, complaining of the wrongs the Duke of *Somerſet* had done him, but withal making proteſtation of his own Loyalty. To which the King maketh anſwer, that he would take his complaints into conſideration; but ſomewhat blames him for the death of the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, by his means ſuſpected to be ſlaughtered; and for dangerous ſpeeches uttered by his Servants, tending to Rebellion: concluding, that notwithſtanding any thing ſaid or done to the contrary, he took and eſteemed him a faithful Subject, and a loving Kinſman. But the Duke of *York*, not herewith ſatisfied, departeth into *Wales*, and there levieth men, making his colour for the good of the Commonwealth, and the removing of bad Counſellours. The King advertiſed hereof, preſently raiſeth an Army; and with the Duke of *Somerſet* (now enlarged) marcheth toward *Wales*: while the Duke of *York* having notice which way the King came, by another way marcheth toward *London*; who being told, the *Londoners* would not admit him entrance, he paſſed the River *Thames* at *Knightbridge*, marched into *Kent*, and encamped at *Burnt-heath*. The King in his purſuit came to *Black-heath*, and there pitched his Tents; from whence he ſent the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, the Lord *Rivers*, and *Richard Andrews*, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cauſe of this commotion: and to make offer of reconcilement, if the Duke's demands were not unreaſonable. The Duke made anſwer, that nothing was intended againſt the Kings Perſon, his Crown or Dignity: All that was ſought, was to remove ill Counſellours from about the King, but eſpecially *Edmund* Duke of *Somerſet*; whom if the King would be pleaſed to commit to ward, till his Legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only diſmiſs his Army, but come unto his preſence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of *Somerſet* is committed to priſon: The Duke of *York* diſmiſſeth his Army, and cometh in perſon to the King; in whoſe preſence, (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of *Somerſet*, which ſo moved him, that he could not hold, but preſently charged him with Treaſon: which the Duke of *Somerſet* not only denieth, but recriminates the Duke of *York* to have conſpired the King's death, and the uſurpation of the Crown. Whereupon, the King removeth to *London*, the Duke of *York* as a Priſoner riding before him, and the Duke of *Somerſet* at liberty; which was not a little marvelled at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at *Weſtminſter*, where the two Dukes are earneſt in accuſing each other; but while the Council are debating of the matter, there comes a flaſh of lightning out of *France*, which diverted them. For the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Eſpar*, came Ambaſſadors from *Burdeaux*, offering their obedience to the Crown of *England*; if they might but be aſſured to be defended by it: but withal, at the ſame time there came a report, that *Edward* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir to the Duke of *York*, with a great power as marching towards *London*. Here was matter for a double conſultation, and for this latter, it was reſolved on, that the Duke of *York*, ſhould in the preſence of the King and his Nobility, at the High Altar in *Pauls*, take his Oath of Submiſſion and Allegiance to King *Henry*; which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Caſtle at *Wigmore*. And for the former, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with about three thouſand men was ſent into *Gaſcoigne*, who arriving in the Iſle of *Mardre*, paſſed forth with his power, and took *Fronſack* and other pieces; but having received in the night inſtructions from *Burdeaux* of certain Conſpirators, he makes all the ſpeed he can thither: and was entred the Town before the *French* had notice of his coming; ſo that many of them were ſlain by the Lord *L'Eſpar* in their beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of *Shrewsbury's* Son, Sir *John Talbot*, with the baſtard of *Somerſet*, and two and twenty hundred men, by whoſe means *Burdeaux*

1451. The Duke of *York* complains againſt the Duke of *Somerſet*.

He raiſeth an Army.

1452. And the King another.

The Duke requireth to have the Duke of *Somerſet* to be tried by Parliament.

The Duke of *York* and the Duke of *Somerſet* accuſe each other of Treaſon.

1453.

The Duke of *York* takes his Oath of Allegiance to King *Henry*.

deaux is well manned with *English*, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place to receive the offered submission of all places where he came: and having taken *Chatillon*, he strongly fortified it; whereupon the *French* King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth *Chatillon*, to the rescue whereof, the Earl maketh all possible speed with eight hundred Horse, appointing the Earl of *Kendal*, and the Lord *L'Espar* to follow with the Foot. In his way he surpriseth a Tower the *French* had taken, and put all within it to the Sword; and meeting five hundred *French* men, that had been forraging, many of them he slew, and the rest he chased to their Camp. Upon whose approach the *French* left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortified; whither the Earl followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them so home, that he got the entry of the Camp: where being shot through the Thigh with an Harquebus, and his Horse slain under him, his Son desirous to releive his Father, lost his own life, and therein was accompanied with his Bastard Brother *Henry Talbot*, Sir *Edward Hall*, and thirty other Gentlemen of name. The Lord *Molins* with threescore other were taken Prisoners, the rest fled to *Burdeaux*, but in the way a thousand of them were slain. And thus on the last day of *July*, in the year 1453. at *Chatillon*, the most valorous Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the first of that name, after four and twenty years service beyond the Seas, ended his life and was buried at *Roan* in *Normandy* with this Inscription upon his Tomb, Here lieth the Right Noble Knight *John Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Wexford*, *Waterford*, *Valence*, Lord *Talbot* of *Goodrich*, and *Orchenfield*, Lord *Strange* of *Blackmere*, Lord *Verdon* of *Acton*, Lord *Cromwel* of *Winkfield*, Lord *Lovetoft* of *Warsoppe*, Lord *Furnival* of *Sheffield*, Knight of the Noble Orders of St. *George*, St. *Michael*, and the Golden Fleece, great Marshal to King *Henry* the Sixth, of his Realm of *France*. The Earl of *Kendal*, the Lords *Montferrat*, *Rosaine*, and *Dangledas* entred the Castle of *Chatillon*, and made it good against the *French* the space of ten dayes; but then having no hope of succour they delivered it, upon composition to have liberty to depart to *Burdeaux*: and now the *Gascoignes* were as ready to open their Gates to the *French*, as they were before to the *English*; by means whereof, in short time, the *French* recovered again all *Gascoigne* except *Burdeaux*, and that also at length, upon condition that both Garrisons and Inhabitants with all their substance might safely depart for *England* or *Callice*, and that the Lords L'*Espar* and *Durant*, with thirty others, upon pain of death should never after be found in the Territories of *France*.

Talbot Earl of *Shrewsbury* after many victories is at last slain.

The Inscription upon his Tomb.

A difference on *Bartholomew* day, between the Mayor of *London*, and the Prior of St. *Johns*.

At this time upon St. *Bartholomew's* day, an ancient custom being, that the Mayor of *London*, and the Sheriffs should be present in giving prizes to the best Wrestlers, it happened that at the Wrestling-place near *Moor-fields*, the Prior of St. *Johns* was there to see the sports, when a servant of his not brooking the disgrace to be foiled before his Master, against the custom of the place, would have wrestled again, which the Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetcht Bow-men from *Clerkenwel*, to resist the Mayor, and some slaughter was committed; the Mayors Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he nevertheless would have had the sport go on, but no Wrestlers came: yet the Mayor Sir *John Norman* told his Brethren, he would stay a while to make trial of the Citizens respect towards him; which he had no sooner said, but the Citizens with Banners displayed came in great numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in *Holborn*, between the Gentlemen of the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens; in appeasing whereof, the Queens Atturney and three more were slain.

1454.

And now the Duke of *York* by all means laboureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons against the Duke of *Somerset*, repeating often what dishonour *England* sustained by *Somerset's* giving up the strong Towns of *Normandy*; and how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to his own gain, and the Commons grievance: then he addresseth himself to those of the Nobility that could not well brook his too much commanding over the Kings and Queens affection. Amongst others he fastneth upon the two *Nevils*, both *Richards*, the Father and the Son, the one Earl of *Salisbury*, the other of *Warwick*; with whom he deals so effectually, that an indissoluble knot of friendship is knit betwixt them: by whose assistance (the King lying dangerously sick at *Claringdon*) the Duke of *Somerset* is arrested in the Queens great Chamber, and sent to the *Tower*; and in a Parliament now convoked, appeached of Treason, and many hainous crimes objected against him. Whereupon the King, though weak, is brought to *London*, of purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and that dissolved, the Duke of *Somerset* is presently set at liberty again, and not only so, but is made Captain of *Callice* and *Guisnes*, the only remainder the *English* had in *France*. Upon this the Duke of *York* and his party, with a great power, march towards *London*; against whom, the King attended with the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Son, both named *Humfrey*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, *James* Earl of *Wiltshire*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and two thousand men, marched forwards; at St. *Albans* both Armies meet: The Duke in the morning sends a Letter to the King, protesting his fidelity and sincerity, only he desires the Duke of *Somerset* may be delivered, to stand or fall by the Judgement of his Peers; and this he would have, or dye in the pursuit. The King for answer, commands him to disband, and submit to his mercy, and not expect, that he will deliver any in his Army, who have shewed their loves in standing to him. Herewith the Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall every one to his quarter: The Earl of *Warwick* fell upon the Lord *Clifford's* quarter, where the Duke of *Somerset* hasting to the rescue, was slain, and with him the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Humfrey* Earl of *Stafford*, the Lord *Clifford*, and about five thousand others, besides many that were hurt; the King himself shot in the neck with an Arrow; the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Lord *Scales*, in the faces; the Earl of *Dorset* so hurt, that he was fain to be carried

The Duke of *Somerset* is sent to the *Tower*.

But soon set at liberty, and made Captain of *Callice*.

1455.

The Duke of *York's* Army and the Kings have a Battel, where the Duke of *Somerset*, and other Lords are slain.

ried home in a Cart: The Kings Army had been increaſed after his coming forth to eight thouſand; but now they are all diſperſed or ſlain; and the King unguarded, is left in a poor thatcht houſe, whither, to be freed from the danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himſelf. The Duke of *York* having notice where the King was, goes with *Warwick* and *Salisbury*; who all three upon their knees, preſent themſelves before him, making humble Petition to him for pardon of what was paſt: and now ſeeing the common enemy was ſlain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King throughly affrighted, ſaid, Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This firſt Battel of St. *Albans* was fought upon the three and twentieth day of *May*, in the three and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The bodies of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford* were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of *York* in the Kings name, commands a ſurceaſe from further hoſtility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to *London*, where they keep the Feaſt of Pentecoſt together. At which time a Parliament is ſummoned to begin at *Weſtminſter*, the ninth day of *July*; and therein it is enacted, that the Duke of *Gloceſter* ſhould be declared publickly a Loyal Subject, and that none ſhould miſreport or diſpute the actions of the Duke of *York*; or of any in his company: and moreover the Duke of *York* is made Protector of the Kings Perſon, and of the Realm, the Earl of *Salisbury* is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earl of *Warwick* Captain of *Callice*, wherein they all carried themſelves with unblamable demeanour.

The King flieth.

The Duke of *York* is made Protector of the King's perſon, and of the Realm.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleaſed with theſe proceedings, ſeeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much ſeek to incite her to make oppoſition; ſhe puts the Duke of *Buckingham* in minde that theſe Traitors had ſlain his hopeful Son at St. *Albans*; ſhe tells the now Duke of *Somerſet*, that by them his dear Father loſt his life: And they again put the Queen in minde of the unſufferable indignity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in name, ſetting a Tutor over him, as though he were a childe, whileſt the Duke of *York* and his complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the *Yorkſhire* Faction are aſſembled by the Queen at *Greenwich*; where it is debated of ſome courſe to be taken for reſtoring the King to his former liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, that the Duke of *York* ſhould be commanded to give over his place of Protectorſhip, for that the King was of years and diſcretion ſufficient to rule of himſelf without a Guardian; and the Earl of *Salisbury* to ſurrender his place of being Lord Chancellour, for that the great Seal was never delivered him, ſeeing that which was now uſed, was made ſince the Kings reſtraint, and therefore not ſufficient: to which concluſion of theirs, the King, eaſie to be wrought upon, yields his conſent, and thereupon they are both diſcharged from their Offices, and ſummoned to appear at the Council Table at *Greenwich*. But the Lords were wiſer then to put themſelves into their hands, and therefore make anſwer, that none had power to diſplace them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament; and ſo they continued about *London*, placing and diſplacing whom they pleaſed, and by their triumvirate authority, took *John Holland* Earl of *Exeter* out of Sanctuary, and ſent him priſoner to *Pomfret* Caſtle. Theſe proceedings gave occaſion to the licencious multitude to raiſe commotions, and the Prentices of *London* upon a very ſlight occaſion, fall upon out-landiſh Merchants, rifle and rob their houſes; and the Mayor aſſembling a company of ſubſtantial Citizens to ſuppreſs them, the Ring-leader of the diſorders flies to Sanctuary, Commiſſioners are ſent to enquire and puniſh the offence; but when the Mayor and Commiſſioners were ſet, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commiſſioners left the buſineſs to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who ſo diſcreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were puniſhed, ſome by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeaſed.

The Queen oppoſeth it.

1456. The Prentices of *London* make a commotion.

At this time the *French* having little to do againſt the *Engliſh* in *France*, would needs be doing ſomething againſt them in *England*. They ſet out two Fleets, one under the conduct of *William* Lord *Pomyers*, the other of Sir *Peter Breſſy*; the Lord fell upon *Fulney* in the Weſt-Countrey, the Knight upon *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where ſome hurt they did, but not of importance to countervail their Voyage.

1457.

And now the Queen finding the little reſpect the *Londoners* bore to her party or the Kings, perſwades the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progreſs into *Warwickſhire*, which he did, by the way, hunting and hawking; and the Queen making ſhew of minding nothing but paſtimes: and this ſhe did, with a purpoſe the eaſilier to entrap the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*. To whom ſhe writ moſt loving Letters, earneſtly inviting them to be at *Coventry* by an hour appointed; which they not doubting any fraud, intended to have done: but hearing by the way of the miſchief plotted againſt them, they cauſed their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themſelves were coming after; but they provided otherwiſe for their ſafety, the Duke of *York* with a Groom and a Page getting him to *Wigmore* Caſtle, the Earl of *Saliſbury* to his Caſtle of *Middleham* in the North, and the Earl of *Warwick* to the Sea-ſide, and ſo to *Callice*. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourſe of Letters, yet their intentions kept undiſcovered.

The Queen in loving manner invites the three Lords of *York*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick*, to meet her at *Coventry*.

The Lords hearing of a plot laid againſt them, ſhift away.

The King unwitting of this miſchief intended againſt the Duke of *York* and his friends, returneth to *London*, where he calleth a Council; and therein of his own accord, deſireth that ſome courſe might be invented for a perfect reconcilement of all parties: promiſing upon his Salvation, (an aſſeveration not uſual with him) ſo to entertain the Duke of *York* and his friends, that all diſcontents ſhould be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be eſtabliſhed: to which end meſſengers are diſpatched to the Duke of *York*, and all other of his

The King ſeeks an accomodacion betwixt him and the three Lords.

his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royal Promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at *London*,
1458. at a day appointed. The Duke of *York* accordingly came, and with 400. men well apparelled, lodged at his house called *Baynards-Castle*; the Earl of *Salisbury* with 500. men, lodged likewise at his house called the *Herbour*: The Duke of *Exeter* (lately released) and the Duke of *Somerset* with 800. men, were lodged within *Temple-Bar*: The Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Egremont*, and the Lord *Clifford* with 1500. men were lodged in *Holborn*; The Earl of *Warwick* with 600. in red Jackets with ragged Staves, embroidered behinde and before, were lodged at the *Grey-Fryers* in *London*. Upon the seventeenth of *March* the King and the Queen came to *London*, and were lodged at the Bishops Palace; the Mayor having five hundred well appointed men in readiness, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the Kings Peace. The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at *Black-Friers*; the other, at the Chapter-house at *Westminster*: Between both, the Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Son of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, that all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the King. Besides this in general, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, which afterward was ratified under the great Seal of *England*, the 24. day of *March*, in the 36. year of the Reign of King *Henry* the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Procession was made in *Pauls* Church, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him hand in hand went the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, and so one of the one, another of the other part, till they were all marshalled: behinde the King came the Queen, the Duke of *York* leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favourable countenance towards him. Divine Service ended, they return to the Court in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was dissembled, as will presently appear: for presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of *Warwick's*, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earls man flieth; the Kings Servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Council Table, and assail him; many are hurt, but the Earl getteth a Wherry, and so escapes to *London*; the Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the *Tower*, but he foreseeing the danger, posts to *Yorkshire*, where he acquaints the Duke of *York*, and his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* of all the occurrents, with the palpable discovery of the Queens canker'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Himself speeds to *Callice*, and being then Lord Admiral, takes with him all the Kings Ships that were in readiness, and scouring the Seas, meets with five great Carricks, three of *Genoua*, and two of *Spain*, and after two dayes fight, takes two of them; with which he returned to *Callice*; where he unloaded their fraight, and found it worth ten thousand pounds in Staple commodities, besides the Ships and Prisoners.

An accomodation is agreed upon.

But all dissembled.

In the mean time the Earl of *Salisbury* with
1459. about five thousand men marcheth through *Lancashire*, to pass that way to the King, with a purpose to acquaint him with the affront offered to his Son, and the inveterate malice discovered in the Queen against him. The Queen with the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerset*, hearing of his coming, gave order to the Lord *Audley* to use means to apprehend him; who thereupon levieth ten thousand men in *Cheshire* and *Shropshire*, and with them about a mile from *Draynton*, in a plain called *Blore-heath*, he attended the Earl, there being but a small brook of no great depth between them. Early in the morning the Earl made a seeming Retreat, which the Lord *Talbot* observing, presently causeth his Troops to pass the River; but before they could be reduced again into order, the Earl with his whole strength, falls upon them, and with the slaughter of the Lord *Audley*, and most of them that had passed the River, he discomfited the rest, and slew about 24. hundred of them. Sir *John* and Sir *Tho. Nevil* Knights, the Earls Sons, were sorely wounded, who with Sir *Thomas Harrington*, travelling into the North Countrey, were apprehended and sent as prisoners towards *Chester*; but upon a message from the *March-men* were presently released.

The Earl of *Salisbury* going to acquaint the King, is set upon by the Lord *Audley*.

Who is slain and his Army defeated.

And now the Duke of *York* thinking fit no longer to conceal his design, makes preparation to take the field, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick* do the like; and amongst others of approved valour, whom the Earl of *Warwick* had brought from *Callice* with him, were two principal noted men, *John Blunt*, and *Andrew Trollop*. Likewise the King, with the Dukes of *Somerset*, and *Exeter*, draws his Forces to *Worcester*, from whence *Richard Beauchamp* Bishop of *Salisbury*, is sent to offer the *Yorkists* a full and general Pardon, if they would lay down Arms, and become Loyal Subjects. Whereunto they answered, that there was no trust to the Kings Pardons, as long as the Queen had a predominant power; but if they might have assurance of safety, they would express their Loyalty, and humbly render themselves at his service. Hereupon the King advanceth nearer, and approaching the Lords Army, caused Proclamation to be made, that whosoever would abandon the Duke of *York*, should be received to mercy, and have Pardon. Upon this, the night following, *Andrew Trollop* with all the *Callicians* submit to the King; and by him are all the Councils of the Duke of *York* discovered: which so much discouraged him, that he with his young Son, the Earl of *Rutland*, fled first into *Wales*, and then into *Ireland*: The Earls of *March*, *Salisbury*, and *Warwick* got into *Devonshire*, where by the means of *John Dynham*, Esquire, (the same man that afterward by King *Henry* the seventh was made Lord Treasurer of *England*) they were Shipt from *Exmouth* to

The Duke of *York* takes the field.

The King doth the like.

Andrew Trollop revolts from the Duke to the King.

Whereupon the Duke of *York* flies into *Ireland*.

Guernsey, and so to *Callice*. All the common Souldiers the King pardons, only makes exemplary punishment of some few Captains, sends the Dutchess of *York*, and her two younger Children, to the Dutchess of *Buckingham* her Sister to be safely kept; and then having spoiled the Town and Castle of *Ludlow*, he dismit his Army. And now a Parliament is called at *Coventry*, wherein the Duke of *York*, *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, *Richard* Earl of *Salisbury*, *Richard* Earl of *Warwick*, *John* Lord *Clifford*, and many other the confederates of the Duke of *York*, are convict of Treason, and all their Lands and Goods seized on to the Kings use. *Henry* Duke of *Somerset* by the Queens means is made Captain of *Callice*, whither coming to take possession, he was by reason of Ordnance shot at him from *Rice-bank*, forced to retire; which the Queen hearing, was so incensed, that in great passion she gave order to make ready all the Kings Ships, lying at *Sandwich*, to give assistance to the Duke of *Somerset*: but the fore-mentioned *John Dynham*, out of love to the Earl of *March*, boarded those Ships in the Harbour, and took the Lord *Rivers*, designed Admiral for that Service, and carried both him and the Ships to *Callice*, from whence the Earl sailed to *Ireland*, to the Duke of *York*, who having conferred and concluded that course to take, he returned to *Callice*, the new Admiral the Duke of *Exeter* not daring to stop his course. Sir *Simon Montford* was appointed to guard the Cinque-Ports, having divers Ships under his command to bar the Earl of *Warwick*'s entrance: but the Earl by his espyals having perfect intelligence of all passages, fell suddenly upon Sir *Simon* before his Ships were ready, took him prisoner, ransackt the Town of *Sandwich*, and carried him prisoner and the Ships to *Callice*. By the way he understood how much the *Kentish* men desired his return, and longed for his coming; whereupon he came the second time to *Sandwich*, to whom presently resorted the Lord *Colham*, and very many Gentlemen of the Countrey: so as now his Army was five and twenty thousand strong, with which he marched towards *London*. Against whom the Lord *Scales* was appointed to go, and with some convenient Troops to assure *London*: but the Mayor directly refused to admit him; whereupon he resorted to the *Tower*, from whence afterward he did the *Londoners* no small displeasure. The Earl of *Warwick* having notice, that his Father the Earl of *Salisbury* was upon march to meet him, passeth over his men; and without impeachment, joyned with him and his friends near *Exeter*.

The Duke of *York* in a Parliament is convict of treason: as likewise the other Lords.

John Dynham doth the Earl of *March* good service.

The Earl of *Warwick* is received of the *Londoners*.

1460.

The Armies of the Earl of *March*, and of the King meet at *Northampton*.

The King with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Buckingham*, with a great Army marcheth towards them, and near to the Town of *Northampton* both Armies meet. The Earl of *March* with the advice of the Earl of *Warwick* prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intentive to devotion then fighting) did the like. The fight continued about two hours, wherein were slain on both sides above ten thousand men; but upon the fall of *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, the Kings side was discomfited, and *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Egremont*, *John* Lord *Beaumont* and some other of account were slain. The Queen with the Duke of *Somerset*, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of *Durham*. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to *London*: where the *Tower* is yielded to the Earl of *Warwick*; the Lord *Scales* in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the water-men, and by them beheaded, and his Corps carelessly left upon the Sands. *Thomas Thorpe* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown shorn, purposing to flie to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the *Tower*; and after by the Commons Beheaded at *High gate*. The Duke of *York* being advertised of this good success, leaveth *Ireland* and posts to *London*, where in the Kings name, he summoneth a Parliament; which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great boldness layes open his rightful claim to the Crown of *England*, as being the Son and Heir of *Anne*, Daughter and Heir of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, Son and Heir of *Philippa* the sole Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* the Third, and elder Brother of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*, Father of the Usurper *Henry* the Fourth, Grandfather to King *Henry* the Fifth, who was Father to him that at this time unruly styleth himself King *Henry* the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had befallen the Realm since the time of this Usurpation, he concluded, that he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his descent were indisputable, and his title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation; but in conclusion, the Duke having before-hand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgesses were easily perswaded: and it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, that King *Henry* during his life, should retain the name and honour of a King; that the Duke of *York* should be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Kings Person, his Lands and Dominions; and that if at any time, any of King *Henry*'s Friends, Allies, or Favourites in his behalf should attempt the disannulling this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the noting, that while the Earl of *March* was declaring his title in the Upper House, it happened in the nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to set lights upon, without touch or winde, fell suddenly down: as likewise at the same time fell down the Crown which stood on the top of *Dover*-Castle. A sign as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatcheth Letters into *Scotland*, requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter*, and all other of the Nobility, that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed to repair to his presence in *London*: but they had other work in hand, for having gotten together of *English* and

The Queen flieth, the King taken Prisoner, and conveyed to *London*.

The Lord *Scales* flying away in disguise, is taken by Watermen and beheaded.

The Duke of *York* comes out of *Ireland*: summons a Parliament, wherein he layes open his Title to Crown.

It is concluded in Parliament that King *Henry* should remain King during his life; and the Duke of *York* proclaimed heir apparent to the Crown.

Good *Omens* for the Earl of *March*.

and *Scots*, to the number of eighteen thousand, they came marching into *England*. Against whom went the Duke of *York* with his younger Son the Earl of *Rutland*, and the Earl of *Salisbury*, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*;) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scouts, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number and in all warlike preparation (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and thereupon the Earl of *Salisbury* advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of *March*, who was gone into *Wales* to raise the *March* men. But the pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the Battel, and so hastned on by his destiny, from *Sandal* Castle he marcheth on to *Wakefield* Green; where the Lord *Clifford* on the one side, and the Earl of *Wiltshire* on the other, were placed in Ambuscado. The Duke of *York* supposing that the Duke of *Somerset* who led the Battel had no more Forces then what were with him, undauntedly marcheth towards him; but being entred within their danger, Ambushes on both sides brake out upon him, and slew him with three thousand of his men, the rest fled. The Earl of *Salisbury* is taken Prisoner, and harmless *Rutland* not above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Fathers transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord *Clifford*, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death: And the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood caused the Earl of *Salisbury*, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at *Pomfret* Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of *York*. Thus died *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, who had taken to Wife *Cicely* Daughter to *Ralph Nevil*, the first Earl of *Westmerland*, by whom he had Issue eight Sons and four Daughters; his eldest Son *Henry* died young, his second Son *Edward* was afterward King of *England*; his third Son *Edmund* Earl of *Rutland*, was slain with his Father; *John*, *Thomas*, and *William* died young; his seventh Son *George* was after Duke of *Clarence*; his youngest Son *Richard* surnamed *Crouchback*, was after King of *England*. *Anne* his eldest Daughter was married to *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, his second Daughter *Elizabeth* was married to *John de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, his third *Margaret* to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, his fourth *Ursula* died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of disgracing him; but this act of spight was fully afterwards recompensed upon their heads that did it.

The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Exeter* with an Army out of *Scotland* come marching into *England*.

The Duke of *York* meets them, and in a Battel on *Wakefield* green is slain.

The Earl of *Salisbury* beheaded.

The Duke of *York*'s issue.

The Earl of *March* puts the Queens Forces to flight *Owen Tudor* beheaded.

The Earl of *March* hearing of his Father's death, laboured now so much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parting from *Shrewsbury* whose Inhabitants were most firm unto him, he increased his Army to the number of three and twenty thousand, and presently took the field: and having advertisement that *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with the Earl of of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire* followed after him with a great power of *Welsh* and *Irish*, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near *Mortimer's* Cross, on *Candlemas* day in the morning gave them Battel, where with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, he puts the Earls to flight. *Owen Tudor* who had married Queen *Katharine*, Mother to King *Henry* the sixth, and divers *Welsh* Gentlemen were taken, and at *Hereford* beheaded. Before the Battel, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of *March* like three Suns, and suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his Badge or Cognizance.

The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of *York*, with a power of Northern men marched towards *London*: but when her Souldiers were once South of *Trent*, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Countrey in most barbarous manner. Approaching St. *Albans*, they were advertised that the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Warwick* were ready to give them Battel; whereupon the Queens Vaward hasteth to pass through Saint *Albans*: but being not suffered to pass, they encountred with their Enemies in the Field called *Bernard-heath*. Who perceiving the main Battel to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of *Lovelace*, who with the *Kentish* men had the leading of it, they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and flye: upon whose flight the rest in doubt of each others well-meaning shifted away, the Lords about the King perceiving the danger withdrew themselves. Only the Lord *Bonvile* coming in a complemental manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majesty, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir *Thomas Kyriel* a Knight of *Kent* likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royal Word that their stay should be no danger to them: upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron *Thorp* at *High gate*, she in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at St. *Albans*: so as there were slaughtered at this Battel the full number of three and twenty hundred, but no man of name, but only Sir *John Gray*, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve other at the Village of *Colney*.

And now the King was advised to send one *Thomas Hoe*, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victors, to tell them, that he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done; whereupon the Earl of *Northumberland*, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord *Clifford*'s Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the destiny of King *Henry*; that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprise of War did ever prosper, where he was present: that we may know the prosperity of the world to be no inseparable companion to men of Piety. At the Queens request, the King honoured with Knighthood thirty Gentlemen, who the day before had fought against the part where he was: the Prince likewise was by him dubbed Knight, and then they

No enterprise of War ever prospered where King *Henry* was present.

they went to the Abbey, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the looſe Souldiers; which was promiſed, and Proclamation made to that purpoſe, but to ſmall purpoſe, for the Northern men ſaid, It was their bargain to have all the ſpoil in every place, after they had paſſed *Trent*: and ſo they robbed and ſpoiled whatſoever they could come at. The *Londoners* hearing of this diſorder, ſeeing there was no more aſſurance in the Kings promiſe, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; inſomuch that when they were ſent to, to ſend over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Proviſion, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons roſe about *Cripplegate*, and by ſtrong hand kept the Carts from going out of the City. Hereupon the Mayor ſends the Recorder to the King's Council, and withal intreats the Dutcheſs of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Scales*, to intercede for him to the Queen; and to excuſe his not uſing force, conſidering how dangerous it might be in theſe doubtful times, to ſtir their fury that would not eaſily be allayed. It was well adviſed to ſend women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that ſome of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Souldiers were appointed to go for *London* to enquire and certifie of theſe things: when ſuddenly news was brought, that the Earl of *March* with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of *Warwick* having gathered together his ſcattered Troops, and joyned with the Earl of *March*, they haſted towards *London*, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of *February*; and upon Sunday the ſecond of *March*, the Earl of *Warwick* muſtred all his Army in St. *Johns* field: and having caſt them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the laſt Parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King *Henry* to reign ſtill? who all cried, No, no: Then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of *March* eldeſt Son of the Duke of *York* (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains, and others of the City, to the Earl of *March* at *Baynards* Caſtle, to acquaint him with what was paſſed; who at firſt ſeemed to excuſe himſelf, as unable to execute ſo great a charge: but animated by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and *Exeter*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, he at laſt conſented to take it upon him. And thereupon the next morning he went in Proceſſion to *Pauls*, and offered there; and after *Te Deum* ſung, he was in great ſtate conveyed to *Weſtminſter*: and there in the great Hall, ſeated in the Kings ſeat, with the Scepter of St, *Edward* in his hand. And then again the people, of whom there was a great concourſe, were aloud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? to which with great willingneſs they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there preſent, he was with Proceſſion and great ſolemnity conveyed to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whileſt *Te Deum* was ſinging. That done, he offered at Saint *Edward*'s Shrine, and then returned by water to *Pauls*, and was lodged in the Biſhops Palace; and upon the fourth of *March* he was generally Proclaimed King, by the name of *Edward* the Fourth. And here in the courſe of all Writers, ends the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, that it may be truly ſaid, Never came any to be King ſo ſoon after his Birth, nor left to be King ſo long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight months old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that ſpace of time, a certain viciſſitude, ſometimes a King, and ſometimes no King; the paſſages whereof muſt be related in the following Kings Reign.

The *Londoners* keep proviſion from going to the King.

The Earl of *March* is elected King.

Is proclaimed King.

Of his Taxations.

IN the firſt year of his Reign, a Parliament was holden at *London*, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and ſate amongſt the Lords; and there was then granted a Subſidy of five Nobles upon every ſack of Wool that ſhould paſs out of the Land, for three years: but if carried out by Merchant ſtrangers, then to pay three and forty ſhillings for every ſack. In the third year of his Reign a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, wherein was granted a Subſidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or paſſing out of the Realm, and three ſhillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his ſixth year, in a Parliament at *Weſtminſter* was granted a Subſidy, of every Ton of Wine three ſhillings, and of other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound: Alſo of every Pariſh through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in value ten Marks, Ten of that Pariſh ſhould pay ſix ſhillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of ten pounds, ten Pariſhioners ſhould pay thirteen ſhillings four pence; and ſo ratably of every Benefice, from the loweſt to the higheſt. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty ſhillings above his houſhold-ſtuffe, and the apparel of him and his Wife, ſhould pay four pence, and ſo after that rate to the richeſt.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN the 32. year of this King, the Lord Mayor of *London* firſt began to go by water to *Weſtminſter* to take his Oath, where before they uſed to go by Land. Alſo in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was found out at *Mogunce* in *Germany*, by a Knight called *John Cuttenberghen*, and brought into *England* by *William Caxton*, of *London* Mercer, who firſt practiced the ſame in the Abbey at *Weſtminſter* in the year 1471. In the 23. year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that when wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four ſhillings, and Barley for three ſhillings, it ſhould be lawful for any man to carry the ſaid kindes of Corn into the parts beyond the Sea without licence, ſo it were not to the Kings Enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King *Edward* the Fourth.

The Art of Printing firſt found.

When Corn might be carried beyond Sea.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Schism was in the Church in this Kings time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at *Constance*, to which the Emperours of *Constantinople* and *Trapezond* send their Ambassadours. In this Council *John* the three and twentieth is convented, condemned, deposed, and imprisoned. *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth are deprived, and *Otho Colonna*, by the name of *Martin* the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confusions in the Western Church, the Christians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruinated. The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people, and the great City of *Constantinople* won by the *Turk*, made ever since the seat of his Empire. In the six and thirtieth year of this King, *Reynold Peacock*, Bishop of *Chichester*, who had laboured many years in translating the Holy Scripture into *English*, was accused and convicted, for holding and publishing certain opinions at that time held Heretical, which at last openly at *Pauls* Cross he revoked; that he had held, there was no necessity to believe that Christ descended into Hell: also no necessity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot erre in matters of Faith; or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that Spiritual persons ought to have no Temporal Possessions; and that personal Tythes were not due by Gods Law. These Points he openly renounced, but was notwithstanding deprived of his Bishoprick; only a a certain Pension was assigned him to live on in an Abbey, where soon after he died.

The Emperour smothered to death in a press of people.

Constantinople won by the *Turk*.

The Bishop of *Chichesters* Heresies, for which deprived.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

THe King himself founded two famous Colledges, the one in *Cambridge*, to our Lady and St. *Nicholas*, called the *Colledge-Royal*, or the *Kings-Colledge*; the other of *Eaton* besides *Windsor*, called of our Blessed Lady: to the maintenance whereof, he gave 3400. pounds by year. In the 28. year of his Reign, his Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queens-Colledge* in *Cambridge*. In the time of his Reign also, *Henry Chichely* Archbishop of *Canterbury* founded two Colledges in *Oxford*, one called *All-Souls-Colledge*, the other *Bernard-Colledge*. In his time also, *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester* (but others say, *Thomas Kemp*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*) built the Divinity School in *Oxford*; also the said Archbishop built *Pauls* Cross in form as now it standeth; and *William Wanefleete* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour of *England* founded *Mary Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*. In his seventeenth year, *Ralph* Lord *Cromwel*, builded the Colledge of *Tatshal* in *Lincolnshire*. Also this year *William Eastfield* Mayor of *London*, caused to be builded at his own charge the Water-Conduit in *Fleet-street*. In his ninth year, *John Wells* Mayor of *London*, caused the Conduit commonly called the Standard in *Cheap* to be builded. In his first year the West Gate of *London*, sometime called *Chamberlain-gate*, and now *Newgate*, was begun to be new builded by the Executors of Sir *Richard Whittington*, Lord Mayor of *London*. In his fifth year, *John Reynwel* Mayor of *London*, gave certain Lands to the City of *London*, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it pass not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in *London*; namely, *Dowgate-Ward*, *Billinsgate-Ward*, and *Algate*. Also this year the *Tower* at the Draw-Bridge of *London* was begun by the same Mayor. In his four and twentieth year, *Simon Eyre* Lord Mayor of *London* builded the *Leaden-Hall* in *London*, to be a Store-House for Grain and Fuel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappel at the East end of the same, leaving in stock a thousand pounds, which afterward King *Edward* the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Also in this Kings time, *William de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Alice* his Wife, Daughter to *Thomas Chaucer*, Son to *Geoffry Chaucer* the famous Poet, translated and encreased the Manour place of *Ewelme* in *Oxfordshire*, and builded new the Parish Church of *Ewelme*, and an Hospital or Alms-house for two Priests, and thirteen poor men, to which he gave three Manours, *Ramruge* in *Hampshire*, *Conock* in *Wiltshire*, and *Mersh* in *Buckinghamshire*: They also founded the Hospital of *Donington* Castle.

Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, and *Eaton* Colledge founded.

Queens Colledge in *Cambridge* founded.

All-Souls Colledge and *Bernard Colledge* in *Oxford* founded.

The Divinity School in *Oxford* built.

Pauls Cross built.

Magdalens Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

The *Standard* in *Cheapside* builded.

Newgate new builded.

Leaden-Hall at *London* builded, and to what use.

Casualties happening in his time:

IN his fifth year was so unseasonable weather, that it rained almost continually from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*. In his seventh year, the eighth of *November*, the Duke of *Norfolk* was like to have been drowned passing through *London-Bridge*, his Barge being set upon the Piles, overwhelmed so, that thirty persons were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawn up with Ropes. In his seventeenth year was so great a dearth of Corn, that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-roots. In his eighteenth year all the Lions of the *Tower* died. Also in this year, the 18. day of *July*, the *Postern*-Gates of *London* by *East-Smithfield* against the *Tower* of *London*, sank by night more then seven foot in the earth. In his two and twentieth year, on *New-years* day, near unto *Bedford*, a very deep water, which ran betwixt the Towns of *Swelstone* and *Harlsewood*, stood suddenly still, and divided it self, so that by the space of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to signifie the division of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a strange sight, a Monstrous Cock came out of the Sea, and in the presence of a multitude of people at *Portland*, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckning towards the North, the South, and the West; as also many prodigious Births. In his six and thirtieth year, in a little Town in *Bedfordshire*, it rained blood, whereof the red drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.

All the Lions in the *Tower* dye.

A deep River suddenly grows dry.

A Prodigious Cock.

Rain of Blood.

Of

Of his VVife and Iſſue.

HE married *Margaret* Daughter of *Rayner* Duke of *Anjou*, and Titular King of *Jeruſalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Arragon*, by whom he had a ſmall Portion, and little ſtrength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and ſtirring ſpirit, and ſhe his ſoft and milde diſpoſition. She was his Wife ſix and twenty years, and after her Husband's depulſion from the Regal Throne, his Forces being vanquiſhed at the Battel of *Tewksbury*, in a poor Religious Houſe whither ſhe had fled for ſafety of her life, was taken Priſoner and carried Captive to *London*, where ſhe remained in durance, till Duke *Rayner* her Father purchaſed her liberty, unto whom ſhe returned, and laſtly died in her native Countrey. By her King *Henry* had iſſue only one Son named *Edward*, who when the day was loſt at *Tewksbury*, ſought to eſcape by flight; but being taken, was brought into the preſence of King *Edward*, whoſe reſolute anſwers provoked King *Edward* ſo much, that he daſhed him on the mouth with his Gauntlet, and then *Richard* the *Crouchback* ran him into the heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongſt the poor perſons there ſlain, in the Monaſtical Church of the *Black-Friers* in *Tewksbury*.

Of his Death and Burial.

UPon King *Edward's* recovering the Crown, he was committed to the *Tower*, where the 21. of *May*, in the year 1472, he was murthered by the bloody hand of *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*; the day after he was brought to *Pauls* Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the *Black-Friers* where he alſo bled; from thence in a Boat to *Cherſey* Abbey, without Prieſt or Clerk, Torch or Taper, ſaying or ſinging, and there buried: but afterward at the appointment of King *Edward* was removed to *VVindſor*, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was tall of ſtature, ſpare and ſlender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his minde, he had vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God, as Kings are ſaid to be Gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, *Parcere ſubjectis, & debellare ſuperbos*, he wanted the latter. He was not ſenſible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greateſt Honour to conſiſt in humility. His greateſt imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, then he would devour. He was not ſo ſtupid, not to know proſperity from adverſity; but he was ſo devout, to think nothing adverſity, which was not a hinderance to Devotion. He was fitter for a Prieſt then a King, and for a Sacrifice then a Prieſt; and he could not chuſe but dye a Martyr, who all his life had been a Confeſſor. He had one immunity peculiar to himſelf, that no man could ever be revenged on him, ſeeing he never offered any man injury. By being innocent as a Dove, he kept his Crown upon his head ſo long; but if he had been wiſe as a Serpent, he might have kept it on longer. But all this is not ſufficient, if we expreſs not in particular his ſeveral vertues. So modeſt, that when at *Chriſtmas* a ſhew of women was preſented before him with their breaſts laid out, he preſently departed; ſaying, Fie, fie for ſhame, forſooth you be to blame. So pitiful, that when he ſaw the quarters of a Traytor over *Cripplegate*, he cauſed it to be taken down; ſaying I will not have any Chriſtian ſo cruelly handled for my ſake. So free from ſwearing, that he never uſed other oath but forſooth and verily: So patient, that to one, who ſtrook him when he was taken priſoner, he only ſaid, Forſooth you wrong your ſelf more then me, to ſtrike the Lords annointed: So devout, that on principal Holy-dayes he uſed to wear ſackcloth next his skin: Once for all, let his Confeſſor be heard ſpeak, who in ten years confeſſion never found that he had done or ſaid any thing, for which he might juſtly be injoyned Penance. For which cauſes King *Henry* the Seventh, would have procured him to be Canonized for a Saint, but that he was prevented by death; or perhaps becauſe the charge would have been too great, the Canonization of a King being much more coſtly then of a private perſon.

The vertues of King *Henry*.

The Canonization of a King more coſtly then of a private perſon.

Of Men of note in his time.

THere were men of valour in this Kings Reign, of extraordinary eminency; as firſt, *John* Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, who when a *French* Lord upbraided him, that his Sword was of Lead, he made his anſwer, and made him feel that it was of ſteel. Next him was *Thomas Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*, whoſe very name was a ſufficient charm to daunt a whole *French* Army. Then the next was *John* Lord *Talbot*, ſo great a terrour to the *French*, that when the Women would ſtill their Children from crying, they would uſe to ſay, *Talbot* comes. Then was *Richard Nevil* Earl *Warwick*, ſo much greater then a King, as that which makes, is greater then that it makes: and ſuch a one was he. Many other beſides theſe, not much inferiour to theſe; that we may truly ſay, there was never a more Heroical King of *England* then *Henry* the fifth: nor ever a King of *England* that had more Heroical Subjects then *Henry* the ſixth. And though Arms and Letters ſeem to be of different conditions, yet they commonly grow up and flouriſh together: as in this Kings Reign, where *John Leland* ſurnamed the Elder, who wrote divers Treatiſes for inſtruction of Grammarians; *William White* a Prieſt of *Kent*, profeſſing the Doctrine of *VVickliffe*, for which he ſuffered Martyrdom by fire; *Alexander Carpenter*, who wrote a Book called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, againſt the Prelates of that time; *Peter Baſſet* Eſquire

The valour of the Duke of *Bedford*.

The valour of *Tho. Montacute* Earl of *Salisbury*.

The valour of *John* Lord *Talbot*.

The valour of *Richard Nevill* Earl of *Warwick*.

Esquire of the Privy Chamber to King *Henry* the fifth, whose life he wrote: *John Pole* a Priest, who wrote the life of St. *VValborale* an *English* woman: Also, *Thomas VValden*, *alias Netter*, who wrote divers Treatises against the *VVicklevists*: *Peter Clerk* a Student in *Oxford*, and a defender of *VVickliffe's* Doctrine; for which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: *Thomas VValsingham* born in *Norfolk*, a diligent Historiographer: *Thomas Ringstead* the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: *Thomas Rudburn* a Monk of *VVinchester*, and an Historiographer: *Peter Payne* an earnest Professor of *VVickliffe's* Doctrine, for which he fled into *Bohemia*: *Nicholas Upton* a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, of Colours in Armory, and of the duty of Chivalry: *John Capgrave* born in *Kent*, an *Augustine* Frier, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the *Legend of English Saints*: *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, whereof he wrote a special Treatise intituled *Tabula Directionum*: *John VVethamstead*, otherwise called *Frumentarius*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, who wrote divers Treatises: and amongst others, a Book of the Records of things happening whiles he was Abbot, which Book *Holingshead* had seen, and in some passages of his time followed: *Roger Onley* accused of Treason, for practising with the Lady *Eleanor Cobham* by sorcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise entituled *Contra vulgi superstitiones*: and another *De sua Innocentia*: *Henry VValsingham* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Norwich*, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: *John Lydgate* a Monk of *Bury*, who had travelled *France* and *Italy* to learn Languages, and wrote many works in Poetry: *Thomas Beckington* Bishop of *Bath*, who wrote against the Law Salique of *France*: *Michael Tricgury* born in *Cornwal*, whom for his excellent learning, King *Henry* the fifth made Governour of the University of *Caen* in *Normandy*, after he had conquered it: *Reynold Peacock* Bishop of *Chichester*, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: *Robert Flemming*, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latin, and a work in Verse of sundry kindes. *Richard Flemming* Bishop of *Lincoln*, who wrote divers Books, one of the *Etymology* of *England*. *Nicholas Montacute* an Historiographer: *John Stow* a Monk of *Norwich*, and Doctor of Divinity in *Oxford*: *Nicholas Bungey*, born in a Town of *Norfolk*, of that name, who wrote an History called *Adunationes Chronicorum*: *Robert Balsack*, who wrote a Book *De Re militari*: *Thomas Dando* a *Carmelite* Frier of *Marlborough*, who wrote the life of *Alfred* King of the *VVest Saxons*: *Robert Bale* surnamed the Elder, Recorder of *London*, who gathered a Chronicle of the Customs, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of *London*, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King *Edward* the Third.

Humfrey D: of Glocester a wise Astrologer.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Sir *VVilliam VValdern* was Mayor:
VVilliam Eastfield, *Robert Tatarsal*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
VVilliam Cromar was Mayor.
Nicholas James, *Thomas VVatford*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Michel was Mayor.
Simon Seman, *John Bywater*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
John Coventry was Mayor.
VVilliam Milred, *John Brokle*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *John Rainewel* was Mayor.
John Arnal, *John Higham*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *John Gedney* was Mayor.
Henry Frowick, *Robert Otely*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *Henry Barton* was Mayor.
Thomas Duffhouse, *John Abbot*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *VVilliam Eastfield* was Mayor.
VVilliam Russe, *Ralph Holland*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Nicholas VVotton was Mayor.
VValter Chertsey, *Robert Large*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John de VVelles* was Mayor.
John Aderley, *Stephen Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *John Parveis* was Mayor.
John Olney, *John Paddesley*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *John Brokle* was Mayor.
Thomas Chalton, *John King*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *Roger Oteley* was Mayor:
Thomas Barnewel, *Simon Eyre*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Thomas Catworth, *Robert Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *John Michel* was Mayor.
Thomas Morsted, *VVilliam Gregory*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir *VVilliam Eastfield* was Mayor.
VVilliam Hales, *VVilliam Chapman*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year.
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
Hugh Dyker, *Nicholas Yowe*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Robert Large was Mayor.
Philip Malpas, Robert Marſhal, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *John Paddeſley* was Mayor.
John Sutton, William Welinhale, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year
Robert Clopton was Mayor.
William Combis, Richard Rich, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
John Aderley was Mayor.
Thomas Beaumont, Richard Nordon, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Thomas Catworth was Mayor.
Nicholas Wyford, John Norman, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Henry Frowick* was Mayor.
Stephen Foſter, Hugh Witch, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year.
Sir *Simon Eyre* Mayor.
John Darby, Godfrey Fielding, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
John Olney was Mayor.
Robert Horne, Godfrey Bullen, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Sir *John Gedney* was Mayor.
William Abraham, Thomas Scot, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Sir *Stephen Brown* was Mayor.
William Cotlow, William Marrow, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Sir *Thomas Chalton* was Mayor.
William Hulin, Thomas Canning, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Nicholas Wilford was Mayor.
John Middleton, William Deare, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
Sir *William Gregory* was Mayor.
Matthew Philip, Chriſtopher Wharton, Sheriffs.

In his thirty firſt year,
Sir *Geoffry Fielding* was Mayor.
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſecond year,
Sir *John Norman* was Mayor.
John Walden, Thomas Cook, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir *Stephen Foſter* was Mayor.
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *William Marrow* was Mayor.
John Young, Thomas Oldgrave, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Canning* was Mayor.
John Styward, Ralph Verney, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Sir *Godfrey Bullen* was Mayor.
William Edward, Thomas Reyner, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
Sir *Thomas Scot* was Mayor.
Ralph Joceline, Richard Medham, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Sir *William Hulin* was Mayor.
John Plummer, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Flemming, John Lambert, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

1460. EDward Earl of *March*, born at *Roan* in *Normandy*, Son and Heir of *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, ſlain in the Battel at *Wakefield*, ſucceeded his Father in the Right, but exceeded him in the Poſſeſſion of the Crown of *England*; and that by virtue of an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein the ſaid Duke of *York* not only was declared Heir apparent to the Crown, and appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom: but it was further Enacted, that if King *Henry*, or any in his behalf ſhould attempt the diſannulling of this Act, that then the ſaid Duke or his Heir ſhould have the preſent poſſeſſion; which becauſe his friends attempted to do, therefore juſtly doth *Edward* Earl of *March* his Son, by virtue of this Act, take poſſeſſion of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of *England*, by the name of *Edward* the fourth, through the City of *London*, on the fifth day of *March* in the year 1460. But before he could have leaſure to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try his fortune in the field by Battel; For King *Henry* in the North was raiſing a new Army, againſt whom King *Edward* upon the twelfth of *March*, marched with his Forces from *London*: and by eaſie journeys came to *Pomfret* Caſtle, from whence the Lord *Fitzwater* was ſent to guard the paſſage at *Ferribridge*, to ſtop the Enemies approach that way: King *Henry* likewiſe advanceth forward, ſending his power under the Conduct of the Duke of *Somerſet*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whileſt himſelf with his Queen and Son ſtay at *York*. The Lord *Clifford* very early on *Palm-Sunday*, with a Troop of Northern men, falls upon thoſe that guarded *Ferribridge*; and defeated them with the ſlaughter of the Lord *Fitzwater*, and the Baſtard of *Salisbury*. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, comes poſting to King *Edward*'s Camp; and in his preſence killing his Horſe, proteſted his Reſolution to ſtand with him to the death. Upon this Reſolution of the Earls, the King made preſently Proclamation, that all who were afraid to fight, ſhould at their pleaſure depart; but to thoſe that would ſtay he promiſed good reward: adding withal, that if any that ſtayed, ſhould after turn his back or flee, then he that ſhould kill him, ſhould have double pay. After this he gave order to the Lord *Fauconbridge*, and Sir *Walter Blunt*, to lead on the Vaward; who in their march about *Dandingdale*, encountred with the Lord *Clifford* (who formerly in cold blood had ſlaughtered the young Earl of *Rutland*) and he being ſtricken in the Throat with an Arrow, (ſome ſay) without a head, and preſently dying: The Lord *Nevil* Son and Heir of the Earl of *Weſtmerland* was alſo ſlain, with moſt of their Companies, and the reſt put to flight. The next day likewiſe (the Duke of *Norfolk* being dangerouſly ſick, to whom that place was aſſigned) *Fauconbridge* and *Blunt* continue the leading of the Vant-guard; and on *Palm-Sunday*, by break of day, they came to a plain field between *Towton* and *Saxton*, from whence they made a full ſurvey of King *Henry*'s Army: and certified King *Edward*, that the Enemy was threeſcore thouſand ſtrong; where his Army was but forty thouſand and ſix hundred. Whereupon a ſecond Proclamation was made through the Camp, that no quarter ſhould be kept, nor priſoner taken. The Armies being both in ſight, the Lord *Fauconbridge* gave direction to the Archers (upon a ſignal by him given) to ſhoot every man a flight-Arrow (for that purpoſe provided) and then to fall back three ſtrides, and ſtand. The Northern men in the mean time plyed their Bows till all their ſheaves were empty; but their Arrows fell ſhort of the Enemy by threeſcore yards: and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did hurt to themſelves; for their Arrows being ſpent, and coming to hand-blows, their own Arrows ſticking in the ground, galled their ſhins and pierced their feet. Ten hours the Battel continued doubtful, till the Earl of *Northumberland* being ſlain, with the Lord *Beaumont*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, and *Wells*, Sir *John Nevil*, *Andrew Trollop*, and many other Knights and Eſquires, the Earls of *Exeter* and *Somerſet* fled, leaving the Conqueſt to King *Edward*; but the bloodieſt that ever *England* felt, for there fell that day ſix and thirty thouſand ſeven hundred threeſcore and ſixteen perſons, no priſoners being taken but the Earl of *Devonſhire*. The Battel ended, King *Edward* haſtes to *York*, where he cauſed the heads of his Father and other Friends to be taken down and buried with their bodies, ſetting in their places the Heads of the Earl of *Devonſhire*, and three other, there at that time executed. The Earl of *Somerſet* acquainting King *Henry* with this overthrow, perſwades him with his Queen and

The Earl of *March* is proclaimed King of *England*.

King *Henry* in the North raiſeth an Army to oppoſe King *Edward*.

Defeated by a Policy of the Lord *Fauconbridge*.

And many Lords ſlain and thirty thouſand other.

Son, to flie to *Bernick*, where leaving the Duke of *Somerset*, they flie further for fuccour to the King of *Scots*, who comforteth them with promife of relief, but maketh a fure bargain; for in lieu of a penfion to be allowed King *Henry* during his abode there, the Town and Caftle of *Berwick* were delivered to him. Queen *Margaret* and her Son are fent into *France*, who obtained of *Lewis* the eleventh her Couſin, that all of King *Edward*'s friends were prohibited ſtay or traffick in the *French* King's Dominions: but all King *Henry*'s friends might live there freely. After this King *Edward* comes to *London*, and upon his entrance to the *Tower*, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28. day of *June*, in the year 1461. he rode from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, and was there Crowned in the Abbey-Church.

King *Henry* flies into *Scotland*, the Queen and her ſon into *France*.

1461. King *Edward* is Crowned.

Shortly after a Parliament is ſummoned, which began at *Weſtminſter* the fourth of *November*; in which all Acts of King *Henry* the Sixth prejudicial to King *Edward*'s Title, are repealed: and therein *John* Earl of *Oxford*, a valiant and wiſe man, (he who in a former Parliament had diſputed the queſtion concerning the precedency of Temporal and Spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in thoſe dayes; and by force of whoſe Argument, Judgement was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son *Aubry de Vere*, Sir *Thomas Tiddingham* Knight, *William Tyrrel*, and *Walter Montgomery* Eſquires, were, without anſwer convicted of Treaſon, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deſerving, King *Edward* at this time advanced many in honour: his Brother *George* he created Duke of *Clarence*; his brother *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*, *John* Lord *Nevil* Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, he made firſt Viſcount, then Marqueſs *Montacute*; *Henry Bourchier* Brother to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is made Earl of *Eſſex*; and *William* Lord *Fauconbridge*, Earl of *Kent*. And now their new honours are preſently put into imployment; the Earls of *Eſſex* and *Kent*, accompanied with the Lords *Audely* and *Clinton*, Sir *John Howard*, Sir *Richard Walgrave*, and others, to the number of ten thouſand, are appointed to ſcour the Seas: who landed in *Britain*, took the Town of *Conquet*, and the Iſle of *Bee*, and then returned. At this time *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others came in, and humbly ſubmitted themſelves to King *Edward*'s mercy; who proteſted his propenſion of freely pardoning them, and as many other that would ſubmit themſelves as they did.

John Earl of Oxford beheaded.

Dukes and Earls created.

1461. All this time King *Henry* was in *Scotland*, and Queen *Margaret* in *France*; where ſhe obtained of the *French* King, a company of five hundred men, with whom ſhe failed towards *Newcaſtle*, and landed at *Tinmouth*, but ſuddenly again returned, and was her ſelf by tempeſt beaten to *Berwick*; but her company was driven on the ſhore before *Bamburgh* Caſtle, where they ſet their Ships on fire, and fled to an Iſland called *Holy Iſland*: but were ſo aſſailed there, by the Baſtard *Ogle* and *John Manners* Eſquire, that many of them were ſlain, and almoſt four hundred taken priſoners, only their Colonel *Peter Breſſie* happened upon a Fiſherman, who brought him to *Berwick* to Queen *Margaret*; and by her was made Captain of the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, which he with his *French*, men kept, till they were reſcued. Shortly after, Queen *Margaret* having gotten together a great company of *Scots*, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at *Berwick*, entred *Northumberland*, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, made Captain thereof Sir *Ralph Gray*; and then came forward to the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, whither reſorted to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of *Somerſet*, Sir *Ralph Piercy*, and divers others, who all together made a competent Army. King *Edward* hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and firſt he ſends Viſcount *Montacute* with ſome Companies into *Northumberland*, whom he in perſon followeth with his whole power: The Viſcount marcheth towards King *Henry*, and by the way encountreth the Lord *Hungerford* at *Hegley-moor*; but he, with Lord *Baſſe*, upon the charge ran away, leaving Sir *Ralph Darcy* alone with his own Regiment, who were valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viſcount underſtanding that King *Henry* was incamped in *Levels-plain*, near the River of *Dowel* in *Hexamſhire*, marcheth thither by night, and ſet upon him in his Camp; whoſe charge the Northern men receive with a deſperate reſolution, but were in the end with great ſlaughter overcome. *Henry Beaufort* Duke of *Somerſet*, the Lord *Baſſe*, *Molins*, *Hungerford*, *Wentworth*, *Huſſey*, and Sir *John Findern* Knight, with many others, are taken priſoners. King *Henry* himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his Horſe eſcaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him, was taken, who had on his head, King *Henry*'s Helmet, or as ſome ſay, his high Cap of Eſtate, called *Abacot*, garniſhed with two rich Crowns, which was preſented to King *Edward* at *York* the fourth of *May*. The Duke of *Somerſet* was beheaded preſently at *Hexam*, the other Lords and Knights were had to *Newcaſtle*, and there after a little reſpite, were likewiſe put to death. Beſides theſe, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at *York*, and in other places. This Duke of *Somerſet* was never married, but had a natural Son named *Charles Somerſet*, who was afterward created Earl of *Worceſter*, Sir *Humfrey Nevil*, and *William Talbot* calling himſelf Earl of *Kyme*, Sir *Ralph Gray*, and *Richard Tunſtal*, with divers others that eſcaped from this Battel, hid themſelves in ſecret places; but yet not ſo cloſely, but that they were eſpied and taken. The Earl of *Kyme* was apprehended in *Riddeſdale*, and brought to *Newcaſtle*, and there beheaded; Sir *Humfrey Nevil* was taken in *Holderneſs*, and at *York* loſt his head. After this Battel called *Hexam-field*, King *Edward* came to the City of *Durham*; and ſent from thence into *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Montacute*, the Lords *Fauconbridge* and *Scroop*, to recover ſuch Caſtles as his enemies there held, which they effected: and taking in the Caſtle of *Dunſtamburg*, they found in it *John Gois*, ſervant to the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was brought to *York*, and there beheaded: and taking in the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, they found in it Sir *Ralph Gray*; whom becauſe he had ſworn to be true to King *Edward*, and was now

1462. King *Henry* and his Queen get an Army in *Scotland*, and recover many Towns in the North parts.

Viſcount *Montacute* ſetteth upon King *Henries* armies: takes many of his Lords; and King *Henry* himſelf hardly eſcaped.

1464.

The Duke of *Somerſet* and other Lords put to death.

His baſe Son *Charles Somerſet*, created Earl of *Worceſter*.

Sir *Ralph Grey* degraded: and in what manner: and then beheaded.

now revolted to King *Henry*; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at *Doncaſter*, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his head; and then beheaded him.

King *Henry* is taken in diſguiſe: brought diſgracefully to *London*: and committed to the Tower.

In this mean time, King *Henry* (upon what occaſion no man knows; but only led by the left hand of deſtiny) venturing in diſguiſe, to come into *England*, and ſhifting from place to place, was at length diſcovered, and taken by one *Cantlow*, or as others ſay, by *Thomas Talbot*, ſon to Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Baſhal*: who deceived him, being at his dinner at *Wadington-Hall* in *Lincolnſhire*, and brought him towards *London*, with his Legs tied under the horſe belly: in whoſe company were alſo taken Doctor *Manning* Dean of *Windſor*, Doctor *Bedle*, and one *Ellerton*, whom the Earl of *Warwick* met by the way, and brought them all to the *Tower* of *London*; whileſt the diſtreſſed Queen, with her Son, once again is driven to fly for ſhelter into *France*; whither the new Duke of *Somerſet* and his Brother *John* failed alſo, where they lived in great miſery; and the Earl of *Pembroke* went from Countrey to Countrey little better than a Vagabond.

The Queen flieth into *France*.

The Earl of *Pembrook* beyond Sea little better than a Vagabond.

At this time King *Edward*, to reward his followers, diſtributeth the Lands and Poſſeſſions of thoſe that held with King *Henry* amongſt them; but firſt made Proclamation that whoſoever of the contrary faction would come in and ſubmit, ſhould be received to Grace, and reſtored to their Patrimonies.

Serjeants at Law made.

In the fourth year of King *Edward*, in *Michaelmas* Term were made eight Serjeants at Law, *Thomas Young*, *Nicholas Geney*, *Richard Neal*, *Thomas Brian*, *Richard Pigot*, *John Catesby*, and *Guy Fanx*; who held their Feaſt in the Biſhop of *Ely's* place in *Holborn*, where the Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin*, then Lord Treaſurer of *England*, was placed before the Lord Mayor of *London*, being invited to the Feaſt; which gave ſuch a diſtaſte to the Mayor, that he preſently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without taſting of their Feaſt: and it was regiſtred to be a precedent in time to come.

The Mayor of *London* offended that the Lord Treaſurer was placed before him.

And now King *Edward* no leſs intentive to perform the Office of a King in peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, conſidering with himſelf, that ſeditious and civil diſſenſions muſt needs breed diſorders in a State, and that diſorders bred by troubled times, are not like troubled waters, that will in time ſettle of themſelves, and recover clearneſs; but are rather like weeds, which once ſpringing up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow, He like a good Gardiner ſeeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavours to make a general reformation of abuſes; and to that end in *Michaelmas* Term in the ſecond year of his Reign, three dayes together he ſate publickly with his Judges in *Weſtminſter* Hall on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himſelf with the orders of that Court, and to obſerve what needed reformation in it, either at Bench or at Bar: as likewiſe he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more intentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjuſt gain. He alſo daily frequented the Council Table, which he furniſhed for the moſt part, with ſuch as were gracious amongſt the Citizens, whom he imployes about references and buſineſſes of private conſequence; whileſt myſteries of State were intimated only to ſuch whom he ſelected to be of his more private Cabinet-Council: by whom he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was adviſed that it was now time to provide for poſterity, by taking a Wife; and to provide alſo for the preſent time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where ſo fitly found as in *France*; both thereby to bury old grudges between the two Nations, and alſo to avert aſſiſtance from Queen *Margaret*, the only diſturber of the State. And this being concluded, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought ſo fit as *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*; he therefore is preſently ſent into *France*, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King *Edward* and the Lady *Bona*, Daughter to *Lewis* Duke of *Savoy*, and ſiſter to the Lady *Carlote* then Queen of *France*; a Lady, no leſs for beauty and vertuous qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Propoſition is in *France* readily embraced, and willingly aſſented unto on all parts. But in the mean time King *Edward* being hunting in *Wichwood* Forreſt beſides *Stony-Stratford*, he chanced to come to the Manour of *Grafton*, where the Dutcheſs of *Bedford* then lay; and where her Daughter by Sir *Richard Woodvile*, the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*, Widow of Sir *John Gray* of *Groby*, ſlain at the laſt Battel of St. *Albans*, became a ſuitor to him for ſome Lands which her Husband had given her in joynture: with whoſe beauty and graceful behaviour, King *Edward* was ſo taken, that he preſently became a Suitor to her; and when he could not obtain his ſuit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to ſeek it by terms of Marriage.

The Earl of *Warwick* ſent into *France* to treat of a marriage with the Lady *Bona*.

In the mean time King *Edward* marries the Lady *Elizabeth Gray*.

And here we may well think, there was no ſmall conflict in King *Edward's* minde, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them ſhould be moſt potent; Honour put him in minde that it was againſt his Law, to take to Wife a meaner perſon than himſelf: but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his Prerogative to make all perſons equal. Honour perſwaded him that it ſtood him much upon to make good the Ambaſſage, in which he had ſent the Earl of *Warwick* to a great Prince; but love perſwaded him, that it ſtood him more upon to make good the Ambaſſage ſent to himſelf from a greater Prince. In concluſion, it appeared to be true which one obſerues, *Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?* What is it that Love will not make a man to do? Whether it be, that Love brings upon the minde a forgetfulneſs of all Circumſtances, but ſuch as tend to its own ſatisfaction; or whether it be that Love is amongſt Paſſions, as Oyls amongſt Liquors, which will alwayes be ſupreme and at the top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King *Edward* though he knew no Superiour upon earth, yet he obeys the ſummons of Love; and upon the firſt day of *May* marries the ſaid Lady *Gray* at *Grafton*; the

King *Edward* ſits three daies together in the *Kings* Bench.

the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutchess of *Bedford*, the Priest, two Gentlewomen, and a young man to help the Priest at Mass. The year after with great solemnity she was Crowned Queen at *Westminster*. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King *Edward* had with his Mother, who sought to cross this Match. "Where you say (saith he) that she is a Widow, "and hath already Children, by Gods blessed "Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too; "and so each of us hath a proof, that neither "of us is like to be barren: And as for your "objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had "charged him with being contracted to the La- "dy *Elizabeth Lucy*) Let the Bishop (saith he) "lay it to my charge when I come to take Or- "ders, for I understand it is forbidden a Priest, "But I never wist it was forbidden a Prince. Upon this marriage the Queens Father was created Earl *Rivers*, and made High Constable of *England*; his Brother the Lord *Anthony* was married to the sole Heir of the Lord *Scales*, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir *Thomas Gray* was created Marquess *Dorset*, and married *Cicely*, Heir to the Lord *Bonvile*. It may be thought a happy fortune for this Lady to be thus matched; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accrewing to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits. For first, by this match she drew upon her self the envy of many; and was the cause that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his absence glad to take Sanctuary: and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murthered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, and all her goods confiscate by her own Son in Law.

1465.

The Queens Father created Earl *Rivers*, and her son Sir *Thomas* made Marquess of *Dorset*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* at his return, found that knot tied in *England*, which he had laboured to tye in *France*: His Ambassage frustrated, the Lady *Bona* deluded, the King of *France* abused, and himself made a stale, and the disgraceful instrument of all this, which although he resented in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courtier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he passed it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his minde till a fit opportunity; and thereupon procures leave to retire himself to his Castle of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* at his return finding the King married grows discontented.

King *Edward* in the mean time, having just cause to suspect he had made the *French* his enemies, seeks to make other Princes his friends. He enters into a League with *John* King of *Arragon*, to whom he sent for a present a score of *Cotsal* Ews, and five Rams, a small present in shew, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to *Spain*, and of more detriment to *England* than could at first sight have been imagined. And to secure himself at home, he took truce with the King of *Scots* for fifteen years. And where he had married before his two Sisters, *Anne* the eldest to *Henry Holland* Earl of *Exeter*; and *Elizabeth* to *John de la Pool* Duke of *Suffolk*, he now matched *Margaret* his third Sister to *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, which proved a greater assistance to him, than that which he had lost in *France*.

Cotsal Ewes sent to the King of *Arragon* for a Present.

By this time the Earl of *Warwick*'s spleen began so to swell within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his party his two Brothers, the Archbishop of *York*, and the Marquess *Montacute*, he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*: but he found *Gloucester* so reserved, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of *Clarence* he found more open, and to him he addresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his employment into *France*, and other wrongs. To whom the Duke presently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindeness to himself; saying, he had married his Wives Brother *Anthony* to the Heir of the Lord *Scales*; and her Son *Thomas* to the Heir of the Lord *Bonvile*: but could finde no match of preferment for him being his own Brother. And upon this agreement in complaints they agree to joyn against King *Edward*; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of *Clarence* takes to Wife *Isabel* the Earl of *Warwick's* Daughter: and with her hath assured unto him half of the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, Earl of *Warwick* deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of *Warwick* discovered to him what hitherto he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King *Henry*; to which *Clarence* gave approbation, with promise to assist him in it to his uttermost.

The Earl of *Warwick* and other Lords joyn against King *Edward*.

The Duke of *Clarence* marries the Earl of *Warwicks* Daughter.

At this time Sir *Thomas Cook*, late Mayor of *London*, was by one *Hawkins* appeached of Treason, for the which he was sent to the *Tower*, and his place in *London* seized by the Lord *Rivers*. The case was this, the said *Hawkins* came to Sir *Thomas*, requesting him to lend a thousand Marks upon good surety; who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent: and understanding it should be for the use of Queen *Margaret*, he refused to lend a penny. The matter rested two or three years, till the said *Hawkins* was laid in the *Tower*, and brought to the *Brake*, called *The Duke of Exeters Daughter*; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things the motion he had made to Sir *Thomas Cook*, and accused himself so far, that he was put to death. Sir *Thomas Cook* lying in the *Tower* from *Whitsuntide* till *Michaelmas*, had his place in *Essex* named *Gyddihal* spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment: yet could not be delivered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

Sir *Thomas Cooks* troubles: and for what cause.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* sendeth to his Brothers the Archbishop and the Marquess, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King *Edward*, and to procure some rebellious commotion in the North, whilest he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in *Yorkshire*, an occasion being taken

1461.

The Earl of *Warwick* causeth a commotion to be raised in *Yorkshire*.

taken for the breach of an ancient cuſtom there, to give to the poor people of St. *Leonards* in the City of *York*, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Archbiſhop and the Marqueſs underhand fomented; yet to colour the matter, the Marqueſs oppoſed the Rebels, and cut off the head of *Robert Huldorn* their Captain: but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Fitzhugh*, and Sir *Henry Nevil*, Son to the Lord *Latimer*; the one the Nephew, the other a Couſin-german to the Earl of *Warwick*, with whom they joyn the valiant Captain Sir *John Conyers*. Theſe when they could not enter *York*, came marching towards *London*, all the way exclaiming againſt King *Edward*, as an unjuſt Prince, and an Uſurper. King *Edward* hearing of this Commotion, ſends Sir *William Herbert*, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, together with the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, to ſuppreſs the Rebels; and they with an Army of ſeven thouſand, moſt Welchmen, march towards them: but the Lord *Stafford* being put from his Inne where he uſed to lodge, by the Earl of *Pembroke*, took ſuch a diſtaſte at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the buſineſs. Yet the Earl of *Pembroke* though thus forſaken, with his own Regiment encountred the Rebels, ſlew Sir *Henry Nevil*, and divers others; when being upon the point of Victory, one *John Clappam* a ſervant to the Earl of *Warwick*, coming in with five hundred raſcally fellows, and crying aloud a *Warwick*, a *Warwick*, the Welchmen ſuppoſing the Earl had been come, turned preſently their backs and fled: five thouſand of them were ſlain, the Earl of *Pembrok* himſelf, and his much lamented Brother, Sir *Richard Herbert*, a moſt goodly perſonage, were taken priſoners, brought to *Banbury*, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to death. And now the *Northamptonſhire* men joyning with the Rebels in this fury, made them a Captain named *Robert Hiliard*, but they named him *Robin* of *Riddeſdale*; and ſuddenly came to *Grafton*, where they took the Earl *Rivers* Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir *John Woodvile*, brought them to *Northampton*, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King *Edward* advertiſed of theſe miſchances, wrote to the Sheriffs of *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire* to apprehend the Lord *Stafford* of *Southwick*, (who had treacherouſly forſaken the Earl of *Pembroke*) and if they could take him, to put him to death; who being ſoon after found in a Village within *Brentmarſh* was brought to *Bridgewater*, and there beheaded. After this Battel fought at *Hedgecote*, commonly called *Banbury-field*, the Northern men reſorted to *Warwick*, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King *Edward* with a great Army was coming thither, he ſent for his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, with all ſpeed to repair unto him: who joyning together, and uſing means cunningly, by having ſome communication of Peace, to make the King ſecure, and to take little heed of himſelf, they took advantage of his ſecurity; and in the dead of the night ſet on his Camp, and killing the watch before the King was aware, at a place called *Woolney*, four miles from *Berwick*, they took him priſoner in his bed, and preſently conveyed him to *Middleham* Caſtle in *Yorkſhire*, to be there in ſafe cuſtody with the Archbiſhop of *York*. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King *Edward* whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwiſe winning them by fair promiſes, got ſo much liberty; ſometimes for his recreation to go a hunting: by which he cauſed Sir *William Stanley*, Sir *Thomas* of *Burgh*, and divers of his Friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and ſet him again at liberty: whileſt the Earl of *Warwick*, nothing doubting his Brother's the Archbiſhops's care in ſafe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the Wars to be now paſt, diſmiſt his Army, and intended only to finde out King *Henry*, who was kept a priſoner, but few men knew where.

King *Edward* being now at liberty poſteth to *York*, and from thence to *Lancaſter*; where his Chamberlain the Lord *Haſtings* had raiſed ſome Forces; with which he marcheth to *London*, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of *Warwick* likewiſe ſends to his Friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whileſt in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords an interview in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, is agreed upon, and ſolemn Oath taken on both ſides for ſafety, between King *Edward*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and the Earl of *Warwick*: but each party ſtanding ſtrictly upon terms tending to their own ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met: and ſo from thence the King went to *Canterbury*, the Duke and the Earl to *Lincoln*; whither they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the conduct of Sir *Robert Wells*, Son and Heir of the Lord *Wells*, a man of great valour and experience in the Wars. King *Edward* to take off ſo able a man from the Earls part, ſends for his Father the Lord *Wells* to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in law Sir *Thomas Dymock*, and coming to attend the Kings pleaſure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incenſed againſt them: whereupon for their ſafety, they take Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. But upon the Kings Princely word they come unto him, who commandeth the Lord *Wells* to write to his Son, to deſiſt from adhering to the Earl of *Warwick*, which the Lord *Wells* accordingly did: but Sir *Robert Wells* notwithſtanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl ſtill, ſo much incenſed King *Edward*, that he cauſed both his Father and Sir *Thomas Dymock*, to be beheaded. He ſuppoſed perhaps, that the Lord *Wells* was himſelf underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt ſincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that party. But now Sir *Robert Wells* ſeeing the King draw near to *Stamford*, where he had pitched his Tents, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much diſtracted what to do: to decline Battel with the King, he thought would ſhew too much fear; and to give him Battel before the Earl of *Warwick* were come with his Forces, would ſhew too much boldneſs. But his Veins were ſo filled with

King *Edward* ſends the Earl of *Pembroke* to ſuppreſs it: who is with divers others ſlain.

Robin of *Riddeſdale* beheaded the Earl *Rivers*.

The Lord *Stafford* beheaded.

The Earl of *Warwick* ſurprizeth King *Edward*, and commits him to cuſtody.

King *Edward* gets at liberty.

The Earl of *Warwick* diſmiſſeth his Army.

The King and Lords have a meeting, but to no purpoſe.

1470.

The Lord *Wells* beheaded.

with

with a desire of revenging his Father's death, that he thought he could never shew boldness enough; and thereupon encountring with the Kings Army, far greater than his own, oppresst with multitude was taken prisoner, together *Thomas de land*, and divers others: who presently in the place, were put to execution. As soon as Sir *Robert Wells* was taken, the *Lincolnshire* men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which cause, this Battel was afterward called *Lose-coat field*: In which, it is reported, were slain above ten thousand men.

Sir Robert Wells his son taken and put to death

The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King *Edward*; when he could by no means draw the Lord *Stanley* to his party, he determined to sail into *France*, and hiring Ships at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, he with his Son in Law the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at *Callice*, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord *Vaucleer* a *Gascoigne*, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great inhumanity, that the Dutchess of *Clarence*, who was then in labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtesie in that distress shewed was only to send a flagon or two of wine) which fact of *Vaucleer's*, when King *Edward* heard of, he was so well pleased with it, that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himself: and the Duke of *Burgoigne*, for the same service, sent unto him *Philip de Comines* (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one act of dissembling; for the truth was, *Præ amore excluſit foras*, it was out of his love that he suffered him not to enter the Town: for he knew there were many great ones in it so addicted to King *Edward*, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief. And hereof he made a good proof soon after; for when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord *Vaucleer* sent sent him word, he should take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of *Burgoigne* lay in wait to take him: which advertisement did the Earl more good, than the keeping him out of *Callice* did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement landed at *Diepe* in *Normandy*, whereof when King *Lewis* heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at *Ambois*; where he received him with no less honour than if he had been a King: In the mean time, King *Edward* made enquiry for all such as were aiders to the Earl of *Warwick*; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the Kings mercy; as *John* Marquess *Montacute*, whom he courteously received. Queen *Margaret*, who at this time sojourned with Duke *Rayner* her Father, hearing of the Earl of *Warwick's* arrival, with her Son Prince *Edward*, came to *Ambois*; and with her also came *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford*, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into *France*: between whom a new combination is made, and for a foundation of firm amity, King *Henry's* Son Prince *Edward*, marries *Anne* the Earl of *Warwick's* second Daughter; After which marriage the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earls took a solemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King *Henry* or his Son Prince *Edward* were restored to the Crown. But now about this time, come; a Gentlewoman out of *England*, to the dissembling Lord *Vaucleere* at *Callice*, and payes him in his own coin; For she made a shew of intending great good to the Earl of *Warwick*, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine: and by this shew she passed unsuspected to the Duke of *Clarence*, whom she perswaded to forsake the Earl of *Warwick*, as one that intended wholly the rooting out of the House of *York*, and only the advancing of the House of *Lancaster*; which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry's* only Son; and this reason with some other was so urged by the Gentlewoman, that it sank deeply into the Duke of *Clarence* his minde. So fit Agents of State are women sometimes, that can transact a business in covert; which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of *Clarence*, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the art of dissembling, sought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King *Edward*; but made a fair shew still to the Earl of *Warwick*.

Prince *Edward* marries a Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*.

The Earl of *Warwick* flieth to *Callice*, where not received: and by what subtlety.

The Earl of *Warwick* honourably received by the King of *France*.

And now the Earl of *Warwick* having been six months in *France*, in this time he had procured from the King of *France*, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of *England*, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in this quarrel, if he would come (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the world, when he was absent; And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend six Oxen at a Breakfast) he with the Earls of *Oxford* and *Pembroke* took to Sea: and though the Duke of *Burgoigne* had a Fleet at Sea to intercept him, yet his Fleet being by tempest scattered; and King *Edward* trusting to that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had a quiet passage to land at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*: where being landed, he made Proclamation in King *Henry* the sixth's name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King *Edward*, who contrary to the right had usurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men resorted to him; with which Forces he made towards *London*: Upon notice of whose approach, on Sunday next after *Michaelmas* day, one Doctor *Goddard* a Chaplain of his, preaching at *Pauls*-Cross, did so set forth his Earls pious Intention, that many of his Auditory were moved to favour the Earls proceeding: insomuch, that the Marquess *Montacute*, who had in King *Edward's* behalf levied six thousand men about *London*, found them all inclinable to go with him to the Earl of *Warwick*, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King *Edward* hearing of the great flocking of people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an *Army*; but few came, and those few with no great

1470. The Earl of *Warwick* assisted out of *France*, lands at *Dartmouth* in *Devonshire*, to whom much people resorted.

King *Edward* hereupon flies into the Duke of *Burgoigns* Country.

great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his caſe; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, the Lord *Haſtings* his Chamberlain, (who having married the Earl of *Warwick*'s Siſter, yet continued ever true to King *Edward*) and the Lord *Scales* Brother to the Queen; he departed into *Lincolnſhire*, and coming to *Lyn*, he found there an *Engliſh* Ship, and two Hulks of *Holland* ready to make ſail: whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about ſeven or eight hundred perſons entred the Ships, having no proviſion with him but only the apparel they wore: and ſo bare of money, that he was fain to reward the Maſter of his Ship with one of his Gtrments: and thus making courſe towards the Duke of *Burgoignes* Countrey, they were preſently chaſed by eight great Ships of Eaſterlings, open Enemies both to *England* and *France*; which drove him before a Town in the Countrey called *Alquemare*, belonging to the Duke of *Burgoigne*; where by chance the Lord *Grunture*, Governour of that Countrey, at that time was, who defended them from the Eaſterlings, and brought them to the *Hague* in *Holland*, where they had all things miniſtred to them, by order from the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1471.

The Queen taketh Sanctuary: where ſhe is brought to Bed.

At this time, upon news of the Earl of *Warwick*'s approach, Queen *Elizabeth* forſaketh the *Tower*, and ſecretly taketh Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*; where in great penury forſaken of all her friends, ſhe was brought to bed of a Son called *Edward*, who like a poor mans child was Chriſtened: the Godfathers being the Abbot and Prior of *Weſtminſter*, and the Lady *Scroop* Godmother.

The Earl of *Warwick* removes King *Henry* out of priſon: where he had been held almoſt nine years

And now the Earl of *Warwick* entring the *Tower*, removes King *Henry* out of his hold of durance, where he had been almoſt nine years, into his own Lodging, where he was ſerved according to his Eſtate; which the Earl did more congratulate than the King himſelf. Upon the ſixth day of *October*, King *Henry* accompanyed with the Archbiſhop of *York*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, the Biſhop of *London*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and other Noblemen, apparelled in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through *London*, to the Biſhops Palace, where he reſted till the thirteenth of that month; on which day he went on in ſolemn Proceſſion about *Paul*'s Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* bearing up his Train, and the Earl of *Oxford* the Sword before him. The next day in all uſual places about *London*, King *Edward* was proclaimed an Uſurper, and all his partakers Traytors to God and the King; whereof *John* Lord *Tiptoft* Earl of *Worceſter*, as a partaker with King *Edward*, was made the firſt example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King *Edward* in *Ireland*, where having done ſomething for which he fled, he was afterward found on the top of a high tree, in the Forreſt of *Waybridge*, in the County of *Huntington*; and being there taken, was brought to *London*, attainted, and beheaded on the *Tower-Hill*, and after buried at the *Black-Friers*.

King *Edward* proclaimed an Uſurper.

The extreme melancholy of Sir *John Hawkſford* or *Hankford*

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir *William Hawksford* Knight, one of the chief Juſtices at the Law, who dwelt at *Annory* in *Devonſhire*, a man of great poſſeſſions; and having no Son, the Lord *Fitzwarren*, Sir *John Sentleger*, and Sir *William Bolloin*, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into ſuch degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in ſuffering his Deer to be ſtolen: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his Circuit in the night time, that would not ſtand or ſpeak, he ſhould not ſpare to kill him whoſoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doleful dayes, in a certain dark night ſecretly conveyed himſelf out of his houſe, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one ſtirring, and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no anſwer being made, he willed him to ſtand; which when he would not do, the Keeper ſhot, and killed him, and coming to ſee who it was, found him to be his Maſter.

On the twentieth day of *November* a Parliament is held at *Weſtminſter*, wherein King *Edward* and all his partakers are attainted of high Treaſon, and all their Lands and Goods ſeized on to King *Henry*'s uſe. *George Plantagenet* Duke of *Clarence* is by Authority of this Parliament, adjudged Heir to *Richard* Duke of *York* his Father, and that Dutchy ſettled upon him and his Heirs, notwithſtanding the Primogeniture of *Edward*: Upon him alſo was entailed the Crown of *England*, in caſe Heirs male of the Body of King *Henry* failed. *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John* Earl of *Oxford* are fully reſtored to their Lands and Honour; and *Warwick* and *Clarence* are made Governours of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marqueſs *Montacute*, excuſing himſelf, that for fear of death he had taken King *Edward*'s part; which excuſe was accepted. Queen *Margaret* is ſent into *France*, but by reaſon of contrary windes was kept back all that Winter,

King *Henries* prophetical ſpeech of *Henry* afterward K. *Henry* the ſeventh.

About this time *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* going into *Wales* to view his Land in *Pembrokeſhire*, found there the Lord *Henry*, born of *Margaret*, the only Daughter and Heir of *John* the firſt Duke of *Somerſet*, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady *Herbert*. Him he brings with him to *London*, and preſents him to King *Henry*; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he ſaid to the Lords about him: Lo, this is he, to whom both we and our Adverſaries, leaving the poſſeſſion of all things, ſhall hereafter give place. Which if it be true, it ſhews a very Prophetical Spirit to have been in King *Henry*; that could ſo long before foretel a thing ſo unlikely to happen; for this was he that was afterward King *Henry* the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of *Burgoignes* means, King *Edward* is furniſhed with eighteen tall Ships, two thouſand *Dutchmen*, and fifty thouſand Florens of Gold; and thus furniſhed, he took to Sea, and landed at *Ravenſpur* in *Yorkſhire*, where he found but cold entertainment;

King *Edward* aſſiſted by the Duke of *Burgoign* takes to ſea and lands in *York ſhire.*

He ſwears deeply that he came but only to recover his own Inheritance.

neverthelefs he made a wary march to *York*, where likewiſe be found no great expreſſion of welcome; ſo as he was forced to change his pretence, ſwearing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to diſturb King *Henry*, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more ſhew thereof, wearing an *Eſtrich* Feather, Prince *Edward*'s Livery; which propoſition ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that many, who reſiſted him before, were as ready to aſſiſt him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it muſt be conſidered, it was *Regni cauſâ*, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: and ſo he brake not his Oath neither. From *York* he marched towards *Wakefield* and *Sandal*, leaving the Caſtle of *Pomfret* upon his left hand, where the Marqueſs *Montacute* with his Army lay, but did not offer to ſtop him: from *Wakefield* he came to *Doncaſter*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where there came to him Sir *William Parre*, and Sir *James Harrington* with ſix hundred men; alſo Sir *Thomas Burgh*, and *Thomas Montgomery*, with their aids, who cauſed him to make a Proclamation in his own name; affirming they would ſerve no man but a King. From *Nottingham* he came to *Leiceſter*, where three thouſand able men, and well armed came unto him: From *Leiceſter* he came before the Walls of *Coventry*, into which City the Earl of *Warwick* had withdrawn himſelf, keeping himſelf cloſe therein with his people, being about ſix or ſeven thouſand men: three dayes together King *Edward* provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he ſtayed for more Forces, and would not do it: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward to *Warwick*, eight miles from *Coventry*, thinking thither at leaſt he ſhould have drawn the Earl of *Warwick*; but neither would that do it: Indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of *Clarence*, with twelve thouſand men to joyn with him; but that expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconciled to his Brother King *Edward*, and brought all his Forces to joyn with him, only he ſought to make amity between King *Edward* and the Earl: But though King *Edward* offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would pleaſe the Earl without reſtoring of King *Henry*. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of *Clarence*, there came to the Earl of *Warwick* at *Coventry*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Exeter*, and the Marqueſs *Montacute*; by whoſe coming that ſide was not a little ſtrengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of *Warwick* to come to Battel: whereupon King *Edward* marched forward towards *London*. Both ſides ſeek to make *London* their friend, the Earl of *Warwick* ſends to his Brother the Archbiſhop of *York*, to labour in it; who thereupon cauſed King *Henry* to mount on Horſeback, and to ride from *Pauls* through *Cheap*, down *Walbrook*, ſuppoſing that this ſhewing of the King would have allured the Citizens to aſſiſt him; but this device prevailed little, brought not in above ſeven or eight thouſand men, a ſmall proportion to withſtand King *Edward*: and when the Archbiſhop of *York* ſaw

He comes to *Coventry* where the E. of *Warwick* lay; but would not come forth to battel.

this backwardneſs in the Citizens, or rather indeed an inclination to King *Edward*, he ſecretly ſent to him to receive him into grace; which, upon promiſe to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of *April*, in the year 1471. and the eleventh of his reign, King *Edward* made his entry into the City of *London*, riding firſt to *Pauls* Church, and from thence to the Biſhops Palace, where the Archbiſhop of *York* preſented himſelf unto him, and having King *Henry* by the hand delivered him to King *Edward* (ſix months after his re-adeption of the Crown) and then King *Edward* being ſeiſed of his perſon, went from *Pauls* to *Weſtminſter*, and there gave God moſt hearty thanks for his ſafe return. The reaſons alledged here by *Philip Commines* for the Citizens receiving of King *Edward*, ſeem ſcarce worthy of ſo good an Author: One cauſe (ſaith he) was becauſe King *Edward* being extremly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they ſhould have loſt their debt; Another, becauſe he had won the love of many Citizens Wives, who importuned their Husbands to receive him.

King *Edward* makes his entry into *London* and is joyfully received.

King *Henry* is delivered into his hands.

The Earl of *Warwick* having Intelligence that King *Edward* was received into *London*, and King *Henry* delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamped at St. *Albans*, and after ſome refreſhing of his Army, removed towards *Barnet*, and in a large plain there called *Cladmore-heath*, pitched his Camp; which King *Edward* hearing, on *Eaſter* Eve the thirteenth of *April*, he marched forth, and came that evening to *Barnet*, where he would not ſuffer a man of his Army to ſtay in the Town, but commanded them all to the field, and lodged with his Army more neer to the Enemy than he was aware, by reaſon of a Miſt, (raiſed ſome ſay by one *Bungey* a Conjurer) which made it ſo dark, that it could not well be obſerved where they were encamped. In taking his ground he cauſed his people to keep as much ſilence as was poſſible, thereby to keep the enemy from knowing of their approach. Great Artillery they had on both parts, but the Earl more than the King; and therefore in the night time, they ſhot from his Camp almoſt continually, but did little hurt, becauſe they ſtill over-ſhot them, as lying nearer than was conceived. On *Eaſter* day, early in the morning, both Armies are ordered for Battel; the Earl of *Warwick* appointed the Command of the Right Wing, which conſiſted of Horſe, to his Brother the Marqueſs *Montacute*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; the Left Wing, conſiſting likewiſe of Horſe, was led by himſelf and the Duke of *Exeter*; and the main Battel, conſiſting of Bills and Bows, was conducted by the Duke of *Somerſet*. On the Kings part, the Vaward was commanded by the Duke of *Gloceſter*; the Battel (in which was King *Henry*) was led by King *Edward* himſelf; and the Lord *Haſtings* brought on the Reer. After Exhortations for encouragement of their Souldiers, the fight began; which with great valour was maintained by the ſpace of ſix hours, without any apparent diſadvantage on either ſide; only the Earls Vaward, by the valiancy of the Earl of *Oxford*, ſeemed ſomewhat to over-match the Kings, which made ſome flying towards *London*, to carry news that the

The Earl of *Warwick* comes with his Army to *Barnet*

The two Armies meet.

the Earl of *Warwick* had won the field; and he had perhaps done so indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of *Oxford*, and his men; for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries, as King *Edward*'s men had the Sun, the Earl of *Warwick*'s men, by reason of the Mist, not well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of *Oxford*'s men that were on their part: whereupon the Earl of *Oxford* cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King *Edward* (having the greater number of men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept of purpose) to come on; which the Earl of *Warwick* observing being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he adventured so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain. (Though some write, that the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to flie; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King *Edward's* men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The Marques *Montacute*, thinking to succour his Brother, lost likewise his life, and left the Victory to King *Edward*. On both sides were slain, as *Hall* saith, ten thousand at the least: *Fabian* saith but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the Kings side. Upon the Kings part were slain the Lord *Cromwel*, the Lord *Say*, the Lord *Montjoyes* Son and Heir, Sir *Humfrey Bourchier* Son and Heir to the Lord *Berners*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earls part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marques *Montacute*, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir *William Tyrrel* was one. The Duke of *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Oxford* fled into *Wales*, to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*. The Duke of *Exeter* being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to *Westminster*, and there took Sanctuary. The dead bodies of the Earl and Marques were brought to *London* in a Coffin, and by the space of three dayes lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of *Bissam*. This Earl of *Warwick* was *Richard Nevil*, Son and Heir of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Salisbury*, who married the Daughter of *Richard Beauchamp*, the sixth Earl of *Warwick*, and in her right was Earl of *Warwick*, in his own, of *Salisbury*. He was also Lord *Monthemer*, great Chamberlain, and high Admiral of *England*, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards *Scotland*, and High Steward of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*: He had issue two Daughters, *Isabel* married to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Anne*, first married to Prince *Edward*, King *Henry* the Sixth's Son, and after to *Richard* Duke of *Glocester*.

Where the Earl of *Warwick* with many other Lords is slain.

The Honours he enjoyed, and of his Issue.

We may here observe a constellation of disastrous influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great *Warwick*; whereof if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of *York* had not too credulously believed King *Edward*'s Oath, not to disturb King *Henry*; or if the Marques *Montacute* had stopped (as he might) his passage at *Pomfret*; or if the Duke of *Clarence* had not at the very point of the Battel, at St. *Albans*, deserted his party and joyned with King *Edward*; or if Queen *Margaret* had not by tempest been kept from coming into *England* in time; or if the *Londoners* had not been retrograde, and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But *Fata viam invenient*, destiny will finde wayes that were never thought of, will make way, where it findes none; and that which is ordained in heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen *Margaret* cometh over, and gets two Armies.

Queen *Margaret*, when it was too late, accompanied with *John Longstrother*, Prior of St. *Johns*, and the Lord *Wenlock*, with divers Knights and Esquires, took shipping at *Harflew*, the four and twentieth of *March*, but by tempest was kept back till the thirteenth of *April*; and then with her Son Prince *Edward*, she landed at *Weymouth*, and from thence went to an Abbey hard by, called *Ceern*, and then to *Bewly* in *Hampshire*, whither there came unto her, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, and *Thomas Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, with divers others; amongst whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son Prince *Edward* to be sent into *France*, there to remain in safety, till the next Battel were tried; but they being of a contrary minde, and especially the Duke of *Somerset*, she at length consented, though afterward she repented it. From *Bewly* she with her Son and the Earl of *Somerset* passeth on to *Bristow*, intending with what power they could raise in *Glocestershire*, to march into *Wales*, to joyn with *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who was there making preparation of more Forces. King *Edward* hearing of these things, resolves to cross this conjunction, and follows Queen *Margaret* with a great power so close, that near *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire* he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; where *Somerset*, on the Queens part, leading the Vant-guard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Souldiers through weariness begin to faint, and that the Lord *Wenlock*, who had the conduct of the Battel on the Queens part, moved not, he rode unto him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery, never staid, but with a Pollax beat out his brains: And now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and *John* Earl of *Devonshire*, with above three thousand of the Queens part were slain. The Queen her self, *John Beaufort* the Duke of *Somersets* Brother, the Prior of Saint *John's*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir *Richard Crofts* presented to King *Edward* King *Henry*'s Son *Edward*, whom he had taken prisoner; to whom King *Edward* at first shewed no uncourteous countenance; but demanding of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter into his Realm with Arms? And he answering, though truly, yet unseasonably, *To recover my Fathers Kingdom and Heritage*: King *Edward* with his hand thrust him from him, or

But is overthrown by King *Edward*.

The Queen is taken prisoner.

(as some say) struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently *George* Duke of *Clarence*, *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, *Thomas Gray* Marques *Dorset*, and *William* Lord *Hastings* standing by, fell upon him in the place, and murthered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corps, in the Church of the Monastery of the *Black-fryers* in *Tewkslury*. After the victory thus obtained, King *Edward* repaired to the Abbey Church of *Tewksbury*, to give God thanks for his good success; and finding there a great number of his enemies that were fled thither to save themselves, he gave them all free pardon; only *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *John Longstrother* Prior of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Tresham*, Sir *Jervis Clifton*, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of *Gloucester*, sitting that day as Constable of *England*, and the Duke of *Norfolk* as Marshal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to dye; and accordingly upon the Tuesday, being the seventh of *May*, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not dismembred, and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen *Margaret* was found in a poor house of Religion, not far from thence, into which she was fled for safeguard of her life; but she was after brought to *London*, and there kept a prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great sums of money. This was the last pitcht Battel that was fought in *England*, in King *Edward* the fourths dayes; which happened on the fourth of *May*, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord 1471.

His Son Prince *Edward* is murthered.

The Duke of *Somerset*, and others beheaded.

Queen *Margaret* is kept in durance, till her Father fetched her away.

King *Edward* being assured that as long as any partakers of King *Henry* lived and were at liberty, he should never be free from plots against his life, sent *Roger Vaughan*, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Countrey, to entrap *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, who had escaped from the last encounter; but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking off *Vaughans* head.

After these great Clouds were thus dispersed, there arose a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at least the City of *London*, no small disquiet. For now, *Thomas* Bastard *Fauconbridge*, who had been employed by the Earl of *Warwick* to scowr the Seas, hearing of these defeats; having inriched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men; and coming to *London*, imperiously commanded admission into the City, and releasement of King *Henry* out of prison: but being denyed entrance, and hearing that King *Edward* with a great power was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint *Katherines*, and taking with him his most desperate men, with them he marched to *Kingstone-bridge*; but finding that Bridge broken down, and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint *Georges* field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of *London*: for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship Ordnance, and planted them all along the Banks side, with which he battered down many houses, and much annoyed the City: but the Citizens on the other side lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place along the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his men to set fire on the Bridge, and withal caused three thousand to pass over the *Thames*, and some of them to assault *Aldgate*, and some *Bishopsgate*; but they were in all places by the industry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by *Robert Basset*, and *Ralph Jocelyne* Aldermen. Upon this he retired to *Black heath*, and there encamped by the space of three dayes, but then hearing that King *Edward* was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the rest fled, some one way, some another. The one and twentieth of *May*, the King coming to *London*, thanked the Citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Mayor, the Recorder *Ursewick*, and *Basset* and *Jocelyne* Aldermen, Knights.

The Bastard *Fauconbridge* makes disturbance about *London*.

And now the time was come for King *Henry* to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of *Gloucester* entring the *Tower*, where he found King *Henry* nothing at all troubled with all his Crosses, struck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there slew him. And now we have had within the space of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King *Edward* an Usurper, and King *Henry* a lawful King; and another proclaiming King *Edward* a lawful King, and King *Henry* an Usurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; nothing stable, but instability.

King *Henry* is murthered by the Duke of *Gloucester*.

King *Edward*, presently after the interment of King *Henry*, draws his Forces towards *Sandwich* in *Kent*, where some of the followers of *Fauconbridge*, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there, strongly fortified themselves; but upon their asking pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with promise to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the Kings use. But how this Composition was observed, may be imagined; when *Fauconbridge*, who was comprised in the same pardon, was afterward taken and executed at *Southampton*; *Spicing*, and *Quintine* the Captains that assailed *Aldgate* and *Bishopsgate*, and were in *Sandwich* Castle at the surrender thereof, were presently beheaded at *Canterbury*; and their heads placed on Poles, upon those Gates. And by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, many both in *Essex* and *Kent*, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

Fauconbridge executed.

1472.

And now King *Edward* desiring to be secured from all suspected persons, sent the Archbishop of *York*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, over to *Guisnes*, there to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after died. Likewise *John* Earl of *Oxford*, who after *Barnet* Field yielded himself to King *Edward*, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over Sea to the Castle of *Hammes*, where for the space of twelve years he was shut up in a strong Prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that time was not suffered to come unto

to him, nor had any thing to live upon, but what people of their charities gave her; or what she could get by Needle or other work. As for the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond*, who were fled out of the Realm to the Duke of *Britain*, King *Edward* sent to the Duke, requiring to have them delivered up to him, upon promise of great rewards; to which the Duke made answer, that he could not with his honour deliver them up, whom he had taken into his Protection; but that for King *Edward*'s sake, he would take such care of them, that he should need to take no care for them; and to that end he sequestred their own servants from them, and appointed *Britains* to attend upon them.

King *Edward* seeks to get the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Richmond* into his hands.

It was now the thirteenth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, in which a Parliament was called at *Westminster*: wherin all Acts formerly made by him, are confirmed or revived; and all their Lands and Goods confiscated, that had taken part against him and were fled, and all their Lands and Goods restored to such as had taken part with him.

1473

King *Edward* being destin'd to be alwayes in troubles; now that he had quietness at home, was drawn into new broils abroad; for the Duke of *Burgoigne* at this time having Wars with *France*, thought he could no way make a better harvest to himself, then by sowing seeds of dissention between *France* and *England*: and to this end he sends Ambassadours to King *Edward*, to solicit him to set on foot his Title to the Crown of *France*, making great offers, with protestation to assist him in it, both with Purse and Person. This Proposition being seriously debated by the Kings Privy Council, is at last approved of, as being both lawful and behoveful, for the honour of the King, and good of the Kingdom. Only means to bear the charges of the War, were wanting; to supply which by a Parliamentary course, would ask too much time: A new course therefore is devised, to procure money from the Subject by way of Benevolence; and this course was taken.

King *Edward* is moved by the Duke of *Burgoigne* to make War upon *France*.

A Benevolence to raise money.

About this time *Henry Holland* Duke of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Huntington* disinherited by Act of Parliament in the fourth year of this King, (though he had married King *Edward*'s Sister) yet grew to so great misery, that passing over into *Flanders*, I there saw him (saith *Commines*) running bare-legged after the Duke of *Burgundies* train, begging his bread for Gods sake; whom the Duke of *Burgundy* at that time not knowing (though they had married two Sisters) but hearing afterward who he was, gave him a small Pension to maintain him; till not long after he was found dead upon the shore of *Dover*, and stripped all naked; but how he came to his death, could never by any enquiry be brought to light.

Henry Holland Duke of *Exeter* his miserable life and death.

1474.

Provision for this *French* expedition being throughly made, and order taken for the quiet Government of the Kingdom in his absence, and the stop of incursions, if any by the *Scots* should be made: King *Edward* with an Army of fifteen hundred men at Arms, all of the Nobility and Gentry, fifteen thousand Archers on Horseback, eight thousand common Souldiers, and three thousand Pioneers, came down to *Dover*; whither the Duke of *Burgoigne* had sent five hundred flat Bottom'd Boats to transport the Horse to *Callice*; yet for all that help, it was two and twenty dayes before the Kings Forces were all past over. Before the Kings departure from *Dover*, (to the end he might not seem to surprize him) he sent an Herauld named *Garter*, a *Norman* by birth, with a Letter of Defiance to the *French* King, (so well written, saith *Commines*, that he thought it not of any *English* mans inditing; as though *English* men could not indite as well as the *French*) requiring him to yield unto him the Crown of *France*, his unquestionable Inheritance; which if he should dare to deny, he would then endeavour to recover it by the Sword. This Letter the *French* King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herauld to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of *Burgoigne*, and the Earl of Saint *Paul* the Constable, (by whose instigation he knew the King of *England* was drawn to this design) would but delude him, for that they were Dissemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would conduce more to the honour of the King of *England* to continue in League with him, though an old Adversary; than to hazard the fortune of the Wars, upon the promised assistance of new-come Deceivers: And so commend me (saith he) to the King thy Master, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismist him. The Herauld promised to do all that in him lay, and (beyond his Commission) shewed the *French* King wayes, (by working upon the Lords *Howard* and *Stanley*) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would sort to a good conclusion. The *French* King glad to hear it, gave the Herauld, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King *Edward* the goodliest Horse he had in his Stable, as also an Ass, a Wolf, and a Wilde Boar, beasts at that time rare in *England*: And then the Herauld returning to *Callice*, delivered to King *Edward* the *French* Kings answer.

King *Edward* with an Army passeth over into *France*.

He sends a Herauld to the King of *France* to demand the Crown.

The *French* Kings answer to the Herauld.

1474.

The Herauld advised the King of *France* what to do.

And now to make good the *French* King's allegation to the Herauld, the Duke of *Burgoigne* who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to *Callice* by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Stadiots or light-Horse, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord *Scales* is by King *Edward* sent to the Duke, to put him in minde of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: But the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horse to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was, for that having been imbroyled in the siege of *Nuz*, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he would not too much trespass upon his patience, he was enforced to do, by the obstinacy of the besieged; but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* and the Constable of *France* fail King *Edward* in performance of their promise.

The

The Constable likewise by his Letter perswades the King of *England* to proceed in the action, and not to doubt both from the Duke and himself to be sufficiently every way accommodated.

King *Edward* thus encouraged, passeth on, but in his way found no performance of promises, either on the Dukes or Constables part; for the Duke did not accommodate the Souldiers, at their coming to *Peronne*, with Victuals or Lodging, in such manner as was requisite and expected: and the Constable, instead of surrendring up St. *Quintins* according to agreement, made a sally out upon such as were sent from the King of *England* to take possession, and plaid upon them with his great Ordinance; whereupon King *Edward* began to suspect the truth of the *French* Kings description of the Dukes and Constables conditions; and from thence forward stood upon his own Guard, and gave no further credit to their Protestations; which the Duke of *Burgoigne* resenting, pretending occasions for the hastning forward his Forces, and promising speedy return together with them, taketh his leave and departeth, which did not a little increase the Kings suspicion.

The King of *France* sends a counterfeit Herauld to King *Edward* to propound conditions of Peace.

The *French* King having intelligence of the Duke of *Burgoignes* departure, fore-casting the danger, if they should unite their Forces; resolved with himself to assay what might be done to mediate a Peace in the Dukes absence; and yet so to treat, that if it took not effect, he might disclaim the knowledge of the overture: Whereupon he privately dispatcheth a messenger, in shew an Herauld; but was indeed a fellow of no office or estimation, and not known to any of the Kings household, but to *Villiers* the Master of the Horse, who only was acquainted with the plot and party. This counterfeit Pursuivant at Arms, with a Coat made of a Trumpets Banner-rowl, addressed himself to the King of *England*, and upon admission to his presence, insinuates the *French* Kings desire, which was, to have Commissioners on both parts assigned, to confer of the means to reconcile the differences between the two Kings; or at least to conclude a cessation from Arms for some time. And so well this Messenger delivered his errand, that it was credited, and the Kings request granted; and thereupon Letters of safe conduct are sent of both sides, for such Commissioners as to this purpose should meet at *Amyens*. For King *Edward* came the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and Doctor *Morton*, after made Lord Chancellour of *England*. For King *Lewis* came the Admiral of *France*, the Lord Saint *Piers*, and *Heberg* Bishop of *Eureux*.

The conditions of Peace between the two Kings.

After long Conference, Articles of Peace were concluded on to this effect: That the *French* King should pay presently to the King of *England*, threescore and fifteen thousand Crowns, and from thenceforth annually fifty thousand Crowns, during the life of King *Edward*: That within one year, the *French* King should send for the Lady *Elizabeth* the King of *England*'s Daughter, and joyn her in Marriage to the Dauphin: That the Lord *Howard*, and Sir *John Cheyney* Master of the Horse, should remain in Hostage there, till the *English* Army had quitted *France*, and a general Peace for nine years: wherein the Dukes of *Burgoigne* and *Britain*, are included if they will accept thereof. This Conclusion was the more easily compassed by the King of *France* his following the Heraulds counsel; for he distributed sixteen thousand Crowns amongst King *Edward*'s Counsellors and Favourites; two thousand Crowns to the Lord *Hastings* the Kings Chamberlain; and to the Lord *Howard*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, and *Montgomery*, the residue; besides great store of Plate and Jewels, distributed amongst inferiour Officers of the Court. The Duke of *Gloucester* only opposed this accord, as not suiting with his design; nevertheless it proceeded, and notice thereof is presently sent to the Duke of *Burgoigne*, who thereupon only with fifteen Horse, comes posting to the *English* Camp, whom King *Edward* perswades to enter into the Peace, according to the reservation; but he in great chafe, reproacheth King *Edward* for entring into it himself; saying, That his Predecessors had by many brave exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the *French*; and now he had brought his Souldiers only to shew them the Countrey, and return as they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the *English* to subsist of himself, he utterly disclaimed any benefit by that Truce, until three months after the *English* were returned to their own Countrey; and so in a great snuffe returned home.

The Duke of *Burgoigne* reproacheth King *Edward* for making the Peace.

For the better confirmation of what is agreed upon between the two Kings, an enterview is desired; but before the same is effected, the *French* King sends the *English* Army an hundred Tonne of *Gascoigne* Wine, to be drunk out amongst the private Souldiers, and therewithal free licence for Commanders and Gentlemen to recreate themselves in *Amyens*; where they were lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the Town, by the Kings expres command. The place of enterview of these two Kings, is agreed on to be at *Picquiny*, a Town three miles distant from *Amyens*, seated in a bottom, through which the River of *Some* runneth; over which a strong Bridge was built, and in the midst thereof a grate made overthwart with Bars, no wider asunder then a man might well thrust in his Arm; covered with boards over head, to avoid the rain: four of the Bed-Chamber on both sides, are appointed to search the rooms, to prevent traps or Instruments of treachery: and being by them certified that all was clear, the Kings advance themselves. King *Edward* being come in sight of the place, made a stand; being told, that the circumstance of coming first to the place was a matter of great disparagement in point of State: but the *French* King more regarding substance than circumstance, gave the King of *England* the advantage to come at his pleasure, and went first to the Bar appointed for Conference, and there did attend King *Edward*'s leisure. He had in his company *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at Arms. King *Edward* had with him his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellour, and at his back his whole Army in Battel. The Kings lovingly salute each other, and compliments

An interview between the two Kings is agreed upon.

The place and manner of their interview.

ments of courteſie reciprocally paſs: which finiſhed, they, with their Noblemen there preſent, take all their Oaths upon the Holy Evangeliſts, in all their power, to obſerve the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, in private, the *French* King importunes King *Edward* that the Duke of *Britain* might be left out of theſe Articles: but after much urging to that purpoſe, King *Edward* gave this reſolute anſwer, that if King *Lewis* deſired the friendſhip of *England*, he ſhould not moleſt the Duke of *Britain*; for that he was reſolved, at any time to come in perſon to relieve him, if he were diſturbed: King *Edward* pretended the many kindneſſes he had formerly received of the Duke of *Britain*; but it was conceived, that the deſire of compaſſing the Earls of *Richmond* and *Pembroke*, now in the Duke of *Britains* Countrey, were the greateſt motives of his ſtanding ſo firmly for him. After more ſerious diſcourſe, King *Lewis* told King *Edward*, that he would one day invite him to *Paris*, there to court his *French* Ladies, with whom, if he committed any ſin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal *Bourbon* ſhould be his Confeſſor, who (he might be ſure) would aſſign him an eaſie penance; as one that loved to kiſs fair Ladies himſelf: but when King *Edward* ſeemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other diſcourſe: for that (as he told *Commines*) too many *Engliſh* Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King *Edward* by the *Articles*, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the *French* Hoſtages are delivered, and the *Engliſh* Army retires to *Callice*, and from thence is tranſported into *England*; and then the *Engliſh* Hoſtages are likewiſe delivered. This Peace was ſaid to be made only by the Holy Ghoſt; becauſe on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and ſate upon the King of *England*'s Tent: though the Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Burgoigne* thought it was made by no good ſpirit.

King *Edward* being returned into *England*, had his minde running ſtill upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of *Richmond*: he therefore diſpatched Doctor *Stillington*, and two other his Ambaſſadors, to the Duke of *Britain*, to ſend him over to him, under this ſubtle pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady *Cicely* his younger Daughter; and withal, ſent alſo no ſmall ſtore of Angels to ſpeak for him; which ſo prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of *Richmond* to the Ambaſſadors, who conducted him thence to Saint *Malos*; where whileſt they ſtayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of *Peter Landois*, the Dukes Treaſurer, (more out of ſcorn that he was not gratified by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, to the proportion of his place, than for any love to the Earl) eſcapes into the Sanctuary; from whence neither prayers nor promiſes could get him out: Nevertheleſs upon *Peter Landois* his promiſe he ſhould be ſafely kept there, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King *Edward* with the Duke of *Britains* courteſie in delivering him, and their own negligence in ſuffering him to eſcape; only making amends with the promiſe of *Peter Landois*: which might be to King *Edward* ſome contentment, but was no ſatisfaction.

1475. King *Edward* ſends to the Duke of *Britain* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* to him.

The Earl is delivered, but makes eſcape; and how.

At *Chriſtmas* following, being the ſixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldeſt Son *Edward*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal*, and Earl of *Cheſter*. His ſecond Son he made Duke of *York*; giving the Order of Knighthood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and many others. He created alſo four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*, whereof *Brian* Chief Juſtice, and *Littleton* a Judge of the Common Pleas were two. 1476. King *Edward*' Son *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*, &c.

About this time, there were two examples of ſeverity ſeen; not unworthy the relating, if but only to make us ſee how dangerous a thing it is *Ludere cum ſanctis*, to ſpeak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The firſt was of one *Walter Walker*, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in *Cheapſide*: This man one day when his Childe cried, bid him be quiet, and he would make him Heir of the Crown: which words being ſubject to interpretation, he was called in queſtion about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was of *Thomas Burdet* of *Arrow* in *Warwickſhire* Eſquire: It happened that King *Edward* hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereof Maſter *Burdet* made ſpecial account: ſo as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wiſhed it horns and all in his belly that had counſelled the King to kill it: and becauſe none counſelled the King to kill it but himſelf, it was thought thoſe words were not ſpoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King: and thereupon *Burdet* was arraigned and condemned, drawn to *Tyburn*, and there beheaded: though *Markham*, then Chief Juſtice, choſe rather to loſe his place, then aſſent to the Judgement. 1477.

Two great examples of ſeverity: one upon *Walter Walker*.

The other upon Mr. *Burdet*.

And now began ambition to boil in *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter*; whereof the firſt heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, how to rid him out of the way; to which end, he ſeeks to raiſe jealouſies in King *Edward*'s head againſt him, telling him, that ſome of *Clarence* his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth ſpeeches, that one whoſe name begun with *G.* ſhould diſinherit his Children, and get the Crown: and for a colour of this ſuggeſtion, one of the Duke of *Clarence* his Servants, who came with him out of *Ireland* from *Dublin*, where the Duke was born, is in his Maſters abſence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, indicted, arraigned, condemned, and executed at *Tyburn* for a Conjurer, and all within the ſpace of two dayes: and the Duke of *Gloceſter*, to make ſhew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, ſet on the Duke of *Clarence* to complain of it to King *Edward*; and in the mean time findes matter, at leaſt colour of matter to make him be committed to the *Tower*: And then again to make ſhew he had no hand in his impriſonment, bids him be of good chear, for it ſhould not be long e're he would ſee him releaſed: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a But of Malmſey, (and this was his releaſement) and then laid in his bed; to make the people believe that he

The Duke of *Gloceſter* plots to take away his elder Brother the Duke of *Clarence*.

1478. He procures him to be drowned in a Butt of Malmſey.

he died of discontent; whose death King *Edward*, though perhaps consenting to it, so much resented, that afterwards, when he was sued to for any mans Pardon, he would sighing break out into such words: Oh unfortunate Brother! for whose life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at *Tewksbury* in *Glocestershire*, by the Body of his Dutchess, who great with Childe, died of poyson a little before.

1482. A match treated on between the King of *Scots* eldest Son and a Daughter of King *Edward*.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Edward*'s Reign, when *James* King of *Scotland* sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his eldest Son *James* Duke of *Rothsay*, and *Cicely* King *Edward*'s second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the *Scots* with this *Proviso*, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of *Edenburgh* should be bound to repay it again. But the *Scottish* King, who had other phantasies in his head, and would take counsel of none but his own will, and diverted also perhaps by the King of *France*; not only dallied the proceeding in the Match, but affronted those of the Nobility that perswaded him to it; insomuch that his Brother the Duke of *Albany* was enforced to abandon the Countrey, and to fly for refuge into *England*: by whom King *Edward* being informed of King *James* his fickle disposition, was so much incensed, that under the conduct of the Duke of *Glocester*, accompanied with the Duke of *Albany*, he sent an Army of twenty thousand against *Scotland*; who in their way took in *Berwick*, and besieged the Castle; which being resolutely defended by the Earl *Bothwel*, the Duke left the Lord *Stanley* to continue the siege, whiles he with the rest of the Army, marcheth toward *Edenburgh*; where within the Castle of *Maydens*, King *James* had immur'd himself. But the Nobility of *Scotland* seeing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble submission to procure a Peace, at least a cessation from War; which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That full satisfaction should be presently given, for all damages sustained by the late incursions: That the Duke of *Albany* should be fully restored to grace and place, with an abolition of all discontents between his Brother King *James* and him: That the Castle of *Berwick*, (which had been now out of the possession of the *English*, one and twenty years) should immediately be surrendred into the Ge-Generals hands, aand from thence no reduction of that, or the Town attempted: That all such sums of money as upon proposition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the first Article, were accordingly performed.

But dallied by the King of *Scots*.

Whereupon K. *Edward* enters *Scotland* with an Army.

And brings the *Scots* to submission.

Causes of K. *Edward*'s discontentments.

When this bnsiness with *Scotland* was indifferently accommodated; King *Edward* receives intelligence from his Ambassadour Leiger in *France*, that the *French* King not only denied the payment of the annual Tribute of fifty thousand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of *France* to the Lady *Margaret* Daughter of *Maximilian*, Son of the Emperour; which so much incensed King *Edward*, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open War was presently Proclaimed against *France*: But whilest King *Edward* is making preparation, and intentive to the business, he is attached by the hand of death; and upon the ninth of *April*, in the year 1483. at *Westminster* ended his mortal life.

1483. He falls sick and dies.

Of his Taxations.

IN his second year, he sent his Privy Seal through *England*, to move men to give him a certain summe of money towards resisting the *Scots*. which was granted and given liberally: In his seventh year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were resumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the first day he took possession of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament were granted two fifteens and a Demy. In his thirteenth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; aad the year following, towards War to be undertaken in *France*, a new way of raising money is devised, called a Benevolence, by which great summes of money were gotten of the Subject: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King *Edward*, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth she) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that summe, thanked her, and lovingly kist her; which so wrought with the old Widow, that she presently swore, he should have twenty pound more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death he was by ill Counsellors put upon a distasteful course for raising of money; which was, by fining men for Delinquencies against Penal Statutes: by which course some money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

A merry passage between King *Edward* and an old Widow.

Money gathered upon Penal Statutes.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his fourth year, he newly devised the Coin both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver, Groats, and half Groats: the new Groat weighing scantly three pence; and the Noble of six shillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight shillings four pence, In his fifth year it was proclaimed in *England*, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon pain of cursing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty shillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwayners of *London*, and the third to the Chamber of *London*: and for other Countreys and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382. the Pykes of Shoes and Boots were of such length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver, and Gilt, or at least with silken laces.

New Coyn ordained.

The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shooes limitted.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The year of Jubile brought from fifty to five and twenty.

IN this Kings time the Jubile, which was before but every fiftieth year, was, by Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, brought to be every five and twentieth year. Alſo, where before this time, the *Scottiſh* Biſhops had no Metropolitan, but the Biſhop of *York* was Metropolitan and Primate of *Scotland*: Now in this Kings time, Pope *Sixtus* appointed the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* to be Metropolitan of *Scotland*, who had twelve Biſhops under his obedience

Works of Piety done in his time.

Queens Colledge in *Cambridge* founded.

THis King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at *Windſor*, and his Queen *Elizabeth* founded the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, and endowed it with large Poſſeſſions. About his fifteenth year, Doctor *Woodlark* Provoſt of Kings Colledge in *Cambridge*, founded *Katherine-hall* there. In his ſeventeenth year, the Wall of the City of *London*, from *Cripplegate* to *Biſhopſgate*, was builded at the Charges of the Citizens; alſo *Biſhopſgate* it ſelf was new built by the Merchants *Almans* of the *Steelyard*. Alſo in this year died Sir *John Crosby*, Knight, late Mayor of *London*, who gave to the repairing of the Pariſh Church of St. *Helens* in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, where he was buried, 500. Marks: to the repairing of the Pariſh Church of *Henworth* in *Middleſex*, forty pounds: to the repairing of *London* Wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing of *Rocheſter* Bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in *London*, two large Pots of ſilver chaſed half gilt, and other Legacies. About this time alſo, *Richard Rawſon*, one of the Sheriffs of *London*, cauſed an houſe to be builded in the Church-yard of St. *Mary* Hoſpital without *Biſhopſgate*, where the Mayor and Aldermen uſe to ſit and hear the Sermons in *Eaſter* Holy-dayes. In his nineteenth year, *William Taylor* Mayor of *London*, gave to the City certain Tenements; for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteen granted to the King, for all ſuch as ſhall dwell in *Cordwainer-ſtreet-ward*, ſeſſed at twelve pence a piece, or under. And about the ſame time, one *Thomas Ilam*, Sheriff of *London*, builded, at his coſts, the great Conduit in *Cheap-ſide*. In his three and twentieth year, *Edward Shaw* Goldſmith, who had been Mayor of *London*, at his own coſts re-edified *Cripplegate* in *London*, which Gate in old time had been a priſon.

Katherine-Hall in *Cambridge* founded.

The great Conduit in *Cheapſide* builded.

Cripplegate re-edified.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

Two great Plagues.

IN his third year, the Minſter of *York*, and the Steeple of Chriſts-Church in *Norwich* were burnt. In his ſeventeenth year, ſo great a Peſtilence reigned in *England*, that it ſwept away more people in four months, than the Wars had done in fifteen years paſt. Alſo in his nineteenth year was another Peſtilence; which beginning in the latter end of *September*, continued till the beginning of *Novemb.* twelve-months following; in which ſpace of time innumerable people died.

Of his Wife and Iſſue.

KIng *Edward* had been contracted to *Eleanor* Daughter to *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, married after to Sir *Thomas Butler*, Baron of *Sudely*: but he married *Elizabeth* the Widow of Sir *John Gray*, Daughter of *Richard Woodvile*, by his Wife *Jaqueline* Dutcheſs of *Bedford*: She lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven months; by whom he had three Sons and ſeven Daughters. *Edward* his eldeſt Son, born in the Sanctuary at *Weſtminſter*: *Richard* his ſecond Son, born at *Shrewsbury*: *George* his third Son, born alſo at *Shrewsbury*, but died a Childe. *Elizabeth* his eldeſt Daughter promiſed in marriage to *Charles* Dauphin of *France*; but married afterward to King *Henry* the Seventh: *Cicely* his ſecond Daughter promiſed in marriage to *James* Duke of *Rothſay*, Prince of *Scotland*; but was married afterward to *John* Viſcount *Wells*, whom ſhe out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Iſſue: She lieth buried at *Quarena* in the *Iſle of Wight*. *Anne* his third Daughter was married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl Marſhal and high Treaſurer of *England*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, both dying without Iſſue: ſhe lieth buried at *Framingham* in *Norfolk*. *Bridget* his fourth Daughter, born at *Eltham* in *Kent*, became a Nun in the Nunnery of *Dartford* in *Kent*, which King *Edward* had founded, *Mary* his fifth Daughter was promiſed in marriage to the King of *Denmark*, but died in the Tower of *Greenwich*, before it could be ſolemnized: ſhe lieth buried at *Windſor*. *Margaret* his ſixth Daughter died an Infant: *Katherine* his ſeventh Daughter was married to *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire*; to whom ſhe bare Lord *Henry*, who by King *Henry* the eight was created Marqueſs of *Exeter*.

King *Edward*'s three ſpecial Concubines.

Concubines he had many, but three ſpecially; and would uſe to ſay, that he had three Concubines, who in their ſeveral properties excelled: One, the merrieſt, another, the wylieſt; the third, the holieſt Harlot in his Realm; as one whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unleſs it were to his bed: The other two were greater perſonages than are fit to be named: but the merrieſt was *Shore*'s Wife; in whom therefore he took ſpecial pleaſure. This woman was born in *London*, worſhipfully deſcended, and well married; but when the King had abuſed her, anon her Husband (as he was an honeſt man, and did know his good, not preſuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

Shore's wife.

By theſe he had natural iſſue, *Arthur* ſurnamed *Plantagenet* (whoſe mother, as is ſuppoſed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*) created Viſcount *Liſle*, by King *Henry* the eight, at *Bridewel* in *London*: and *Elizabeth*, who was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight; to whom ſhe bare *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did deſcend.

The late Lord *Lumley* from whom deſcended.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was (ſaith *Comines*) the goodlieſt perſonage that ever mine eyes beheld, exceeding

tall of ſtature, fair of complexion, and of moſt Princely preſence: and we may truly ſay, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his Father died, he ſued out his Livery preſently: ſo as he began the race of his fortune juſt like *Auguſtus Cæſar*, each of them at the ſame age ſucceeding an Anceſtour after a violent death; and each of them left to ſet on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erected compoſure both of body and minde, but ſomething ſagging on the fleſhes ſide; and never any man, that did marry for love, did ſo little love marriage; for he took as much pleaſure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, then when he was in danger, nor ever more doubtful then when he was ſecure. Of the four Cardinal Vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Juſtice, but to ſerve his turn. He was Politick even to irreligion; for to compaſs his ends he would not ſtick to ſwear what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he uſed to make his Prayers to God, after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious: and could uſe familiarity, and yet retain Majeſty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in errour, ſometimes to the hurt of himſelf, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Roſe to flouriſh as long as *Henry* the Fourth made the Red, if he had not made it change colour with too much Blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunate in a Brother; but he was well enough ſerved, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a ſmall courteſie, as other men with a great benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of diſadvantages: for he got the love of the *Londoners* by owing them money; and the good will of the Citizens by lying with their Wives.

Of his Death and Burial.

WHether it began from his minde, being extreamly troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of *France*; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given: He fell into a Sickneſs (ſome ſay a Catarrhe, ſome a Feaver) but into a Sickneſs whereof he died. In the time of which ſickneſs, and at the very point of death, Sir *Thomas Moor* makes him to make a ſpeech to his Lords; which I might think to be the ſpeech of a ſick man, if it were not ſo ſound; and of a weak man, if it were not ſo long: But it ſeems Sir *Thomas Moor* delivers rather what was fit for him to ſay, than what he ſaid, the Contents being only, to exhort his Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in love and concord amongſt themſelves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he muſt now leave to their care, could not otherwiſe be preſerved but by their agreement. And having ſpoken to this purpoſe as much as his weakneſs would ſuffer him, he found himſelf ſleepy; and turning on one ſide, he fell into his long ſleep, the ninth of *April*, in the year 1483. when he had lived one and forty years, reigned two and twenty and one month, and was buried at *Windſor*, in the new Chappel, whoſe foundation himſelf had laid.

His ſpeech to his Lords at his death.

Of Men of Note in his time:

MEN of valour in his time were many, but himſelf the chiefeſt; the reſt may be obſerved in reading his ſtory. For men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to ſpeak of ſome ſtrangers, having been men of extraordinary fame; as *Johannes de Monte Regio*, *Purbachius* and *Blanchinus*, all great Aſtronomers; *Ludovicus Pontanus*, *Paulus Caſtrenſis*, and *Anthonius Roſſellanus*, all great Lawyers; *Serviſanus*, *Savanarola*, and *Barzizius*, all great Phyſicians; *Baſſarion* and *Cuſanus*, both great Cardinals; *Argyropole*, *Philelphus*, *Datus*, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, and *Poggius*, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Countreymen, *John Harding* an Eſquire, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in *Engliſh* Verſe; and, among other ſpecial points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submiſſions and Homages made by the *Scottiſh* Kings, even from the dayes of King *Athelſtan*: whereby it may evidently appear, how the *Scottiſh* Kingdom, even in manner, from the firſt eſtabliſhing thereof here in *Britain*, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of *England*, and holden of them as their chief and ſuperiour Lords. *Julian Bemes*, a Gentleman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatiſes of Hawking and Hunting; alſo a Book of the Laws of Arms, and knowledge appertaining to Heraulds. *John Forteſcue* a Judge, and Chancellour of *England*, who wrote divers Treatiſes concerning the Law and Politick Government: *Rochus*, a *Charterhouſe* Monk, born in *London*, who wrote divers Epigrams. *Walter Hunt*, a *Carmelite* Fryer, who for his excellent learning, was ſent from the whole body of the Realm, to the General Council holden firſt at *Ferrara*, and after at *Florence*, by Pope *Eugenius* the fourth; where he amongſt others diſputed with the *Greeks*, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the *Latine* Church. *William Caxton*, who wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus Temporum*, and an *Appendix* unto *Treviſa*, beſides divers other Books and Tranſlations. *John Milverton*, a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Briſtow*, and Provincial of his Order, who, becauſe he defended ſuch of his Order as preached againſt endowments of the Church with Temporal Poſſeſſions, was committed to priſon in the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo* in *Rome*, where he continued three years. *David Morgan* a *Welchman*, who wrote of the Antiquities of *Wales*, and a deſcription of the Countrey. *John Tiptoft*, a Nobleman born, who wrote divers Treatiſes, but loſt his head in the year 1471. *Robert Huggon* born in *Norfolk*, who wrote certain vain Propheſies.

William Caxton who wrote a Chronicle.

Thomas

Thomas Norton, born in *Briſtow*, an Alchymiſt.

Scogan at this time lived.

Scogan a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a time in *Oxford*; who for his pleaſant wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But moſt worthy of all to be remembred, *Thomas Littleton* a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into Method, which lay before confuſedly diſperſed; and his Book called *Littleton's Tenures*.

Thomas Littleton, who wrote the Tenures, at this time lived.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Hugh Witch* was Mayor.
George Ireland, *John Lock*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Thomas Cook* was Mayor:
William Hampton, *Bartholomew James*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Matthew Philip* was Mayor:
Robert Baſſet, *Thomas Muſchampt*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
John Tate, *John Stones* Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Ralph Varney* was Mayor.
Henry Weaver, *William Conſtantine*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Sir *John Young* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Henry Brice*, *John Darby*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Sir *Thomas Oldgrave* was Mayor.
Thomas Stalbrook, *Humfrey Heyford*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Taylor* was Mayor.
Simon Smith, *William Herriot*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Richard a Lee* was Mayor.
Richard Gardner, *Robert Drope*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Stackton* was Mayor.
John Crosby, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *William Edwards* was Mayor.
John Allen, *John Shelley*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *William Hampton* was Mayor.
John Brown, *Thomas Bledlow*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Tate* was Mayor.
Sir *William Stocker*, *Robert Belisdon*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *Robert Drope* was Mayor.
Edmund Shaa, *Thomas Hill*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *Robert Baſſet* was Mayor.
Hugh Brice, *Robert Colwich*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Sir *Ralph Joceline* was Mayor.
Richard Rawſon, *William Horn*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year.
Sir *Humfrey Heyford* was Mayor.
Henry Collet, *John Stocker*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Richard Gardner* was Mayor.
Robert Harding, *Robert Biſield*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *Bartholomew James* was Mayor.
Thomas Ilam, *John Ward*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *John Brown* was Mayor:
Thomas Daniel, *William Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty firſt year,
Sir *William Herriot* was Mayor.
Robert Tate, *Rich. Charey*, *Will. Wiking*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſecond year,
Sir *Edmund Shaa* was Mayor.
William White, *John Matthew*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING EDWARD THE FIFTH.

1483. King *Edward* proclaimed King; but never Crowned.

KIng *Edward* the fourth being dead, his eldeſt Son *Edward*, ſcarce yet eleven years old, ſucceeded in the Kingdom, but not in the Crown; for he was proclaimed King, but never Crowned: and indeed it may not ſo properly be called the Reign of *Edward* the Fifth, as the Tyranny of *Richard* the Third; for from the time of King *Edward's* death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but raged as a Tyrant. Prince *Edward*, when his Father died, was at *Ludlow* in *Wales*, where he had lived ſome time before, the better by his preſence to keep the Welſh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers Kindred many; but Sir *Anthony Woodvile*, the Earl *Rivers* his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counſellor and Director. The Duke of *Gloceſter* was at this time in the North, but had word preſently ſent him from the Lord *Haſtings*, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King *Edward's* death; who acquainted him withal, that by his will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his care and government; and thereupon putting him in minde, how neceſſary it was for him ſpeedily to repair to *London*: But the Duke of *Gloceſter* needed no ſpur to ſet him forward, who was already in a full career; for he had long before projected in his minde, how he might come to attain the Crown; and now he thought the way was made him. For as it is ſaid, the very night in which King *Edward* died, one *Miſſelbrook*, long e're morning, came in great haſte to the houſe of one *Potter* dwelling in *Redcroſs-ſtreet* without *Cripple-gate*; where he ſhewed unto *Potter* that King *Edward* was departed: To whom *Potter* anſwered, By my troth man, then will my Maſter the Duke of *Gloceſter* be King: What cauſe he had ſo to think, is hard to ſay; but ſurely it is not likely he ſpake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to *London* with a ſtrong guard, partly to make a firſt expreſſion of his greatneſs, and partly to oppoſe any diſorders that might be offered. But the Duke of *Gloceſter* finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at leaſt, not fit for his deſigns, he preſently falls to undermining; writes moſt loving Letters to the Queen, proteſting all humble and faithful ſervice to the King and her; but withal perſwading her, that this great guard about the King might be preſently diſmiſſed; which did but miniſter matter of ſuſpicion, and would be apt to breed new jealouſies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature eaſie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glozing Letters; and thereupon ſends in all haſte to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord *Rivers*; requiring them by all means, for ſome cauſes to her known, to diſmiſs their Guard, (not mentioning by whoſe advice ſhe writ them; which if ſhe had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they preſently did, and came forward with only a ſober company. And now is *Gloceſter's* firſt work done; but he, knowing that the work yet behinde was too great to be done by himſelf alone, gets the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Lord *Haſtings*, two of the greateſt men of power at that time in the Kingdom, to joyn with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens Kindred ſhould be ſo wholly about the King; and others of better blood and deſert, to be eſtranged from him, and therefore by all means fit, to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of *Buckingham* is eaſily wrought, upon a promiſe to have the Earldom of *Hartford* conferred upon him: and the Lord *Haſtings* not hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom in King *Edward's* dayes he had juſtly offended. And now another great work was done; it remains in the next place to put it in execution, which was preſently thus effected. The young King had been at *Northampton*, and from thence was gone to *Stony-Stratford*, whither the two Dukes of *Gloceſter* and *Buckingham* arrived; but pretending the Town to be too little for the entertainment of their Companies, they went back to *Northampton*, and alighting at the ſame Inne where the Earl *Rivers* had taken up his lodging for that night, intending the next morning early to overtake the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great ſhews of courteſie paſſed between them; and Supper ended, the Dukes pretending wearineſs, retire to their Lodgings, the Earl to his: but the Dukes being entred into their Chambers, enter into conſultation with their private friends, in which they ſpent a great part of the night, and then ſecretly get the Keys of the Inne Gates, ſuffering none to paſs either in or out; whereof the Earl having notice by his Hoſt, though he ſuſpected the worſt, yet ſet-

He perſwades the Queen, that her Son may diſmiſs his guard.

The Duke of *Gloceſter* hearing of his Brothers death, poſts out of the North to *London*.

And thereupon ſeizeth upon the Kings Uncle and other friends.

ting

ting a good countenance upon the matter, and trusting to his own innocency, he boldly went to the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Chamber, where he found the Duke of *Buckingham* and the rest closely set in Council; with whom he expostulates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his Inne against his will: But they instead of answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof themselves were only guilty: And then taking order for his safe imprisonment, they speedily took Horse, and came to *Stony-Stratford*, at such time as the King was taking horse, whom in all reverent manner they saluted: But presently in the Kings presence, a quarrel is picke against the Lord *Richard Gray*, the Kings half Brother: The Duke of *Buckingham* making relation to the King, that he and the Marquess his Brother, with the Earl *Rivers* the Queens Brother, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to draw to themselves the whole managing the affairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance between the Peers of the Realm; and particularly, that the Lord Marquess without any Warrant, had taken out of the *Tower* of *London* both Treasure and Armour, to a great quantity: but to what purpose though they were ignorant, yet there was just cause to suspect it was to no good end: And therefore it was thought expedient by the advice of the Nobility, to attach him at *Northampton*, to have him forth coming to make his answer for these and many other his over-bold actions: The King unable to sound the depth of these plots, mildly said unto him: What my Brother Marquess hath done, I cannot say; but for my Uncle and Brother here, I dare answer, that they are ignorant of any unlawful practices either against me or you. Oh (saith the Duke of *Buckingham*) that hath been their cunning to keep their treachery from your Graces knowledge: And thereupon, instantly in the Kings presence, they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Sir *Richard Hall*, and brought the King and all his company back to *Northampton*, putting away all his old Servants, and placing in their rooms creatures of their own, whom they had power to command. At which dealing the young King wept, but it booted nothing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of *Gloucester* at Dinner sent a Dish from his own Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheer, for all shortly should be well: But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to carry it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such adversity was strange; but as for himself, he had all his dayes been acquainted with it, and therefore could the better bear it. But for all this comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* into the North Countrey, into divers places to prison, and afterward to *Pomfret*, where in conclusion they were all beheaded.

The Earl *Rivers* and other Lords beheaded at *Pomfret*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* gives out colours for these Lords Imprisonment.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* having thus gotten the custody of the King, set forwards toward *London*, giving out by the way, that the Marquess and the Queens Kindred had plotted the destruction of the King, and of all the ancient Nobility of the Kealm, and to alter the Government of the Common-wealth; and that they were only imprisoned to be brought to their tryal according to Law: And the better to settle these suggestions in the apprehention of the Vulgar, they brought along with them divers Carts laden with Armour, (of their own providing) with Dry-fats and great Chests, wherein they reported to be Treasure for the payment of Souldiers; with which they so possest the common people, that all was believed for truth which was thus rumored: But the finest device of all was, to have five of the Duke of *Gloucester*'s instruments manacled and pinioned like Traytors; and these in every place where the King lodged, to be dispersed and given out to be men of great birth, drawn into this vile plot of Treason by the Queens Brother: who must seem to be penitent for their offence, and to confess their own guilt: And this device continued acting till the King came to *London*, where their Vizards were pulled off, and the disguise was soon discovered.

The Queen with her young Son and Daughters takes Sanctuary.

The Queen in the mean time having intelligence of these doleful accidents, and fearing there were worse to follow; with her second Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at *Westminster*; and the young King hearing of these things, with tears and sighs expressed his grief: but the Dukes making protestation of their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed only to marvail why he should be melancholy.

At this time a messenger came from the Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of *York*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, to signifie to him, that there was no fear of any thing, for that he assured him all should be well. Well (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will; I assure him, it will never be so well as we have seen it. And thereupon, presently after the messengers departure, he calleth up his Servants (being then in the night) and taking the great Seal with him, came before day to the Queen, whom he found sitting alone on the Rushes, all desolate and dismayed, whom he comforted the best he could; assuring her, that if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom they had with them, he would presently after Crown his Brother whom she had with her; and therewithal delivering to her the Great Seal, departed: but soon after bethinking himself better, he thought he had done too rashly, to deliver the Great Seal to the Queen; and therefore sent for it again, and had it delivered him: yet shortly after, reproved for delivering it by the Council Table, he had it taken from him, which was then delivered to Doctor *Russel*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, the most learned man of that time.

The Lord Chancellour delivers the great Seal to the Queen, and after fetcheth it from her again.

The Duke of *Gloucester* is appointed Protector of the King and Kingdom.

And now the Duke of *Gloucester* so respectively carries himself towards the King, with so much shew of care and faithfulness, that by a general consent of the Council, he is appointed and established Protector of the King and Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the King in his custody: It remains now, how to get his Brother the Duke of *York*; for without having both, he were as good (as to his purpose) have neither: And to effect this, he makes

makes the effect to become a cause: for whereas by his undue dealings, he had made the King melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry: and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by perswasion or otherwise, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of *York* to keep his Brother the King company.

The Archbishop of *York* is sent to perswade the Queen to send her young Son to keep his Brother company.

Here the Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Cardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, riseth up and saith, he would do his best endeavour to perswade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God, if the priviledge of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years inviolably been kept, which both Kings and Popes so good, had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more than five hundred years ago, by Saint *Peter* in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels by night, so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby, St. *Peters* Cope to shew; that from that time hitherward, there never was so undevout a King, that durst violate that sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it: and therefore (saith he) God forbid, that any man, for any earthly thing, should enterprise to break the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary: and I trust with Gods Grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting; if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the let. Womanish fear, nay womanish frowardness, (quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*) for I dare take it upon my Soul, she well knoweth there is no need of any fear, either for her Son, or for her self: and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that as there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Son, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this case there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary men, but never heard of Sanctuary Children. And to this purpose having spoken much, it was well assented to by the Lords that were present, and with this Instruction is the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen specially relyed) sent unto her; who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his Message, earnestly perswading her not to oppose the Lord Protectors request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary. She answered all his reasons, though with great mildness, yet with great earnestness; so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with her by perswasion, turns the tenor of his speech another way; telling her plainly, that if she did not consent to send her Son, he doubted some sharper course would speedily be taken. This warning sank so deep into the Queens minde, that after a little pausing, taking her Son by the hand, she said, My Lord Archbishop, here he is, for my own part I will never deliver him; but if you will needs have him, take him, and at your hands I will require him: and therewith weeping bitterly, Dear Childe (saith she) let me kiss thee, before we part. God knows whether ever we shall meet again: and so the Childe weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the *Star-Chamber*, where the Lord Protector and other Lords had stayed all the while looking for his coming back: and as soon as he was entred the Room, the Protector spying the Child, riseth up and embraceth him, saying, Dear Nephew, now welcome with all my heart, next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me so much contentment as your presence: and we may believe him, he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few dayes after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, until the distempers of the Common-wealth might better be quieted; he caused them in great pomp and state, to be conveyed through *London* to the *Tower*, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof there was great shew of preparation made.

The Duke of *Buckingham* vilifies the priviledge of Sanctuary.

The Archbishops reasons prevail with the Queen to deliver her Son, but with great heavinesse.

The Protectors shew of kindeness to the young Prince.

The two Princes are with great shew of honour conveyed to the Tower.

But now the great work is to be done, the Princes are to be made away; and how to have it done, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*: there must be potent Instruments, and none so potent as the Duke of *Buckingham*; and he, by a match to be concluded betwixt their Children, and an equal partition of the Treasure of the Realm betwixt them two; not only is drawn to condescend, but is most forward to contrive and plot stratagems to effect it. The first rub in the way was the Lord *Hastings*; who being found so firm to his old Master King *Edward*'s Sons, that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this manner: All the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Protectors name, are convoked to the *Tower*; where fitting preparations for the Coronation of the young King, are proposed, until the Protector came in; who taking his Chair, very affably saluted them, merrily jesting with some, and more then ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talk, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*; My Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in *Holborn*; I pray let us have a mess of them: Most gladly (said the Bishop) and presently sent for some: And then the Protector rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence a little; and so departed. Within the space of an hour he returned; but so changed in countenance, and with such inward perturbations, which with sighings and other passionate gestures he expressed so, that it made them all to marvail. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he confusedly interrogates, What they deserved that nefariously had practised his destruction? This unexpected interrogation struck such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all sate gazing on one another, and were as it were, stricken dumb: At length the Lord *Hastings*, by *Buckingham*'s instigation, as one presuming of his intimacy with the Protector, boldly answered, that they deserved the punishment of Traytors; which all the rest by their silence approved: Whereat the Protector riseth up, and with a stern look upon the Lord *Hastings*, replyed: Why it is the old Sorceress my Brothers

The Lord *Hastings* firm to the Princes, and therefore is first made away, and in what manner.

thers Widow, and her partner that common Strumpet *Jane Shore*, that have by incantation conſpired to bereave me of my life: and though by Gods Grace I have eſcaped the end of their malice, yet ſee the miſchief they have done me; for behold (and then he bared his left arm to the elbow, and ſhewed it) how they have cauſed this dear limb of mine to wither, and grow uſeleſs; and ſo ſhould all my body have been ſerved, if they might have had their will a little longer. Thoſe to whom the Queens Religious courſes were not unknown, and who knew his withered arm to have been ſuch from his birth, ſate gazing one upon another, not knowing what to think or ſay; until the Lord *Haſtings*, thinking thereby to leave all blame upon the Queen, and excuſe his Paramour Miſtriſs *Shore*, (whom ever ſince the death of King *Edward* he had entertained for his bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted from her) with a ſober look ſubmiſſively ſaid, *If the Queen have conſpired*—which word was no ſooner out of the Lord *Haſtings* mouth, then the Protector clapping his hand upon the board, and frowningly looking upon him, ſaid: Telleſt thou me of If and And? I tell thee, They, and none but they have done it; and thou thy ſelf art partaker of the villany. Who I, my Lord, quoth he? Yea thou Travtor, quoth the Protector; and therewith, upon a Watch-word given, thoſe prepared before for that purpoſe, in the outer Chamber, cried, Treaſon, Treaſon! when preſently a great number of men in arms came ruſhing in, as it were to guard the Protector; one of which with a Pollax ſtrook a main blow at the Lord *Stanley*, and wounded him on the head, and had ſlain him outright, if he had not avoided the ſtroke by ſlipping backward, and falling down to the ground. Forthwith the Protector arreſted the Lord *Haſtings* of High Treaſon, and wiſhed him to make haſte to be confeſſed; for he ſwore by St. *Paul* (his uſual Oath) that he would not touch bread nor drink till his head were off. It boored not to ask, why; for he knew the Protectors actions were not to be examined. So he was led forth unto the Green (before the Chappel) within the *Tower*, where his head was laid down upon a long log of Timber, and there ſtrucken off. His body afterward with his head were interred at *Windſor*, beſides the body of King *Edward*. In this mans death we may ſee how inevitable the blows of Deſtiny are: for the very night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* ſent a ſecret meſſenger to him at midnight, in all haſte to acquaint him with a Dream he had; in which he thought that a Boar with his tuſks ſo goared them both by the heads, that the blood ran about their ſhoulders: and foraſmuch as the Protector gave the Boar for his Cognisance, this Dream made ſo fearful an impreſſion in his heart, that he was throughly reſolved to ſtay no longer; and had made his Horſe ready, requiring the Lord *Haſtings* to go with him, and that preſently, to be out of danger, before it ſhould be day. But the Lord *Haſtings* anſwered the Meſſenger: Good Lord! leaneth your Maſter ſo much to ſuch trifles, to put ſuch faith in Dreams, which either his own fear fantaſieth, or elſe do riſe in the nights reſt, by reaſon of the dayes thoughts? Go back therefore to thy Maſter, and commend me to him, and pray him to be merry, and have no fear; for I aſſure him, I am as ſure of the man he wotteth of, as of my own hand. The man he meant, was one *Catesby* well learned in the Laws of the Land; who by his favour was grown into good authority in *Leiceſterſhire*, where the Lord *Haſtings* Eſtate lay. Of this man he made himſelf ſo ſure, that he thought nothing could be plotted againſt him, which he would not preſently reveal unto him. But this man deceived him, and was grown ſo inward with the Protector, that being ſet by the Protector to draw him to be a party in his deſigns, and finding he could not do it, was himſelf the firſt mover to rid him out of the way. Another warning the Lord *Haſtings* had; the ſame morning in which he was beheaded, his Horſe twice or thrice ſtumbled with him, almoſt to falling: which though it often happen to ſuch to whom no miſchance is toward, yet hath it of old been obſerved as a token foregoing ſome great misfortune. Alſo at the *Tower-Wharf*, near to the place where his head ſoon after was ſtrucken of, he met with one *Haſtings* a Purſuivant of his own name; to whom he ſaid, Ah *Haſtings*, doeſt thou remember I met thee here once with a heavy heart? Yea my Lord, ſaith he, I remember it well; and God be thanked that time is paſt. In faith man, ſaid the Lord *Haſtings*, I never ſtood in ſo great dread of life, as I did when thou and I met here: and loe, how the world is changed! Now ſtand my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayeſt hap to hear hereafter: (for the Enemies he meant, were the Lord *Rivers*, and others of the Queens Kindred, who that very day were beheaded at *Pomfret*) and I never ſo merry, nor in ſo good ſurety as now I am. That we may know, there is not a greater *Omen* or ſign of ill fortune, then to preſume of good. And indeed, ſuch is the uncertainty of our eſtate in this life, that we ſeldom know when we are in a tempeſt at Sea, nor when we are in a Calm on ſhore; thinking our ſelves oftentimes moſt ſafe, when we are moſt in danger; and oftentimes to be in danger, when we are moſt ſafe: He only is in the true Haven that can ſay, as Chriſt teacheth us, *Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.*

The Lord *Haſtings* is beheaded.

His neglect of Preſages and Warnings.

But this Lord being thus put to death, the Lord Protector, to colour the matter, immediately after dinner, in all haſte, ſent for many ſubſtantial Citizens; at whoſe coming, himſelf with the Duke of *Buckingham* ſtood harneſſed in old ruſty Brigandines, to make a ſhew they were forced by the ſudden danger to take ſuch as they could firſt come by: and withal, a Herauld of Arms is ſent with a Proclamation in the Kings name, ſignifying that the Lord *Haſtings* with ſome others had conſpired the ſame day to have ſlain the Lord Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, as they ſate in Council; and after to have taken upon them to rule the King and Kingdom at their own pleaſures. Now was this Proclamation made within two hours after the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded; and was ſo curiouſly indicted, and ſo fair written in Parchment, and withal ſo long, that every Childe might perceive it was prepared before; which made

How the Lord Protector colours the death of the Lord *Haſtings*.

made one that was Schoolmaſter of *Pauls* ſtanding by when the Proclamation was read, to ſay, *Here is a gay goodly caſt; foul caſt away for haſte*: To whom a Merchant anſwered, *It was written by Propheſie.* And now by and by as it were in revenge of her offence, the Protector ſent the Sheriffs of *London* into the houſe of *Shore's* Wife, and ſpoiled her of all her Goods, above the value of three thouſand Marks; and then conveying her through *London* to the *Tower*, there left her priſoner; where he laid to her charge, that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and was of counſel with the Lord *Haſtings* to deſtroy him. In concluſion ſhe was laid into *Ludgate*, and by the Biſhop of *London* put to open Penance for Incontinency; going before the Croſs in Proceſſion upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: in which, although ſhe were out of all array, ſave her Kirtle only; yet went ſhe ſo fair and lovely, and withal ſo womanly and demurely, that many who hated her courſe of life, yet pitied her courſe uſage, and were not a little grieved to ſee her miſery. And indeed, this may be ſaid in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King *Edward*, yet ſhe never uſed it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many: and was ever a Mediator, an Oppreſſor never.

Shore's Wife how puniſhed.

Now it was ſo contrived by the Protector, that the very day in which the Lord *Haſtings* was beheaded at *London*, and about the very ſame hour, there were beheaded at *Pomfret*, the Lord *Rivers*, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which was done in the preſence, and by the Order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whoſe ſervice the Protector ſpecially uſed in that buſineſs; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not ſuffering them to declare their innonency, leſt their words might have inclined men to hate the Protector, cauſed them haſtily without Judgement or Order of Proceſs to be beheaded.

When theſe were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protector, that now was the time to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the Crown: but all the ſtudy was, by what means this matter being ſo hainous in it ſelf, might be broken to the people, in ſuch wiſe as that it might be well taken: for which purpoſe, it was thought fit to call to this Counſel *Edmund Shaw* Knight, the then Mayor of *London*; who upon promiſe of advancement, ſhould frame the peoples inclination to it. And becauſe ſpiritual men are beſt hearkened to, for matters of Conſcience, ſome of them were uſed alſo; amongſt whom, choice was made of *John Shaw* Clerk, Brother to the Mayor; Fryer *Penker*, Provincial of the Order of the *Auguſtine* Fryers: both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. Theſe two were appointed to preach, the one at *Pauls* Croſs, the other at the *Spittle*, in praiſe of the Protector: *Penker* in his Sermon ſo loſt his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midſt: *Shaw* by his Sermon loſt his reputation, and ſoon after his life, for he never after durſt come abroad, for very ſhame of the world.

Shaw Mayor of *London* is made an inſtrument for bringing the Duke of *Gloceſter* to the Crown.

But now was all the labour and ſtudy, to finde out ſome convenient pretext, for which the people ſhould be content to have the Prince depoſed, and the Protector be received for King; to which purpoſe many things were deviſed; the chief was to alledge Baſtardy either in King *Edward* himſelf, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Baſtardy to King *Edward*, founded openly to the reproach of the Protector's own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point ſhould more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Baſtardy of his Children, he would have enforced to the uttermoſt: The ground whereof was, that King *Edward* had been formerly contracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*, by whom he had a Childe; though the ſaid Lady, having been examined about it, confeſſed plainly, they were never aſſured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor *Shaw* taking for his Text, *Baſtard Plants ſhall take no deep root*; in his Sermon declared, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucie*, and ſo his Children Baſtards, And beſides that, neither King *Edward* himſelf, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were reckoned very ſure for the Children of the noble Duke *Richard*, as thoſe that by their favours more reſembled other known men; but the Lord Protector (ſaith he) is the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. Now, it was before deviſed, that juſt at the ſpeaking of theſe words, the Protector ſhould have come, to the end that theſe words meeting with his preſence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghoſt had put them in the Preachers mouth, and ſo ſhould move the people even then to cry King *Richard*, King *Richard*! that it might be after ſaid, he was ſpecially choſen by God, and in a manner by Miracle: But this device failed; for whether by the Protectors ſlackneſs in coming, or the Doctors haſte in preaching, he had paſſed thoſe words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protector came; ſo as afterward ſeeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all order and frame begin to repeat thoſe words again: This is the very noble Prince, the Fathers own figure, his own countenance, the very print of his viſage, the plain expreſs likeneſs of that noble Duke. While theſe words were in ſpeaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of *Buckingham*, paſſed through the people into the place where the Doctors ſit; and there ſate to hear the Sermon: But the people were ſo far from crying King *Richard*, that they cried ſhame on the Preacher, for abuſing his ſacred Function with ſo ſhameful a Sermon.

Cauſes deviſed to make the two Princes illegitimate.

The Tueſday following this Sermon, the Duke of *Buckingham* with divers Lords and Knights came to the *Guildhal* in *London*; and there before the Mayor and whole aſſembly of Citizens, made a very ſolemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King *Edward's* Government; his many unneceſſary Taxations and unjuſt ſeverities; thereby to bring his Children into hatred: and then remembred them of the late Sermon made at *Paul's* Croſs, by a learned Doctor; who clearly

The Duke of *Buckingham* at *Guildhall* propoundeth the Duke of *Gloceſter* for the rightful Heir to the Crown.

clearly ſhewed the Baſtardy of King *Edward*'s Children; and that *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* was the only rightful and indubitate Heir to the Crown of *England*: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their conſideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himſelf was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their conſents. Which oration ended, all men ſtood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to ſpeak a word. At which the Duke marvelling, as ſuppoſing the Mayor had prepared them before; he asked the Mayor privately, what this ſilence meant? who anſwered, that perhaps they had not heard or underſtood what it was he ſaid. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the ſame matter again, in a more earneſt and plain expreſſion; yet neither did that move them to ſhew any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whiſpering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being uſed to have ſuch motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called *Fitzwilliams*) being an honeſt man, and newly come to his place; repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; ſo as neither did this move the people to break their ſilence. At laſt the Duke ſeeing their reſolved ſullenneſs, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to chooſe the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; ſo as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great reſpect they all bear to this honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to ſpeak their mindes, whether they would joyn with them in this choice or no. At this, certain ſervants of the Dukes, and other of their procuring, ſtanding at the lower end of the Hall, caſt up their Caps, and cried aloud, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; whereat, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelled what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, as of an unanimous conſent: A goodly cry (ſaith he;) and thanked them all for their univerſal approbation; promiſing he would acquaint the Protector with the great love they ſhewed toward him: and then requiring the Mayor and chief Citizens to meet him the next morning at *Baynards* Caſtle, where the Protector then lay, there to joyn with him in petitioning the Protector to accept of this their freely profered ſubjection; he took his leave and ſo departed.

The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Mayor of *London* make ſuit unto the Protector to take the Crown upon him.

The next morning according to appointment, they all meet at *Baynards* Caſtle; where the Duke of *Buckingham* ſends up word to the Lord Protector, that himſelf with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to preſent a ſupplication to him, concerning a buſineſs of great importance: But the Protector (though preacquainted with all paſſages, yet) made it ſtrange what their ſupplication ſhould be; and anſwered, that though he ſuſpected nothing which the Duke of *Buckingham* preſented to him, yet he deſired at leaſt ſome ſlight intimation to what it might tend. To this it was anſwered, that the buſineſs they came about was to be made known to himſelf in perſon; and therefore humbly beſought him of admiſſion in his preſence. Upon this, as if not yet well aſſured of their meaning towards him; he appears unto them in an upper Gallery, making ſemblance as though he would prevent all danger, by ſtanding ſomething aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, in behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there preſent, in moſt reſpective and reverent manner makes requeſt, that his Grace would pardon what he ſhould deliver to him: and much circumſtance he uſed, before he would diſcover their cauſe of coming: but though long firſt, yet at laſt he told it: That in reſpect of the urgent neceſſities of the Common-wealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own right, to whom they all rendred their Allegiance. At which words, the Protector ſtarting back, as if he had heard ſomething moſt unpleaſing to him, paſſionately anſwered: I little thought, good Couſin, that you of all men would have moved me to a matter which of all things in the world I moſt decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dear deceaſed Brothers ſweet Children, and my own upright Conſcience, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in his premeditated diſſimulation; the Duke in a ſeeming abrupt paſſion, kneeling upon his knee, ſaid: Your Grace was pleaſed to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy aſſembly the tender of their dutiful Obedience to you: but I muſt further add, that it is unanimouſly reſolved on, that your late Brother King *Edward*'s Children, as being generally known to be Illegitimate, ſhall never be admitted to the Crown of *England*; and therefore if your Grace ſhall neither regard your ſelf nor us ſo much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to confer it upon ſome other of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, that will be more ſenſible of his own and our good. Theſe words wrought ſo powerfully upon the Protector's paſſions, that with ſome change of countenance, and not without ſeeming reluctation, he ſaid: Since I perceive the whole Realm is ſo reſolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and ſeeing the Right of ſucceſſion belongs juſtly to me, as the indubitate Heir of *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, my illuſtrious Father: We are contented to condeſcend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom, and will, to the uttermoſt of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having ſo ſaid, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally ſaluted them all: which ſo pleaſed the giddy multitude, that preſently they fell to acclamations, Long live King *Richard* our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.

The Protector ſtarted at their motion.

But yet accepts it.

The REIGN of KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

1483. IT was now the eighteenth day of *June*, in the year 1483. when *Richard* Duke of *Gloceſter* took upon him the Crown: ſo as the imaginary Reign of *Edward* the fifth continued but juſt ten weeks. The next day, King *Richard* with a great train went to *Weſtminſter* Hall, and placed himſelf in the Court of the Kings Bench, ſaying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himſelf ſitteth and miniſtreth the Law; becauſe he conſidered that it is the chiefeſt duty of a King to adminiſter the Laws: And here to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he ſent for one *Fogge* out of Sanctuary, who for fear of his diſpleaſure was fled thither; and there in the ſight of all the people, cauſed him to kiſs his hand.

King *Richard* marries the relict of Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the ſixth.

After his return home, he took to Wife the Lady *Anne*, youngeſt Daughter of the great *Warwick*, and the relict of Prince *Edward*, Son of *Henry* the ſixth, though ſhe could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husbands and Fathers death. But womens affections are Eccentrick to common apprehenſion; whereof the two Poles are Paſſion and Inconſtancy.

Againſt his Coronation he had ſent for five thouſand men out of the North; and theſe being come under the leading of *Robin Riddeſdale*, upon the fourth of *July*; together with his new Bride, he went from *Baynards* Caſtle to the *Tower* by water, where he created *Edward* his Son a childe of ten years old, Prince of *Wales*; *John* Lord *Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, his Son Sir *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*; *William* Lord *Berckley* Earl of *Nottingham*; *Francis* Lord *Lovel* Viſcount *Lovel* and his Chamberlain, and the Lord *Stanley* (who had been committed priſoner to the *Tower*, in regard his Son the Lord *Strange* was reported to have levied Forces in *Lancaſhire*) not only that day was releaſed out of Priſon, but was made Lord Steward of his Houſhold. The Archbiſhop of *York* was likewiſe then delivered; but *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely* (as one that could not be drawn to the diſinheriting of King *Edward*'s Children) was committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who ſent him to his Caſtle of *Brecknock* in *Wales*, there to be in cuſtody. The ſame night were made ſeventeen Knights of the Bath, *Edmund* the Duke of *Suffolk*'s Son, *George Gray* the Earl of *Kents* Son, *William* the Lord *Zouches* Son, *Henry Abergaveny*, *Chriſtopher Willoughby*, *Henry Babington*, *Thomas Arundel*, *Thomas Boleign*, *Gervis Clifton*, *William Say*, *Edmund Bedingfield*, *William Enderby*, *Thomas Lewknor*, *Thomas* of *Ormond*, *John Brown*, and *William Berckley*. The next day, being the fifth of *July*, the King rode through the City of *London* to *Weſtminſter*, being accompanied with the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Buckingham*, and *Suffolk*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Arundel*, *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Wiltſhire*, *Huntington*, *Nottingham*, *Warwick*, and *Lincoln*; the Viſcounts *Liſle*, and *Lovel*, the Lords *Stanley*, *Audley*, *Dacres*, *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, *Powis*, *Scroop* of *Upſale*, *Scroop* of *Bolton*, *Gray* of *Codnor*, *Gray* of *Wilton*, *Starton*, *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Burgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Ferrers* of *Croby*, *Wells*, *Lumley*, *Matrevers*, *Herbert* and *Beckham*, and fourſcore Knights. On the morrow, being the ſixth of *July*, the King, with Queen *Anne* his Wife, came down out of the White Hall, into the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* bore the Croſs before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of *Huntington*, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, ſignifying Knighthood: Then followed the Earl of *Bedford*, bearing St. *Edward*'s Staff for a Relick: After him came the Earl of *Northumberland* bare-headed, with the pointleſs Sword in his hand, ſignifying Mercy: The Lord *Stanley* bare the Mace of Conſtableſhip: The Earl of *Kent* bare the ſecond Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which ſignified Juſtice to the Temporality: The Lord *Lovel* bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which ſignified Juſtice to the Clergy: The Duke of *Suffolk* followed with the Scepter in his hand, which ſignified Peace: The Earl of *Lincoln* bore the Ball and Croſs, which ſignified Monarchy: The Earl of *Surrey* bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard; which is called the Sword of Eſtate: Then went three together; in the midſt went *Garter* King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of *London*, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Uſher of the Privy Chamber: Then followed the Duke of *Norfolk*, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King *Richard*

King *Richard* and his Queen in great ſtate are Crowned, and the manner of it.

Lords created.

Morton Biſhop of *Ely* committed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

chard in his Robes of Purple Velvet, and over his head a Canopy, borne by four Barons of the Cinque-ports; and on each side of the King went a Bishop; on one side the Bishop of *Bath*; on the other of *Durham*: Then followed the Duke of *Buckingham*, bearing the Kings train, with a white Staff in his hand, signifying the Office of High Steward of *England*. Then followed the Queens Train; before whom was born the Scepter, the Ivory Rod, with the Dove, (signifying Innocency) and the Crown: her self apparelled in Robes like the Kings, under a rich Canopy, at every Corner thereof a Bell of Gold, On her head she wore a Circlet, set full of precious Stones, the Countess of *Richmond* bearing her train; the Dutchesses of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* in their Coronets, attending, with twenty Ladies of Estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Palace into the Abbey: and going up to the High Altar, there shifted their Robes; and having other Robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them Anointed and Crowned: and then after the Sacrament received, (having the Host divided betwixt them) they both offered to St. *Edward*'s Shrine, where the King left St. *Edward*'s Crown, wherewith he had been Crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same order and state as they came, they returned to *Westminster* Hall, and there held a most Princely Feast: at the second course whereof, there came into the Hall Sir *Robert Dymock* the Kings Champion, making Proclamation, that whosoever would say that King *Richard* was not lawful King of *England*, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his Gantlet; and then all the Hall cried, King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And thus with some other Ceremonies the Coronation ended; and the King and Queen returned to their lodgings.

King *Richard* sends to make amity with the King of *France*, but he rejects it.

Presently after this, King *Richard* sent a Solemn Ambassage to *Lewis* King of *France*, to conclude a League and Amity with him: but the *French* King so abhorred him and his cruelty, that he would not so much as see, or hear his Ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in disgrace of their Master.

At this time, with his Queen, he made a Progress to *Gloucester*, under colour to visit the place of his old Honour; but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be acted: for though he had satisfied his Ambition, by depriving his dear Nephews of their livelihoods; yet it satisfied not his fear, if he deprived them not also of their lives. For effecting whereof, his old Friend the Duke of *Buckingham* was no fit instrument; it must be one of a baser Metal: and to finde out such a one, he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next Chamber to him; Sir *Thomas* and Sir *James Tyrrel*, two Brothers like *Jacob* and *Esau*, not more near in blood then different in conditions; of equal goodlinesse of personage both, but not of equal goodnesse of minde; Sir *Thomas* a man of an honest and sober disposition; but Sir *James* of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not stick to make a fortune out of any Villany. Being told of this man as he was sitting at the Close-stool, he presently rose and went to him: where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found Sir *James* more ready to undertake the work, than he was himself to set him about it. It only remained to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for King *Richard* had formerly sent a trusty Privado of his named *John Green*, to Sir *Robert Brackenbury* then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, thinking that he, having been raised by him, would not have refused to do the deed himself: but when he heard how averse he was from it, Good Lord (saith he) whom may a man trust? Once he saw plainly, that whilest he was Lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. To remove therefore this rub, he sends his Letters Mandatory to *Brackenbury*, to deliver presently the Keyes of the *Tower* to Sir *James Tyrrel*, who being now Lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent Princes under his custody, gets two other, as very Villains as himself; the one *Miles Forrest*, the other *James Dighton*, his Horse-keeper, a big sturdy Knave: and these he makes his under-agents; who coming into the Childrens Chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one Black *Will*, or *William Slaughter*, a bloody Rascal) they suddenly lapped them up in their cloaths, and keeping down by force the Feather-Bed and Pillows hard under their mouths, so stifled them, that their breath failing they gave up their innocent souls to God: whom when the Murtherers perceived, first by their strugling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be throughly dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched Sir *James* to see them; who presently caused their bodeis to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of Christian Burial, by a Priest of Sir *Robert Brackenburies*; who dying within a few dayes after, and none knowing the place but himself, was cause that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterward to the Imposture of *Perkin Warbeck* in King *Henry* the Sevenths Reign. Some report that King *Richard* caused their bodies to be taken up, and closed them in lead, and then to be put in a Coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with iron, and so cast into a place called the Black Deeps, at the *Thames* mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. And now see the Divine Revenge upon the Actors of this execrable murther: *Miles Forrest*, at St. *Martins le Grand*, piece-meal rotted away: *Dighton* lived at *Callice* a long time after; but detested of all men, died in great misery: Sir *James Tyrrel* was beheaded afterward on the *Tower hill* for Treason: and King *Richard* himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet minde, troubled with fearful Dreams; and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the Chamber in great fright, as if all the Furies of Hell were hanging about him: that it was verified in him, *Ultrix Tisiphone vocat agmina sava sororum.*

The Princes are murthered.

But where buried not known.

The Murtherers miserable ends.

King *Richard* sets Sir *James Tyrrel* to murther the two Princes.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived,

King Richard and the Duke of Buckingham fall at variance.

and commonly end in a reciprocal deſtruction: and ſo was it now with King *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham*; They had confederated together to the deſtruction of many; and now their confederacy diſſolves in both their ruines: but what the cauſe was of their diſſolving, is not ſo certain: whether it were that the Duke thought not himſelf ſo well rewarded, as his great ſervices had deſerved; or whether it were, that King *Richard* thought not himſelf abſolute King, as long as the Duke, by whoſe means he came to be King, was in ſuch a height of greatneſs; or whether it were (as was rather thought) that the Duke being a man ambitious, and of an aſpiring ſpirit; though he had himſelf been the means to bring King *Richard* to the Crown; yet when the Crown was put upon his head, ſo envied at it, that he turned his head another way, as not enduring the ſight; and for the ſame cauſe, was willing not to have been preſent at the Coronation, pretending ſickneſs in excuſe of his abſence: but that King *Richard* ſent him a ſharp meſſage, requiring him to come, or he would fetch him: whereupon the Duke went, but with ſo ill a minde, that he bore it in minde ever after. Whatſoever it was, certain it is, that preſently after the Coronation, there grew great jealouſies between them, and the Duke retired himſelf to his Caſtle at *Brecknock*, where he had the Biſhop of *Ely* in cuſtody. And here we may obſerve the unſearchable depth of the Divine Providence; the bottom whereof, the ſoundeſt judgement of man can never ſound, as working effects by contrary cauſes: for where King *Richard* had committed the Biſhop to the Duke, as to one that would have a moſt watchful eye over him; this which the King did for the Biſhops greater puniſhment, proved a means afterward of the Biſhops greater advancement, and a means at the preſent of King *Richard*'s ruine: for the Duke being retired home, and having his head ſo full of thoughts, that of neceſſity it required vent; for his own recreation, would ſometimes fall in talk with the Biſhop; with whoſe diſcourſe (as he was a man of great wit and ſolid judgemrnt) the Duke was ſo taken, that he grew to delight in nothing more than to be conferring with him.

The Duke of *Buckingham* plots with *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, to put down King *Richard*, and to bring in the Earl of *Richmond*.

One time it happened that the Duke had opened his minde ſomething freely to him; and the Biſhop following him in his own way, and cunningly working upon that humour of the Duke, which he found moſt working in the Duke; which he perceived to grow out of envy to King *Richard*, he ſaid to this purpoſe: My Lord, you know I followed firſt the part of King *Henry* the Sixth, and if I could have had my wiſh, his Son ſhould have had the Crown, and not King *Edward*: But after that God had ordained King *Edward* to Reign, I was never ſo mad, that I would with a dead man ſtrive againſt the quick. And ſo was I to King *Edward* alſo a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been that his Childe had ſucceeded him: Howbeit, if the ſecret Judgement of God have otherwiſe provided, I purpoſe not to labour to ſet up that which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord Protector, and now King;——and even there he left: ſaying, he had already medled too much with the world; and would from that day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly to hear what he would have ſaid; becauſe he ended with the King, and there ſuddenly ſtopped; and thereupon intreated him to be bold to ſay whatſoeyer he thought; whereof he faithfully promiſed there ſhould never come hurt, and peradventure more good than he would think; and withal, that himſelf intended to uſe his ſecret counſel; which (he ſaid) was the only cauſe for the which he had procured of the King to have him in his cuſtody. The Biſhop humbly thanked him, and ſaid, In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk much of Princes, as a thing not all out of peril, though the word be without fault; for ſo much as it ſhall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And ever I think on *Æſop*'s Tale, that when the Lion had proclaimed on pain of death, that no horned Beaſt ſhould abide in a certain Wood; one that had in his forehead a bunch of fleſh, fled away a great pace: the Fox that ſaw him run ſo faſt, asked him whither he made all that haſte? who anſwered, In faith I neither wot nor reck, ſo I were once hence, becauſe of the Proclamation made of horned Beaſts: Why fool (quoth the Fox) thou mayeſt abide well enough, the Lion meant it not by thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: No marry (quoth he) that wot I well enough; but what if he call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke laughed at the Tale, and ſaid: My Lord, I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar ſhall pick any matter at any thing here ſpoken; for it ſhall never come near their ear. Then ſaid the Biſhop, In good faith Sir, if it did, the thing I was about to ſay, taken as well as afore God I meant it, could deſerve but thanks; and yet taken as I ween it would, might happen to turn me to little good, and you to leſs. Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Biſhop ſaid, My Lord, as for the late Protector, ſith he is now King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title: but for the weal of the Realm, I could wiſh he had in him thoſe excellent vertues which God hath planted in the perſon of your Grace; and there left again. The Duke ſomewhat marveling at this ſudden pauſe, ſaid, My Lord, I cannot bnt note your ſudden ſtopping in your ſpeech, ſo as your words come not to any direct ſentence, whereby I may have knowledge, either what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what your affection is toward me: I therefore intreat you to uſe no more ſuch obſcurity but plainly to diſcloſe your minde unto me, who upon mine honour will be as ſecret in the caſe, as the deaf and dumb perſon is to the ſinger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Biſhop then upon confidence of the Dukes promiſe, ſaid, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the Kingdom being in the caſe as it is, under ſuch a King as now we have, muſt needs decay and be brought to confuſion; but one hope I have, that when I conſider and daily behold your noble Perſonage, your Juſtice, your ardent Love towards your Countrey, and in like manner the great love of your Countrey towards you; I

muſt

must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in store, meet and apt to be a Governour; in whose person consisteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the present King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying, And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Lineage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperial Diadem of this Realm; but if your self will refuse to take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you own to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how the Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governour by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Lineage of *Lancaster*, or advance the eldest Daughter of King *Edward* to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his Dignity, but all Ciuil War should cease, and Peace and Profit should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a good while; which sore abashed the Bishop, and made him change colour; which the Duke perceiving, he said, Be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall be kept; so for that time they parted. The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the communication had between them the day before, he went on and said. My Lord of *Ely*, since I perceive your true heart and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath passed my own imaginations. After I had found the dissimulation and falseness of King *Richard*, and specially after I was informed of the murther of the two young Princes, to which (God be my judge) I never condescended; I so much abhorred the sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but feigning a cause to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing less, than that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknock* to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholick disposition, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butcher of his Royal Seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I rested two dayes at *Tewksbury*; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and specially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I suddenly remembred that the Lord *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfather was with King *Henry* the Sixth, in two or three degrees of *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*: so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke *Edmund*, that I was next Heir to King *Henry* the sixth, of the House of *Lancaster*: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in a maze, whether I were best suddenly to set this Title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secret a while, see what chanced: As I rode between *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth* I met with the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, now Wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the Daughter and sole Heir to *John* Duke of *Somerset*, my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my minde, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her Son the Earl of *Richmond* have both of them Titles before mine; and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical imaginations concerning the obteining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true establishment, than that the Earl of *Richmond*, very Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, should take to Wife the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to King *Edward*, the very Heir of the House of *York*; so that the two Roses may be united in one: and now (saith the Duke) I have told you my very minde. When the Duke had said this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himself aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of extolling his device, he said: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countess of *Richmond* the Earls Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in *Britain*. And thus was the foundation laid of a League, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not talkt of only, but presently put in execution; for now is *Reynold Bray* employed by the Bishop, to his Mistris the Dutchess of *Richmond*; Doctor *Lewis* the Dutchesses Physician was employed by her to the Queen *Elizabeth*; *Hugh Conway* and *Thomas Rame* were employed to the Earl of *Richmond* to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promises to the propounded marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wishes. This done, Instruments are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy; *Bray* by his credit drew in Sir *Giles Dawbeny*, Sir *John Cheyney*, *Richard Guildford*, *Thomas Rame*, and others; *Urswick* likewise drew in *Hugh Conway*, *Thomas Colepepper*, *Thomas Roper*, with some others: Doctor *Lewis* drew in *Edward Courtney* and his Brother *Peter* Bishop of *Exeter*. It is memorable that *Thomas Conway* being sent most part by Sea, and *Thomas Rame* most part by Land; yet came to the Earl of *Richmond* in *Britain*, within the space of little more than an hour; upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of *Britain* with it, who, though by *Hutton* King *Richard*'s Ambassadour, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain him in prison; yet he both readily promised, and really performed both his advice and

and aid to the Earls proceedings. In this mean time Biſhop *Morton*, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, ſecretly in diſguiſe, gets him into his Iſle of *Ely*; and there having done the Earl good Offices by procuring of friends, he thence paſſeth into *Britain* to him; from whence returned no more, till afterward the Earl being King, ſent for him home, and made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Biſhop *Morton* in diſguiſe paſſeth over into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But though all theſe things were carried cloſely, and Oath taken by all for ſecrecy, yet came it to King *Richard*'s knowledge: who notwithſtanding diſſembling it, ſends for the Duke of *Buckingham* to come unto him; and he, putting off his coming with pretended excuſes, is at laſt peremptorily ſent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this reſolute anſwer: that he owed no Allegiance to ſuch a perjur'd inhumane Butcher of his own Fleſh and Blood: and ſo from that time preparation for Arms is made on both ſides. The Duke had gotten a good power of *Welſhmen*, and the Marqueſs of *Dorſet* having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in *Yorkſhire* to raiſe Forces; the like did the two *Courtneys* in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, and *Guilford* and *Rame* in *Kent*. King *Richard* ſetting forward with his Forces, the Duke of *Buckingham* doth the like, intending at *Gloceſter* to have paſſed the *Severn*, and ſo to have joyned with the two *Courtneys*; but ſuch abundance of rain at that time fell, that the *Severn* was broken out, and impoſſible to be paſſed over; which the *Welſhmen* ſeeing, and taking it for an ill ſign, they ſecretly ſlipt away: ſo as the Duke left well-near alone, without either Page, or ſo much as a Foot-man, repaired to the houſe of one *Humfrey Banniſter* near to *Shrewsbury*; who having been raiſed by him, and his Father before him; he thought himſelf ſafe under his roof: But *Banniſter* upon Proclamation made by King *Richard*, that whoſoever could apprehend the Duke, ſhould have a thouſand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, diſcovered him to *John Mitton*, High Sheriff of *Shropſhire*, who took him in a pilled black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behinde the houſe; and carried him to *Shrewſbury*, where King *Richard* then lay, and there without Arraignment or Legal proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether *Banniſter* received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine Juſtice, for himſelf was afterward hanged for man-ſlaughter, his eldeſt Daughter was deflowred by one of his Carters, or as ſome ſay, ſtrucken with a foul Leproſie; his eldeſt Son in a deſperate Lunacy murthered himſelf, and was found to have done ſo, by the Coroners Inqueſt; and his younger Son in a ſmall puddle was ſtrangled and drowned.

The Duke of *Buckingham* ſent for by King *Richard*, refuſeth to come.

The Duke of *Buckingham* betakes himſelf to the houſe of one *Humfrey Banniſter* his own Servant, who betrayes him.

And is beheaded.

The Judgement of God upon *Banniſter*.

Upon this diſaſter of the Duke of *Buckingham*, his complices ſhifted for themſelves; ſome taking Sanctuary, ſome keeping themſelves in unknown places, but many conveyed themſelves into *Britain* to the Earl of *Richmond*; of whom the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *John* Lord *Wells*, the Biſhop of *Exeter* and his Brother Sir *John Bourchier*, Sir *Edward Woodvile* Brother to Queen *Elizabeth*, Sir *Robert Willoughby*, Sir *Giles Dauleny*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and his two Brethren, Sir *William Brackley*, Sir *William Brandon*, and his Brother *Thomas*, Sir *Richard Edgecome*, *Hollowel* and *Poynings* Captains, were the chief. Whileſt theſe things are in doing, King *Richard* receives intelligence from *Hutton* his Ambaſſador lieger in *Britain*; that the Duke not only refuſeth to reſtrain the Earl of *Richmond*, but intendeth alſo to give him aſſiſtance: whereupon the King took preſent order for preparing his Navy to ſtop the Earls landing in any Port of *England*. He apprehended alſo in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of *Richmonds* confederation; but coming himſelf to the City of *Exeter*, and to the Caſtle there, and underſtanding that it was called *Rugemont*, he ſuddenly fell into a dump, and as one aſtonied, ſaid; Well, I ſee my dayes be not long: He ſpake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to *Richmond*, he ſhould not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in reſpect of this Caſtle, but in reſpect of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*.

Upon the twelfth day of *October*, in the year 1484. the Earl of *Richmond* with forty Ships, and five thouſand waged *Britains* took to Sea; but that evening by tempeſt of weather, his whole Fleet was diſperſed; ſo as only the Ship wherein the Earl himſelf was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coaſt of *Cornwall*; where diſcovering upon the ſhore great ſtore of armed Souldiers to reſiſt his landing, he hoiſed Sail, and returning toward *France*, arrived in *Normandy*; from whence ſending Meſſengers to *Charles* the Eighth King of *France*, he was by him not only kindely invited to come to his Court, but was aided alſo with good ſummes of money to bear his charges. After this, the Earl returning into *Britain*, received there the news of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, and the diſperſing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at firſt much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he ſaw the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and thoſe other Lords and Captains come unto him: ſoon after whoſe coming, upon *Chriſtmas* day before the High Altar in the great Church of *Rheims*, the Earl of *Richmond* gave Oath, to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, as ſoon as he ſhould be quietly ſettled in the Government of *England*: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there preſent did him homage; and in the ſame place each to other Religiouſly vowed, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to ceaſe proſecuting War againſt King *Richard*, till either his Depoſition or Deſtruction.

1484.

The Earl of *Richmond* is aided by the King of *France*.

He takes Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Edward*'s eldeſt Daughter.

King *Richard* being informed of theſe things, makes diligent enquiry after all ſuch as might be ſuſpected to be favourers of *Richmond*'s aſſociation; of whom Sir *George Brown*, and Sir *Roger Clifford* with four other Gentlemen are apprehended and executed at *London*: Sir *Thomas Sentleger*, who married *Anne* the Duke of *Exeter*'s Widow, this Kings own Siſter, and *Thomas Rame* Eſquire were executed at *Exeter*.

Thomas

Thomas Marquess *Dorset*, and all such as were with the Earl of *Richmond*, were at a Parliament then holden attainted of Treason, and all their Goods and Lands seised onto the Kings use: Besides these, a poor Gentleman called *Collingborn*, for making a small rhyme of three of his wicked Counsellors; the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe*, and Sir *William Catesby*: which rhyme was thus framed: *The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel the Dog, rule all England under a Hog*: was put to death, and his body divided into four quarters.

At this time a Truce is concluded betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, for three years; and for settling a firmer amity between the two Kingdoms, a marriage is treated of between the Duke of *Rothsay*, eldest Son to the King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Anne de la Pool*, Daughter to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Anne* Sister to King *Richard*: which Sister he so much favoured, that after the death of his own Son, who died some time before, he caused *John* Earl of *Lincoln*, her Son and his Nephew, to be proclaimed Heir apparent to the Crown of *England*.

King *Richard* seeks by great gifts to have the Earl of *Richmond* delivered to him.

And now King *Richard*, to take away the root of his fear, once again sent Ambassadors to the Duke of *Britain*, with order (besides the great gifts they carried with them) to make offer, that King *Richard* should yearly pay and answer the Duke of all the Revenues and Profits of all Lands and Possessions, as well belonging to the Earl of *Richmond*, as of any other Nobleman or Gentleman that were in his company; if he after that time would keep them in continual prison, and restrain them from liberty. But the Duke of *Britain* being at that time fallen into such infirmity, that the Ambassadors could have no audience; they addressed themselves to *Peter Landois* the Dukes chief Treasurer: and he taken with this golden hook, faithfully promised to satisfie their Request; and had done so indeed, but that Bishop *Morton* sojourning then in *Flanders*, having by his friends intelligence of his purpose, presently informed the Earl thereof. The Earl was then at *Vannes*, who upon the Bishops information, taking with him only five Servants, as though he went but to visit some friend; when he was five miles forward on his way, suddenly turned into a Wood adjoyning; and there changing Apparel with one of his Servants followed after as their attendant, and never rested, till by wayes unknown he came to his company abiding at *Angiers*: yet was not his departure so secret nor so sudden, but that *Peter Landois* had notice of it; who sending Posts after him, was so neer overtaking him, that he was scarce entred one hour into *France*, when the Posts arrived at the Confines, and then durst go no further. In the mean time Sir *Edward Woodvile* and Captain *Poynings*, who with their Companies were left behinde in *Vannes*, had been in danger of *Peter Landois* his malice; but that the Duke being informed by the Chancellour of their case, not only protected them, but furnished them with all necessaries for their journey to the Earl: and was so incensed against *Landois* for this action of his, that for this and some other over-bold presumptions he was afterward hanged.

Which plot the Earl escapes by *Morton*'s information; and in what manner.

Peter Landois hanged.

The Earl having passed this danger in *Britain*, and being arrived in *France*, addresseth himself to the *French* King, imploring his aid; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time *John Vere* Earl of *Oxford*, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of *Hammes*, so far prevailed with *James Blunt* Captain of the Fortress, and Sir *John Fortescue*, Porter of the Town of *Callice*; that not only they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of *Richmond*, to whom Captain *Blunt* gave assurance that the Fortress remained wholly at his Devotion. At this time also there resorted to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of *Paris*, proferring him their service; amongst whom was *Richard Fox*, at that time famous for his learning; with whom afterward the Earl advised in all his affairs, made him one of his most Privy Council, and at last Bishop of *Winchester*.

Richard Fox made first known to the Earl of *Richmond*.

But now King *Richard* having been disappointed of his design in *Britain*, hath another way in his head to disappoint the Earl of *Richmond* of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen *Elizabeth*: and to this end, he sent to the Queen, (being still in Sanctuary) divers messengers, who should first excuse and purge him of all things formerly attempted and done against her; and then should largely promise promotions innumerable, not only to her self, but also to her Son Lord *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*: by Force of which promises the messengers so prevailed with her, that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit her self wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her Royal Husband, the aspersion of Adultery cast upon her self, the imputation of Bastardy laid to her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of *Richmond*'s Mother: seduced by flattering words, she first delivered into King *Richard*'s hands her five Daughters, and after sent Letters to the Marquess her Son, being then at *Paris* with the Earl of *Richmond*; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all speed to repair into *England*; where for him were provided great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and she incorporated in the Kings Favour. If we wonder at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive she was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; she feared (no doubt) that if she denied the Kings request, he would presently take some sharp course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if she yielded to his request, he would undoubtedly perform his promise, seeing it was as easie for him to keep it as to break it.

King *Richard* seeks to marry the Lady Elizabeth King *Edward*'s Daughter.

The Queen is brought to give her consent.

1485.

But now King *Richard*'s purpose being to marry one of his Brother King *Edward*'s Daughters; there was one impediment which directly hindred it, that he had a Wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might not bring new aspersions upon himself, he could not well tell: yet this he resolved, that be rid of her

King *Richard* rids himself of his present Wife, and by what devices.

her he would by ſome way or other: but before he would uſe extremity, he would firſt try milder wayes; and firſt he abſtained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenneſs; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cauſe her to dye with grief: And when this device failed, he then cauſed a rumour to be ſpread among the people, that ſhe was ſuddenly dead; hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: When this device alſo failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and miſtruſtring the worſt, with a moſt ſorrowful countenance came unto him, demanding what ſhe had done, that he ſhould judge her worthy to dye? who anſwered with fair words, bidding her be of good chear, for (to his knowledge ſhe ſhould have no other cauſe) he then made ſure work; for within few dayes after, whether by poyſon, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, ſhe departed this life; and with all ſolemnity, not without ſome formal tears of King *Richard*, was interred in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Weſtminſter*.

He makes love to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

King *Richard* now by his Wives death, having made himſelf way to marry another; uſeth all the alluring means he can deviſe, to win the love of the Lady *Elizabeth* his Neece; but meaning at laſt to purchaſe his deſire by Rape, if he could not otherwiſe; and had perhaps done it, but that the ſtorms threatned from beyond the Seas, growing every day more ſtrong than other, forced him to prorogue the execution of his deſires, and look to the prevention of his preſent danger. The Lord *Stanley* is commanded preſently to levy Forces for the Kings aid, as he will juſtifie his integrity to him; but yet is not permitted to go down into the Countrey, until he had left *George* Lord *Strange* his eldeſt Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behinde him. And now King *Richard* being informed (though the information was craftily ſuborned by his Enemies) that the Earl of *Richmond* was out of hope of any great aſſiſtance from *France*, diſchargeth the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewiſe all the Souldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacons.

At this time, one *Morgan Kidwelly*, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, paſſed over to the Earl; informing him, that King *Richard* by all means laboured to match himſelf with the Lady *Elizabeth*; which ſo wrought with the Earl, that he ſaw there was no lingering: and the more, being by him further informed, that *Rice ap Thomas* and *John Savage*, two powerful men in their Countreys, were ready with great Forces to aſſiſt him: Whereupon, not having above two thouſand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the middle of *Auguſt* he put to Sea, and by the advice of the ſaid *Kidwelly*, ſteered his courſe for *Wales*, and on the ſeventeenth day after his departure from *Harflew*, arrived at *Milford* Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impeachment, from thence marched peaceably to *Hereford*, where by the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captain *Arnold Butler*, that the Earl of *Pembroke* with all his retinue was upon the way to joyn with him; alſo thither came to him *Richard Griffith*, and *John Morgan*, with a band of brave *Welſh men*; and the ſame day Sir *Gilbert Talbot* with all the Earl of *Shrewsbury*'s Tenants, (being about two thouſand well appointed men) came unto him: with theſe he marched toward *Shrewsbury*, at which time word is brought him, that Sir *Robert Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*, were ready with a great power to ſtop his paſſage, which ſomewhat troubled him, that his friends ſo ſuddenly ſhould revolt: but it was but a trick of *Rice ap Thomas* to make his bargain the ſurer: for ſoon after, *Rice ap Thomas* meets him, and offers him his ſervice, ſo as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promiſe formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make *Rice* ſole Governour of *Wales*: which was now aſſented to, and afterward performed. At this time the Lord *Stanley* with five thouſand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of *Leiceſter*; but hearing of the Earls march that way, he left *Leiceſter* and went to *Adderton*, not daring to ſhew himſelf openly for the Earl, for fear the King ſhould put his Son the Lord *Strange* to death, whom he had left an Hoſtage with him.

Which makes him haſten his coming over

To whom many Lords and others come.

All this time King *Richard* lay at *Nottingham*, and was as it were fatally taken with a ſpirit of ſecurity, hearing that the Earl had but ſmall aſſiſtance either from *France* or in *England*; and therefore ſlighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and ſends preſent direction to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Surrey*, with Sir *Thomas Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with all ſpeed to bring their Forces to him at *Lutterworth*; from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamped at *Lichfield*, he marcheth thitherward: At which time, Sir *Walter Hungerford* and ſome others, withdrew themſelves from King *Richard*'s part; and Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stanford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their ſeveral Forces, joyned with the Earl.

Near to *Boſworth* their Armies meet: and how King *Richard*'s Army was marſhalled.

King *Richard* took the advantage of a large Plain near *Boſworth*, adjoyning to a hill called *Anne Beame*; where he encamped: And obſerving by his Adverſaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him Battel, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vaunt-guard was led by the Duke of *Norfolk*, which conſiſted of one thouſand two hundred Bowmen, flanked with two hundred Cuyraſſiers, under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*: The Battel King *Richard* led himſelf, which conſiſted of a thouſand Bill-men, empaled with two thouſand Pikes: The Rereward was led by Sir *Thomas Brackenbury*, conſiſting of two thouſand mingled Weapons, with two wings of Horſemen, containing fifteen hundren, all of them caſt into ſquare maniples; expecting the Lord *Stanley*'s coming with two thouſand, moſt of them Horſemen: But the Lord *Stanley* carried himſelf ſo warily, that he might neither give cauſe of ſuſpicion to the King, nor yet cauſe of diſadvantage to the Earl: that when early in the morning the Earl ſent unto him, deſiring his

his preſent repair; he anſwered, that he muſt look for no aid from him, till the Battels ſhould be joyned; and therefore adviſed him, with all poſſible ſpeed to give the onſet. This anſwer ſomewhat ſtaggered the Earl, becauſe his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the beſt ſhew he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vaward open and thin; of which *John* Earl of *Oxford* had the leading: The Earl himſelf led the Battel, Sir *Gilbert Talbot* commanding the right wing, and Sir *John Savage* the left: whoſe Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Frize, by the reflexion of the Sun upon them, made them appear in the view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of *Pembroke*, which conſiſted moſt of Horſe, and ſome Pikes and black Bills. King *Richard*, to to incourage his Souldiers, made a ſolemn ſpeech unto them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whoſe hearts he had loſt? or to raiſe alacrity in others, who had none in himſelf? For now the remembrance of his fore-paſſed villanies, and ſpecially a fearful Dream he had the night before, (wherein it ſeemed to him, he ſaw divers Images like Devils, which pulled and haled him, not ſuffering him to take any reſt or quiet) ſo damped his ſpirits, that although he ſet a good face upon the matter, yet he could not chooſe but have a preſaging fear, that the date of his dayes was not far from expiring. The Earl of *Richmond* on the other ſide, having a clear conſcience in himſelf, and ſpeaking to men that followed him for love, had the eaſier means to give them encouragement: which he did with ſo chearful a countenance, as though alalready he had gotten the Victory, After their military exhortations ended, King *Richard* commanded to give the onſet. Between both Armies there was a great Marſh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that ſide; and beſides, by ſo doing he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of his Enemy. When King *Richard* ſaw that the Earls company was paſſed this Marſh, he commanded with all ſpeed to ſet upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both ſides, and thoſe ſpent, they came to hand-ſtrokes; at which encounter comes in the Lord *Stanley*, and joyns with the Earl. The Earl of *Oxford* in the mean time, fearing leſt his company ſhould be compaſſed in with the multitude of his Enemies, gave charge in every rank, that no man ſhould go above ten foot from the Standard: whereupon they knit themſelves together, and ceaſed a while from fighting: which the Enemy ſeeing, and miſtruſting ſome fraud, they alſo pauſed and left ſtriking. But then the Earl of *Oxford*, having brought all his Band together, ſet on the Enemy afreſh; which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men ſlender and thin before, but thick and broad behinde; and reſolutely again began the fight. While theſe two Van-guards were thus contending, King *Richard* was informed that the Earl of *Richmond* with a ſmall number was not far off: whereupon he preſently makes towards him; and being of an invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the laſt proof, he made ſo furious an aſſault, that firſt with his own hands he ſlew Sir *William Brandon*, who bore the Earls Standard; next he unhorſt and overthrew Sir *John Cheyney*, a ſtrong and ſtout man at Arms; and then aſſaulted the Earl of *Richmond* himſelf, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the Kings fury held him off at his Launces point, till Sir *William Stanley* came in with three thouſand freſh men: and then oppreſt with multitude, King *Richard* is there ſlain. It is ſaid that when the Battel was at the point to be loſt, a ſwift Horſe was brought unto him; with which he might have ſaved himſelf by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refuſed it, ſaying, He would that day make an end of all Battels, or elſe loſe his life. In this Battel *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who led King *Richard*'s Rereward, never ſtrook ſtroke; as likewiſe many other, who followed King *Richard* more for fear than love: and ſo King *Richard*, who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many: which was not unforeſeen by ſome, who cauſed a Rhyme to be ſet upon the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Gate the night before the Battel, which was this:

Jack *of* Norfolk, *be not too bold,*
For Dicken *thy Maſter is bought and ſold:*

Yet notwithſtanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King *Richard*; and more conſidering what he was towards him, than what towards others, followed him at the laſt, and in his quarrel loſt his life. This *John Howard* was the Son of Sir *Robert Howard* Knight, and *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolk*, in whoſe right he was created Duke of *Norfolk* by King *Richard* the Third, in the year 1483. having been made a Baron before by King *Edward* the Fourth. The whole number ſlain in this Battel on King *Richard*'s part was not above a thouſand perſons; whereof of the Nobility, beſides the Duke of *Norfolk*, only *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Robert Brackenbury* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir *William Catesby*, one of the chief Counſellours of King *Richard*, with divers others, was two dayes after beheaded at *Leiceſter*. Amongſt thoſe that ran away, were *Francis* Viſcount *Lovel*, *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint *Johns* at *Gloceſter*. Of Captives and Priſoners there were great number. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who though on King *Richard*'s ſide, intermeddled not in the Battel, was incontinently taken into favour, and made of the Council: But *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, though he ſubmitted himſelf, yet, as having been ſpecially familiar with King *Richard*, was committed to the *Tower*; where he remained a long time: but at laſt was delivered and highly promoted. On the Earl of *Richmond*'s part were ſlain ſcarce a hundred perſons; (ſome ſay but ten) of whom the principal was Sir *William Brandon*, the Earls Standard-bearer. This Battel was fought at *Rodmor*, near *Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, the two and twentieth

John Howard Duke of *Norfolk* firm to King *Richard* to the laſt.

King *Richard* encounters the Earl of *Richmond* hand to hand.

day of *August*, in the year 1485. having continued little above two hours. Presently after the Battel, the Earl Knighted in the field, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *John Mortimer*, Sir *William Willoughby*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Robert Poynts*, Sir *Humfrey Stanley*, Sir *John Turbervile*, Sir *Hugh Persbal*, Sir *R. Edgecomb*, Sir *John Pykenil*, and Sir *Edmund Carew*: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed persons to be cured: whereat the people rejoycing, clapped their hands and cried, King *Henry*, King *Henry*: which good will and gladness of the people when the Lord *Stanley* saw, he took the Crown of King *Richard*, which was found amongst the spoils in the field, and set it on the Earls head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King *Richard* was come to *Bosworth*, he sent to the Lord *Stanley* to come presently to his presence: which if he refused to do, he swore by Christs Passion, that he would strike off his Sons head before he dined: whereto the Lord *Stanley* answered, That if he did so, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleasure; but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which answer when King *Richard* heard, he commanded the Lord *Strange* immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in sight of each other; his Lords perswaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution; and so the Lord *Strange* escaped.

The Lord *Stanley* takes the Crown from King *Richard*'s head, and puts it on the Earl of *Richmond*.

Of his Taxations.

WE must not look for Taxations in kinde in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as blood; and the money he drew was most by blood, which drew on Confiscations: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but *Tondere*, these did *Deglubere*. Yet in his second year, he called a Parliament, wherein, besides the great confiscations of those that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded,

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

HAving gotten the Crown by pestilent courses, he sought to establish it by wholesome Laws; for in no Kings Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this man. Amongst other of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Commonalty of the Realm should in no wise be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any such like charge; and that such actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, shall be taken for no example to make any such like charge hereafter; but shall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made; that we may say he took the wayes of being a good King, if he had come to be King by wayes that had been good.

No Benevolence to be required.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN his time the troubles of the Temporality kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complainings in the streets, there was none in the Church. Only *Shore*'s Wife might complain, why she should do Penance for offending lightly against only the Seventh Commandment; and King *Richard* do none for offending heavily against all the ten; but that perhaps he had gotten some good fellow to be his Confessor.

Works of Piety done by him.

AS bad as this King was, yet some good works he did; he founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *York*; and a Collegiate Chauntry in *London*; near unto the *Tower*, called our *Lady of Barking*: He endowed the Queens Colledge in *Cambridge*, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue; and disforested the great field of *Whitchwood*, which King *Edward* his Brother had inclosed for Deer.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

IN his second year, at the time when the Duke of *Buckingham* meant to pass with his Army over *Severn*, so great an inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houses were overturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in Cradles, beasts were drowned on Hills: which rage of water continued ten dayes; and is to this day in the Countreys thereabout, called the Great Water, or the Duke of *Buckingham*'s water.

A great Inundation called the Duke of *Buckingham*'s water.

Of his Wife and Issue.

HE married *Anne* the second Daughter of *Richard Nevil* the great Earl of *Warwick*, being the Widow of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the Son of King *Henry* the sixth: she lived his Wife to the last year of his Reign; and then, to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at rest in the Abby of *Westminster*: By her he had only one Son, born at *Middleham* near *Richmond* in the County of *York*: at four years old, created Earl of *Salisbury* by his Uncle King *Edward* the Fourth; at ten years old created Prince of *Wales* by his Father King *Richard*, but died soon after.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

THere never was in any man a greater uniformity of Body and Minde than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook-back'd, hook-shouldered, splay-footed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion swarthy, his left arm from his birth dry and withered: born a Monster in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And just such were the qualities of his minde: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look fawningly when he plotted, sternly when he executed. Those Vices, which in other men are Passions, in him were Habits: and his

and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his minde was only lying and falshood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politick, and yet not wise; Policy looking but to the middle, Wisdom to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty; that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: And to say the truth, he was scarce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the truth of History to exceed the fiction of Poetry, being a greater Harpy than those that were feigned. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no Issue behinde him: and it had been pity he should, at least in his own Image. One such Monster was enough for many Ages.

Of his Death and Burial.

King *Richard* basely used being dead.

BEing slain in the Battel at *Bosworth*, as before is related; his body was left naked and despoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clout left about him to cover his privy parts: and taken up, was trussed behinde a pursuivant at Arms, one *Blanch Senglyer*, or *White-boar*; his head and arms hanging on one side of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all besprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the *Gray-Friers* Church within the Town of *Leicester*, and there for some time lay a miserable spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp, was there interred. But after this, King *Henry* the Seventh caused a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alablaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastery was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave, overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone-Chest, wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inne in *Leicester*, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatness. But his body (as is reported) was carried out of the City, and contemptuously bestowed under the end of *Bow-bridge*, which giveth passage over a branch of *Stowre*, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) stood a Stone of some height; against which King *Richard*, as he passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strook his Spur: and against the same Stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and broken: as a wise Woman (forsooth) had foretold; who before his going to Battel, being asked of his success, said, That where his Spur strook, his head should be broken. But these are but reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, Reigned two, and two months.

Of men of Note in his time.

OF men of Note for wickedness and villany, enough have been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
William Billesdon was Mayor.
Thomas Newland, *William Martin*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Thomas Hill was Mayor:
Richard Chester; and he dying, *Ralph Astry*,
Thomas Britain, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

1485. King Henry's first Title.

HENRY Earl of *Richmond* born in *Pembroke* Caſtle, Son to *Edmund* Earl of *Richmond*, by his Wife *Margaret*, ſole Daughter of *John* Duke of *Somerſet*, which *John* was Son of *John* Earl of *Somerſet*, Son of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaſter*, by his third Wife *Katherine Swinford*; and by this deſcent, Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*: having won the Battel at *Boſworth*, againſt King *Richard*, is by publick acclamations ſaluted King of *England*, on the 22. day of *Auguſt*, in the year 1485. and this was his firſt Title. And now to take away a root of danger, before his departure from *Leiceſter*, he ſent Sir *Robert Willoughby* to the Caſtle of *Sheriffehaton* in the County of *York*, for *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King *Richard* had there kept a priſoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to *London*, and ſhut up in the *Tower* to be kept in ſafe cuſtody. In the ſame Caſtle alſo King *Richard* had left reſiding the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldeſt Daughter to King *Edward* the fourth: and her now King *Henry* appoints honourably attended to be brought up to *London*, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards *London*; where at his approaching near the City, *Thomas Hill* the Mayor, *Thomas Britain* and *Richard Cheſter* Sheriffs, with other principal Citizens, met him at *Shoreditch*, and in great ſtate brought him to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of St. *George*; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarcenet; in the third was painted a Dun Cow, upon yellow Tartern. After Prayers ſaid, he departed to the Biſhops Palace, and there ſojourned a ſeaſon: And in the time of his ſtay here, he adviſed with his Council, and appointed a day for ſolemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*: before which time notwithſtanding, he went by water to *Weſtminſter*, and was there with great ſolemnity Anointed and Crowned King of *England*, by the whole conſent as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, by the name or *Henry* the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of *October*, in the year 1485. and this was his ſecond Title. And even this was revealed to *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britains*, ſeven hundred ninety and ſeven years paſt; That his Off-ſpring ſhould Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

Edward Plantagenet Son and Heir of *George* Duke of *Clarence*, ſhut up in the *Tower*.

The Earl of *Richmond* is Crowned King.

On the ſeventeenth day of *November* following, he called his High Court of Parliament: where, at the firſt ſitting, two ſcruples appeared; One concerning the Burgeſſes for that many had been returned Burgeſſes and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King *Richards* time ſtood attainted ſtill: and it was thought incongruous for men to make Laws, who were themſelves out-lawed: For remedy whereof an Act was preſently paſſed for their reſtoring, and then they were admitted to ſit in the Houſe. The other concerning the King himſelf, who had been attainted by King *Richard*: but for this, It was reſolved by all the Judges in the Chequer Chamber, that the poſſeſſion of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours ſake, all Records of his Attainder were taken off the File. And ſo theſe ſcruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were attainted, firſt, *Richard* late Duke of *Glocester*, calling himſelf *Richard* the Third: Then his Aſſiſtants at the Battel of *Boſworth*: *John* late Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey*, *Francis* Viſcount *Lovel*, *Walter Devereux* late Lord *Ferrers*, *John* Lord *Zouch*, *Robert Harington*, *Richard Charleton*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Berley* of *Wely*, *Robert Middleton*, *James Harington*, *Robert Brackenbury*, *Thomas Pilkington*, *Walter Hopton*, *William Catesby*, *Roger Wake*, *William Sapcote*, *Humfrey Stafford*, *William Clark* of *Wenlock*, *Geoffry* St. *Germain*, *Richard Watkins* Herauld at Arms, *Richard Sevel*, *Thomas Pulter*, *John Welſh*, *John Kendal* late Secretary to the late King *Richard*, *John Buck*, *Andrew Rat*, and *William Brampton* of *Burford*. But notwithſtanding this Attainder, divers of the perſons aforeſaid were afterwards not only by King *Henry* pardoned, but reſtored alſo to their Lands and Livings. As likewiſe he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would ſubmit themſelves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, ſhould have their Pardon: whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who ſubmitting themſelves, were received to mercy.

The poſſeſſion of the Crown takes away all defects.

Lords and others attainted by Parliament.

And now King *Henry* conſidering that *Pœnâ & Præmio Reſpublica continetur*; after puniſhing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service; and firſt, *Jaſper* Earl of *Pembroke* his Uncle he created Duke of *Bedford*: *Thomas* Lord

Dukes and Earls created.

Lord *Stanley* he created Earl of *Derby*; the Lord *Chendow* of *Britain*, his ſpecial friend, he made Earl of *Bathe*; Sir *Giles Daubeny* was made Lord *Daubeny*; Sir *Robert Willoughby* was made Lord *Brook*; and *Edward Stafford* eldeſt Son to *Henry* late Duke of *Buckingham* he reſtored to his Dignity and Poſſeſſions. Beſides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for ſetling the Crown upon the perſon of King *Henry* and the Heirs of his body ſucceſſively for ever. And then with all ſpeed he ſent and redeemed the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, whom he had left Hoſtages in *France* for money: and called home *Morton* Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Richard Fox*, making *Morton* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Beſides theſe, he made alſo of his Privy Council, *Jaſper* Duke of *Bedford*, *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, *John* Biſhop of *Ely*, Sir *Will. Stanley*, Lord Chamberlain of his Houſhold; Sir *Robert Willoughby* Lord *Brook*, Lord Steward of his Houſhold; *Giles* Lord *Daubeny*; *John* Lord *Dynham*, after made Lord Treaſurer of *England*; Sir *Reginold Bray*, Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Richard Tunſtal*, Sir *Richard Edgecomb*, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *John Riſley*, with ſome other.

Morton is made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. *Fox* is made Lord Privy Seal.

1486. King *Henry* marries the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Theſe things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make his Crown ſit the ſurer on his head; on the eighteenth day of *January*, he proceeded to the ſolemnizing his marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three ſo indiſſoluble, that no age ſince hath ever queſtioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted ſo happily by the waters ſide, and hath at this day ſo many flouriſhing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World contiuues.

The Kings Guard firſt ordained.

And now whether King *Henry* doubted any ſudden attempt upon his perſon, or whether he did it to follow the example of *France*; in the very beginning of his Reign, he ordained a band of tall perſonable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings Guard; which no King before, and all Kings ſince have alwayes uſed: But though he provided a Guard for defence of his own body, yet for the bodies of his people he could provide none; for at this time a Sickneſs (of the ſymptome called the Sweating Sickneſs) ſeized ſo violently upon them, that within a ſhort time many thouſands periſhed; particularly in *London*, two Mayors ſucceſſively, and ſix Aldermen within eight dayes died: and for this Sickneſs no Phyſick afforded any cure; till at laſt this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the ſweat in the day time, that then he ſhould preſently lie down in his Cloaths, and ſo lie ſtill the whole four and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he ſhould not riſe out of his bed, for the ſpace of four and twenty hours; not provoking ſweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, at leaſt but very moderately. In this ſickneſs there was one good circumſtance; that though it were violent, yet it laſted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of *September*, it cleared up before the end of *October* following.

A violent Sickneſs in *London*, and the remedy.

And now all things being ſet in good order in the South parts, there ariſeth a little ſtorm in the North, but was ſoon diſperſed. For King *Henry*, making a journey into the North parts, to ſhew himſelf there where he had not yet been; and where the reſpect to King *Richard* might have left ſome oppoſites: at his coming to *Lincoln*, was certified that the Lord *Lovel* and *Humfrey Stafford* were gone out of Sanctuary in *Colcheſter*; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to *York*; and being come thither, it was then plainly told him, that the Lord *Lovel* with a ſtrong power was at hand, and would preſently invade the City. This made the King in a great ſtraight; for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this ſtraight, he commanded the Duke of *Bedford*, with three thouſand men to ſet out againſt him, but ſo ill armed, that their Armours for the moſt part were but of tanned Leather; who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, cauſed Proclamation to be made, that whoſoever would ſubmit themſelves as Loyal Subjects, ſhould have their Pardons, and be received into Grace: which Proclamaaion ſo prevailed, that it made the Lord *Lovel* ſecretly in the night to flee away; and then the Army, left without a head, ſubmitted themſelves to the Kings mercy. The Lord *Lovel* fled into *Lancaſhire*; and there for a time lurked with Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a man powerful in thoſe parts. *Humfrey Stafford* took Sanctuary in a Village called *Culnham*, two miles from *Abbington*: but the Sanctuary being judged, by the Juſtices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the *Tower*, afterward to *Tyburn*, and there hanged. His Brother *Thomas* was pardoned, becauſe it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother *Humfrey*.

The Lord *Lovel* raiſeth an Army againſt the King, but upon Proclamation of Pardon is diſperſed.

A Sanctuary no defence for Traytors.

In this year *John Perſival* the Mayor of *London*'s Carver, waiting at his Table, was choſen one of the Sheriffs of *London*, only by Sir *John Collets*, then Mayor, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, (as the cuſtom is to drink to him whom he liſt to name Sheriff) and forthwith the ſaid *Perſival* ſate down at the Mayors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Mayor himſelf.

The Mayors Carver choſen Sheriffe of *London*, and by what occaſion.

At this time a mean inſtrument attempted a great work; by which we may ſee, how far imagination may out-go reaſon: One *Richard Simond* a Prieſt, a man of baſe birth, though ſome learning; had a Scholar of baſer birth, the Son of a Shoomaker (ſome ſay a Baker) named *Lambert Symnel*; but of a pregnant wit, and comely perſonage: Him he gives out to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, lately (as was ſaid) eſcaped out of Priſon, both of them being of like years and ſtature: with this Scholar of his, he ſails into *Ireland*, and ſo ſets forth the matter, that not only the Lord *Thomas Fitz-Gerard* Earl of *Kildare*, and Deputy of *Ireland*; but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as thoſe that affected the Houſe of *York*, were ready to take his part, and even already ſaluted the young *Symnel* King. Withal they

Lambert Symnel given forth to be *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*.

Countenanced in *Ireland*.

Chiefly by the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgoigne.*

they sent into *Flanders* to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to the late King *Edward*, and Widow of *Charles* Duke of *Burgoigne*, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the House of *York*, bore an inward grudge against King *Henry*, being of the House of *Lancaster*; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and thereupon promised her assistance. King *Henry* being advertised of these things, advised with his Council; by whom it was agreed, that two things presently should be done. First, to grant a pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any offence whatsoever, though it were for High Treason: The next, that the Earl of *Warwick* should be openly shewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in *Ireland*, might appear plainly to be false. Withal, the Queen *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Edward* the fourth, and Mother to the present Queen, was adjudged to forfeit all her Lands and Possessions, and to live confined in the Abbey of *Bermondsey* in *Southwark*; where in great pensiveness within a few years she died. But for what cause this severity was used against this Queen, is not altogether certain: To say, (as was commonly said) that it was for rendring her self and her Daughters into the hands of King *Richard*, were manifest injustice, to punish her for doing a thing out of fear, which else she should have been compelled to do by force: and to say (as some also have said) that it was for giving aid underhand to *Perkin*, were a manifest unlikelihood, that she should aid a Counterfeit against her own Son in law: we must therefore content our selves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reason as a secret of State. But this shewing abroad of the true Earl of *Warwick*, though it satisfied some, yet not all: for some gave out that it was but a trick of the King, and not the true *Warwick*. At least the Earl of *Lincoln*, Son to *John de la Pool*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that *Symnel* was a Counterfeit. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he fled secretly into *Flanders*, to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgoign*; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord *Lovel* should go into *Ireland*, and there attend upon the Counterfeit *Warwick*, and honour him as a King; and with the power of the *Irish* men bring him into *England*: but it was concluded withal, that if their actions succeeded, then the Counterfeit *Warwick* should be deposed, and the true be delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this purpose, the Earl of *Lincoln* by the aid of the Lady *Margaret*, had gotten together two thousand *Almains*, with one *Martin Swart*, a valiant and expert Captain to be their Leader.

Queen *Elizabeth* hath all her goods confiscate, and her self confined.

By the Plot of the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lady *Margaret*, *Symnel* is conveyed into *Ireland*, and there Crowned King of *England.*

1487. With this power the Earl sailed into *Ireland*, and at the City of *Dublin*, caused young *Lambert*, the Counterfeit *Warwick*, in most solemn manner, first to be proclaimed, and after to be Crowned King of *England*: and then with a great number of beggarly and unarmed *Irish* men, under the conduct of the Lord *Thomas Gerardine* Earl of *Kildare*, they sailed into *England*, and landed at a place called the *Pile of Fowdray*, not far from *Lancaster*; hoping there by the means of Sir *Thomas Broughton*, a powerful man in that Countrey, to have their Army both furnished and increased. King *Henry* hearing that the Earl of *Lincoln* was landed at *Lancaster*, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earl of *Oxford*; and with these he marched to *Nottingham*, and there by a little Wood called *Bowres*, he pitched his Field; whither there came unto him, the Lord *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lord *Strange*, Sir *John Cheyney*, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which mean time the Earl of *Lincoln* being entred into *Yorkshire*, passed quietly on his journey, without doing spoil or hurt unto any; trusting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to resort unto him, he then determined to venture a Battel with the Army he had already; and thereupon took his way from *York* to *Newark* upon *Trent*. King *Henry* understanding which way he took, came the night before the Battel to *Newark*; and going three miles further, near to a Village called *Stoke*, there waited the approach of the Earl of *Lincoln*; so the next day they joyned Battel; where after a long fight of at the least three hours; though the *Almains*, and specially their Captain *Martin Swart* behaved themselves most valiantly; yet their *Irish*, being in a manner but naked men, were at last overthrown, four-thousand slain, and the rest put to flight, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, Sir *Thomas Broughton*, *Martin Swart*, and the Lord *Gerardine* were all found dead in the very place, where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the Battel, yet they won the reputation of hardy and stout Souldiers. Only of the Lord *Lovel*, some report, that attempting to save himself by flight, in passing over the River of *Trent*, he was drowned. On the Kings part, though some were slain, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a Saturday (observed as alwayes fortunate to King *Henry*) being the sixteenth of *June*, in the second year of King *Henry*'s Reign. The young *Lambert* and his Master *Simond* the Priest, were both taken; and both had their lives saved: *Lambert*, because but a Childe, *Simond* because a Priest; yet *Simond* was kept in prison, *Lambert* was taken into the Kings Kitchin, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the Kings Faulkners.

King *Henry* goeth with an Army against the Earl of *Lincoln.*

At *Stoke* he gives him Battel, and overthrows him.

Where he and divers other Lords are slain.

Saturday alwayes fortunate to King *Henry.*

Lambert is taken into the Kings Kitchin.

1488. In the beginning of his third year, King *Henry* having been in *Yorkshire*, to settle the mindes of that people, about the midst of *August* came to *New-castle* upon *Tine*, and from thence sent Ambassadours into *Scotland*, *Richard Fox*, lately before made Bishop of *Exeter*, and Sir *Richard Edgecomb* Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with *James* King of *Scots*: A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before

A Truce for seven years between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots.*

fore the first seven years should be expired.

At this time Ambassadours came from the King of *France*, to King *Henry*; who declared, that their Master King *Charles* was now at War with *Francis* Duke of *Britain*, for that he succoured the Duke of *Orleance* and other Rebels against the Realm of *France*; and therefore requested, that for the old Familiarity that had been between them, he would either assist him, or not assist the Duke, but stand Neuter. King *Henry* answered, that having received courtesies from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the *French* Ambassadours were departed, he sent *Christopher Urswick* his Chaplain over into *France*, who should first go to the *French* King, and after to the Duke of *Britain*, to mediate a Peace between them.

Queen *Elizabeth* is Crowned.

In the time of *Urswicks* Ambassage, King *Henry* caused his Wife the Lady *Elizabeth* to be Crowned Queen, on Saint *Katherine's* day in *November*, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset* out of the *Tower*, and received him again into his former favour.

Urswick travelled between the two Princes to procure Peace: but they, though making a shew to incline to Peace, yet prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time *Edward* Lord *Woodvile*, Uncle to the Queen, made suit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of *Britain*; which suit though the King denied, yet the Lord *Woodvile* would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the *Britains* against the *French*. This the *French* King took ill at King *Henry's* hand; but being informed that it was against the Kings will, he seemed satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, to endure for twelve months. But in conclusion, King *Henry* finding that the *French* King dealt not really with him, but only held him on with pretences; he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring their advice what was fit to be done: where it was concluded, that the Duke of *Britain* should be aided; and to that end great summes of money were by Parliament granted. This determination of the Parliament, King *Henry* signifies to the *French* King, hoping it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of *France* little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courses against the *Britains*; so as at last, on the eight and twentieth day of *July*, the *Britains* gave Battel to the *French*, near to a Town called St. *Aulbyn*; having apparelled seventeen hundred of the *Britains* in Coats with red Crosses, after the *English* fashion, to make the *French* men believe they were all *English*, although indeed they had no more *English* than the four hundred of the Lord *Woodvile's*, But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the *French*; so that all the *English* men almost were slain, with the Lord *Woodvile* himself; besides six thousand *Britains*. The Duke of *Orleance*, and the Prince of *Orange*, who were on the *Britains* part, were taken Prisoners. The *French* lost twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that valiant *Italian* Captain *James Galeot*.

A Peace between *France* and *England*.

The King of *France* overthrows the Duke of *Britain's* Army, where the Lord *Woodvile* is slain.

This news being brought into *England*, caused King *Henry* to make haste to send forth his Army: and thereupon the Lord *Brook*, with Sir *John Cheyney*, Sir *John Middleton*, Sir *Ralph Hilton*, Sir *Richard Corbet*, Sir *Thomas Leighton*, Sir *Richard Lacon*, and Sir *Edmund Cornwal*, are sent over with all speed into *Britain*; having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of *Britain* against the *French*. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of *Britain* died; leaving in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady *Anne* (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of *Britain* falling at dissention amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Countrey: whereupon the *English* returned home, within five months after their setting forth: and the *French* King getting the upper hand of the *Britains*, and marrying the Lady *Anne* sole Daughter of the Duke of *Britain*, incorporated that Dutchy to the Crown of *France*.

King *Henry* sends an Army to aid the Duke of *Britain*.

The *French* King marries the Heir of the Duke of *Britain*.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted, for the furnishing out an Army into *Britain*; and it was agreed that every man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Taxe the most part of *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durham* refused to pay: whereof the Collectors complained to *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, President of the North Parts; The Earl signifies it to the King, and the King commands him to levy the same, by distress or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named *John a Chamber*; and alledging all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax; they cruelly murthered both him and divers of his houshold Servants. And to make good their seditious fact, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir *John Egremond* their Captain: Declaring, that in defence of their liberties, they would bid the King Battel. In this bravery they stood, as long as none opposed them: but when *Thomas* Earl of *Surrey* appeared with an Army, though they skirmished a while, yet they were soon discomfited, and their Ring-leader *John a Chamber* was taken, and at *York* on a Gibbet set upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traytor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the most part pardoned. But Sir *John Egremond* fled into *Flanders*, to the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgandy*; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King *Henry*. After this, the King appointed Sir *Richard Tunstal* to gather the Subsidy, and would not spare the payment of a Penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of *London* two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

The Earl of *Northumberland* is slain in collecting the Subsidy. 1489.

John a Chamber Ring-leader of an Insurrection is hanged.

At this time *James* the third, King of *Scot-*

Land

land, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people, laboured with King *Henry*, as also with the Pope, and the King of *France*, to make an accord between him and his people; who had compelled Prince *James* his Son, to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadours; but could receive no other, but this outragious, answer, That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings protested against, declaring by their Ambassadours, that they thought it a common injury to themselves, and that the Example was not sufferable for Subjects to lift their hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at *Bannocks-born* by *Strivelin*; where King *James*, rashly beginning the fight, before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandement of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mill of that field, whither he fled, after the Battel ended.

James King of *Scots* in a Battel at *Bannocksborn* is slain.

About this time, a difference fell out which grew to a War, between the Emperour *Frederick*, and some Towns of his in *Flanders*, especially *Gaunt* and *Bruges*: In this War, the Lord *Ravenstein* a principal person about *Maximilian*, not only forsook the Emperour and his Son *Maximilian* his Lord, (corrupted as was thought from *France*) but made himself head of the popular party, seizing upon the Towns of *Ipre* and *Sluce*: and not this only, but forthwith sent to the Lord *de Cordes*, Governour for the *French* King in *Picardy*, to aid him against some Towns in *Flanders*: To which the Lord *de Cordes*, willing of any occasion to set foot in *Flanders*, was easily drawn. But King *Henry* not liking to have the *French* so near his *English* pale, sent over the Lord *Morley* with a thousand men, who should joyn with the Lord *Dawbeny* then Deputy of *Callice*, to resist them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief, That the Lord *Dawbeny*, with the Lord *Morley*, Sir *James Tyrrel* Captain of *Guisnes*, Sir *Henry Willoughby*, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and Sir *Humfrey Talbot* Marshal of *Callice*, and others to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of *Callice*, and came to *Newport*, and from thence to *Dixmude*; where the Lord *Dawbeny* commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord *Morley* only refusing to do, was cause that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordinance over-shot them, killing only the Lord *Morley* that was on Horseback. Here they slew of the Enemy to the number of eight thousand; of the *English* part was slain the Lord *Morley*, and not above a hundred more. This Victory so enriched the *English*, that they who went forth in Cloth, came home in Silk; and they who went out on foot, returned back on Horseback. Upon this defeat, the Lord de *Cordes* lying at *Ipre* with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revenged, besieged the Town of *Newport*; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entred, and set up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town; when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh *English* Archers, so terrified them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the *French* were glad to leave their Banner behinde them, and give over the assault; and the night following the Lord *de Cordes* (who so much longed for *Callice*, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lie seven years in Hell, so that *Callice* were in the possession of the *French*) brake up his siege, and returned to *Helding* with as much shame, as the *English* to *Callice* with honour.

King *Henry* sends an Army to assist the Emperor against the *French*.

The Lord *Morley* slain, and by what chance.

The *French* frighted with a conceit.

How much the *French* longed for *Callice*.

A little before this time, *Francis* Duke of *Britain* dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady *Anne*, affianced to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*: and in so solemn a manner, that she taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit *Maximilian*'s Deputy, in presence of many noble witnesses, as well men as women, to put his leg stript naked to the knee, between the spousal sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Consummation. The King of *France* likewise had been contracted to the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to the foresaid *Maximilian*, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to joyn the Dutchy of *Britain* to the Crown of *France*, he disannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of *England*, he sent Ambassadours, the Lord *Francis* of *Lutzemburg*, *Charles Marignane*, and *Robert Gagnine*, to King *Henry*; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King *Henry*'s good will to make void the foresaid Contracts: to which though King *Henry* was not willing to give consent, yet he consented willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that end, sent over *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, and *Thomas Goldenstone* Prior of *Christ*'s Church in *Canterbury*, to the *French* King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the *French* King had gotten into his possession the Lady *Anne* of *Britain*, and solemnly married her. Which underhand dealing so incensed King *Henry*, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just cause he had of War with *France*, desiring their Benevolence to the Charge thereof; which was as readily granted as desired, and great summes of money were soon collected.

Two contracts of Marriage, formerly made, disannulled by the King of *France*.

King *Henry* propounds to this Parliament a War with *France*, to which end he hath a Benevolence granted.

1491.

In the year 1491. being the sixth year of the Kings Reign, on the sixth of *April*, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, where also was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citizens in their Liveries: to whom Doctor *Morton* Lord Chancellour made an Oration; declaring from his own Letters, that the King of *Spain* had won the great and rich City and Countrey of *Granado* from the *Moors*, which had been in their possession above seven hundred years: and having, in places of their superstition, built Churches to the Honour of Christ, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof *Te Deum* was sung with great solemnity.

Granado won by the King of *Spain* from the *Moors*.

In the month of *May* was holden a solemn Justing at the Kings palace of *Sheen*, now called *Richmond*, which continued the space of a month,

A Justs at *Sheen*, which continued a month.

month, sometimes within the Palace, and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which Justs, Sir *James Parker* running against a Gentleman named *Hugh Vaughan*, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was strucken into the mouth at the first course; so that his tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the place.

King *Henry* is drawn into *France* to assist the Emperour, upon promise, which the Emperor keeps not.

And now *Maximilian* having received back his Daughter from the King of *France*, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one *James Contibald*, to King *Henry*, requiring him to take his part in a War against the *French* King; towards which he promised to provide ten thousand men, with pay for two years: King *Henry* consented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth day of *October* sailed to *Callice*; but sending his Almoner *Christopher Urswick*, and Sir *John Resley* to *Maximilian*, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprovided of either men or money: which brought King *Henry* into a great straight what he should do: To proceed in the War, with his own Forces alone, would be full of hazard; to return home without doing any thing would bring an imputation upon him amongst his Subjects; as though he had used the pretence of War but as a trick to get money: at last, he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged *Boloigne*, having in his Army, of chief Lords, *Jasper* Duke of *Bedford*, his Lieutenant General, *Thomas* Marquess *Dorset*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Suffolk*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Devonshire*, and *Ormond*, sundry Barons, as *Dawbeny*, *Aburgany*, *De la Ware*, *Zouch*, *Hastings*, *Cobham*, and others. During his siege of *Boloigne*, (in which there were but a few slain, and none of note, but Sir *John Savage*, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain *French* men, and by them slain) King *Henry* was secretly dealt with by the Lord *Cordes* Governour of *Heynault*, on the King of *France*'s behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were, That King *Henry* without quitting his claim to *France*, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kings lives, receive in present of *Charles* King of *France*, for his charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Duckats, which in *English* money amounts to one hundred eighty six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expenses he had been at before in aiding the *Britains*; which (by the *English* called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the Kings Reign, and also to King *Henry* his Son afterward, longer then it could continue upon any computation of charges. There were also assigned by the *French* King unto all King *Henry*'s principal Counsellors, great Pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own purse from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a business that was displeasing to his people, was diversly interpreted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had underhand procured some of his best Captains and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their hands in an earnest manner, in the nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to shew for justifying himself, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their estates upon the hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to *Callice*, where he stayed some time, and the seventeenth of *December* following came to *Westminster*, where he kept his Christmass.

King *Henry* hath a great summe of money of the King of *France*, to agree to a Peace.

Soon after his return, he elected into the Order of the Garter, *Alphonsus* Duke of *Calabria*, Son and Heir to *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*: to whom *Christopher Urswick* the Kings Almoner, was sent to *Naples* to carry it; which as soon as *Alphonsus* had received, he apparelled himself presently in the Habit, before a great assembly, indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of *England*.

There had been disturbance in the Realm before, by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of *Clarence*; but that device had two main imperfections: One, that the true Son of the Duke was forth coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King *Edward* the fourth were living: Now therefore a device is found, by which those imperfections were both of them amended, for now a Counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward* the fourth; so that neither any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King *Edward* could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was first forged by *Margaret* Dutchess of *Burgundy*; a woman that could never be quiet in her minde, as long as King *Henry* was quiet in his Kingdom; and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his seat, yet foully at least to disturb him in it; and this was the purpose of the plot: but by what instrument it was acted, by what abettours fomented, and what issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchess having formerly given out, that *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward*, was not murthered, but in compassion spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune; and having after long search gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her; in which time she so throughly instructed him in all Circumstances, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King *Edward*'s Son, yet he was his Godson; and might perhaps have in him some base blood of the House of *York*. This *Perkin Warbeck*, (for so was the youths name, called *Perkin*, as a diminutive of *Peter*) when he so perfectly had learned his lesson, that he was fit to come upon the Stage; she sent him into *Portugal*, that coming

1493. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* sets up *Perkin Warbeck* to take upon him to be *Richard* the younger Son of King *Edward*, and how the plot was carried.

from a ſtrange Countrey, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Countrey to another, for ſafeguard of his life, at leaſt that ſhe of all other might not be ſuſpected. From *Portugal* ſhe cauſed him to paſs into *Ireland*, where the Houſe of *York* was ſpecially reſpected, in reſpect of the great love which *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the fourth, had won amongſt them: by reaſon whereof, this *Perkin* as eſteemed his Grand-childe, was well entertained by them, and held in great eſtimation. He had not been long in *Ireland*, when the *French* King ſent for him; for being at that time at variance with King *Henry*, he thought he might make good uſe of *Perkin*, as a pretender againſt King *Henry* for the Crown. *Perkin* being come to *Paris*, was entertained in a Princely faſhion; and for his more honour, had a guard aſſigned him, over which the Lord *Congreſhal* was Captain: He had not been long at *Paris*, when there reſorted to him Sir *George Nevil* Baſtard, Sir *John Taylour*, *Richard Robinſon*, and about a hundred other *Engliſh*. Amongſt the reſt, one *Stephen Fryon*, that had been King *Henry*'s Secretary for the *French* Tongue; but diſcontented, fled, and became a chief Inſtrument in *Perkin*'s proceedings. But this float of *Perkins* laſted not long; for as ſoon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of *France* diſmiſſed *Perkin*, and would keep him no longer. Then paſſed he ſecretly to his firſt foundreſs, the Lady *Margaret*; who at his firſt coming, made a ſhew of ſuſpecting him to be a Counterfeit: but cauſing him in great aſſemblies to be brought before her, as though ſhe had never ſeen him before; and finding him to anſwer directly to all queſtions ſhe put unto him: ſhe openly profeſſed, that ſhe was now ſatisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew; and thereupon aſſigned a Guard of thirty perſons, clothed in Murrey and Blue, and called him the White Roſe of *England*. Upon report hereof many in *England* were inclined to take his part; and Sir *Robert Clifford*, and *Robert Barcley* were ſent into *Flanders*, to acquaint the Dutcheſs with the peoples reſpect to *Perkin*: and indeed Sir *Robert Clifford* upon ſight and conference with him, wrote Letters into *England*, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King *Edward*, by his face, and other Lineaments of his body. King *Henry* hearing of theſe things, ſent certain eſpials into *Flanders*, that ſhould feign themſelves to have fled to *Perkin*, and by that means the better ſearch out who were of the Conſpiracy with him. Whoſe names being returned unto the King, he cauſed them to be apprehended and brought to his preſence: the chief of whom were *John Ratcliffe*, Lord *Fitzwater*, Sir *Simon Montford*, and Sir *Thomas Thwayts* Knights, *William Dawbeny*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, *Thomas Creſſenor*, and *Thomas Aſtwood*: Alſo certain Prieſts, *William Richford* D. of Divinity, *Thomas Boyns*, D. *William Sutton*, *William Worſeley*, Dean of *Pauls*, *Robert Layborn*, and *Richard Liſley*, of whom ſome hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary, others were taken and condemned, as Sir *Simon Montford*, *Robert Ratcliffe*; and *William Dawbeny*, who were all three beheaded. The Lord *Fitzwater* pardoned of life, was conveyed to *Callice*, and there laid in hold; where ſeeking to make eſcape by corrupting his Keeper, he loſt his head. Shortly after, Sir *Robert Clifford*, returning out of *Flanders*, (not as ſome think, ſent a ſpie from the beginning, but rather now at laſt, either diſcerning the fraud, or won by rewards) ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy; diſcovering unto him as far as he knew, all that were either open or ſecret abettors of the Conſpiracy; amongſt whom, he accuſed Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain: his accuſation was this, that in conference between them, Sir *William* had ſaid, that if he certainly knew, that the young man named *Perkin* were the Son of King *Edward* the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms againſt him. Theſe words being conſidered of by the Judges, ſeemed to expreſs a tickle hold of Loyalty; for who could tell how ſoon he might be perſwaded that he knew it? and upon the matter was to be diſloyal to King *Henry*; but for want of better: and withal it ſtrook upon a ſtring, which had alwayes ſounded harſh in King *Henry*'s ears, as preferring the Title of *York* before that of *Lancaſter*. Sir *William* being hereupon arraigned; whether truſting to the greatneſs of his favours, or the ſmalneſs of his fault, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confeſſion was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the ſixteenth day of *February* was brought to the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded: after whoſe death, *Giles* Lord *Dawbeny* was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir *William Stanley*, who came in to reſcue the Earl of *Richmond*, when he was in danger of his life, who ſet the Crown upon his head: and was the cauſe of his being ſaluted King: And could it enter into his breaſt, to put him to death, that had ſaved his life and done him ſo many great ſervices beſides? But it may be ſaid, It was not the Earl of *Richmond* that did it, but the King of *England*: for certainly, in many caſes, a King is not at liberty to ſhew mercy, ſo much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cauſe of his death was not words only, but real acts, as giving aid to *Perkin* underhand by money. And it ſeems there was ſome conflict in the minde of King *Henry*, what he ſhould do in this caſe; for he ſtayed ſix weeks after his Accuſation, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the Summer following, the King went in Progreſs to *Latham*, to the Earl of *Derby*, who had married his Mother, and was brother to Sir *William Stanley*: perhaps to congratulate his own ſafety; perhaps to condole with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any ſiniſter opinion of him: For to think that Sir *William*'s ſuing to be Earl of *Cheſter*, (an Honour appointed to the Kings Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Caſtle at *Holt*, in ready money forty thouſand Marks, beſides Plate and Jewels) were cauſes that procured or ſet forward his death; are conſiderations very unworthy of ſo juſt a Prince, againſt a ſervant of ſo great deſerving.

But in this mean while *Perkin* having gotten a power of idle looſe fellows, took to Sea,

Perkin is entertained by the King of *France*.

Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain accuſed to partake with *Perkin*.

Is convicted and beheaded.

Perkin's aſſiſtants taken and put to death.

1495. A hundred and sixty of *Perkin*'s followers executed.

Sea, intending to land in *Kent*; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Souldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty persons were taken prisoners, whereof five were Captains; *Mortford*, *Corbet*, *Whitebolt*, *Quintyn*, and *Gemyne*; The hundred and sixty persons were brought to *London*, railed in Ropes, like Horses drawing in a Cart, who upon the Arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at *London*, and some in Towns adjoyning to the Sea-Coast. *Perkin* finding no entertainment in *Kent*, sailed into *Ireland*, and having stayed there a while, and finding them also, being a naked people, to be no competent assistants for him, from thence he sailed into *Scotland*, where he so moved the King of *Scots* with his fair words and colourable pretext, (made no doubt before by the Dutchess of *Burgoigne*) that he received him in great state, and caused him to be called the Duke of *York*; and to perswade the world that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady *Katharine Gourdon*, Daughter to *Alexander* Earl of *Huntley*, his own near Kinswoman; and soon after, in *Perkin*'s quarrel, entred with a puissant Army into *England*, making Proclamation, that whosoever would come in and aid the true Duke of *York*, should be spared; but none coming in, he then used all kinde of cruelty, and the whole County of *Northumberland* was in a manner wasted: whereat *Perkin* at his return, expressed much grief, saying, It grieved him to the heart, to see such havock made of his people: To whom the King answered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Countrey came in to his Succour. King *Henry*, incensed with this bold attempt of the King of *Scots*, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necessity he had of a present War to revenge his indignity offered him by the *Scots*; and thereupon, requiring their aid by money, had a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all haste a puissant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord *Dawbeny* sent into *Scotland*; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reason of a commotion begun at *Cornwal*, for payment of the Subsidy lately granted, which though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were *Thomas Flammock* a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith; who laying the blame blame of this exaction upon *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Sir *Reynold Bray*, as being chief of the Kings Council, exhorted the people to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to *Taunton*, where they slew the Provost *Peryn*, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidy, and from thence came to *Wells*, intending to go to *London*, where the King then lay, who having revoked the Lord *Dawbeny*, appointed *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey* (after the death of the Lord *Dinham*, made Lord Treasurer of *England*) to have an eye to the *Scots*, and if they made invasion, to resist them. In the mean time *James Twichet* Lord *Audley* confederated himself with the Rebels of *Cornwal*, and took upon him to be their Leader, who from *Wells* went to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Winchester*, and so to *Kent*, hoping there to have had great aid, but found none; for the Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Aburgain*, *John Brook*, Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Edmund Poynings*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, Sir *Thomas Bourchier*, *John Peachy*, and *William Scot*, were ready in Arms to resist them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Army to *Black-heath*, four miles distant from *London*, and there in a Plain on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof when the King had knowledge, he presently sent *John* Earl of *Oxford*, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas* and Sir *Humfrey Stanley* to environ the hill on all sides, that so all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then set forward himself, and encamped in St. *George*'s fields; where for encouragement he made divers Bannerets. The next day he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to set upon the Rebels early in the morning, who first got the Bridge at *Debtford Strand*, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding, the Lord *Dawbeny* coming in with his company, and the Earls assailing them on every side, they were soon overcome: In which conflict were slain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken prisoners a very great number; many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none: for the Lord *Audley* was drawn from *Newgate* to *Tower-hill*, in a Coat of his own Arms, painted upon paper, reversed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth day of *June* was beheaded; *Thomas Flammock* and *Michael Joseph* were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, set up in *London*; and other places, Of the Kings Army were slain not above three hundred: It is memorable; with what comfort *Joseph* the Blacksmith cheared up himself at his going to execution, saying, That yet he hoped by this that his name and memory should be everlasting; so dear even to vulgar spirits is perpetuity of Name, though joyned with infamy: what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joyned with Glory?

Perkin received by the King of *Scots*, marries the Earl of *Huntley*'s Daughter.

The King of *Scots* in *Perkin*'s quarrel enters and spoils *Northumberland*.

A Commotion in *Cornwal* by the Instigation of *Thomas Flammock* a Lawyer, and *Michael Joseph* a Smith.

The Lord *Audley* confederate with the Rebels.

The Rebels are overthrown.

The Lord *Audley* beheaded. *Flammock* and *Joseph* the Smith hanged and quartered.

1496. The King of *Scots* invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.

In the mean time the King of *Scots*, taking advantage of these troubles in *England*, invaded the Frontiers, forraged the Bishoprick of *Durham*, and at last besieged the Castle of *Norham*, whereof *Richard Fox* then Bishop of *Durham* was owner; who thereupon sent presently to the Earl of *Surrey*, acquainting him with this Invasion: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him *Ralph* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Lord *Barnes*, *Ralph* Lord *Nevil*, *George* Lord *Strange*, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little less then twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord *Brook* was Admiral, set forward against the *Scots*, and not only forced the *Scots* to raise the siege of *Norham* Castle; but followed them also into *Scotland*; where he overthrew and defaced the Castle at *Candestrains*, the Tower of *Heten-hall*, the Tower of *Edington*, the Tower of *Fulden*, and at last by composition took the strong Castle of *Hayton*, and rased it to the ground.

At the Earls being at *Hayton*, the King of *Scots* sent to him *Marchemont* and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight with him in single combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the *Scottish* King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransom the Town of *Berwick*: Whereunto the Earl made answer, that the Town of *Berwick* was the King his Masters, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his offer of single Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a match: But King *James* of *Scotland* had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privily in the night fled back into *Scotland*, and then the Earl returned to *Berwick*. In the mean time, one *Peter Hyalas*, a man of great learning and policy, was sent Ambassadour to the King of *Scots*, from the King of *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; who finding the King of *Scots* conformable to his motion, found after the King of *England* (who was never averse from Peace upon honourable conditions) no less inclining to it: and so a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that *Perkin Warbeck* should be sent out of the *Scottish* Dominions.

A Truce between King *Henry* and the King of *Scots*.

About this time the Lord *Camphyre*, and others sent from *Philip* Archduke of *Austria* and Duke of *Burgundy*, came to King *Henry* for a conclusion of Amity, and to procure the *English* Merchants resort again to his Countrey; for King *Henry* sometime before, upon displeasure with the *Flemings*, but specially with the Lady *Margaret*, for abetting *Perkin Warbeck*, not only had banished all *Flemish* Wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had also restrained all *English* Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, causing the Mart for all *English* Commodities to be kept at *Callice*: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hinderance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and thereupon some Insurrections had risen, he willingly condescended to their request, and so the *English* resorted again to the Archdukes Dominions, and were received into *Antwerp* with general Procession: so glad was that Town of the *English* mens returns.

In the eleventh year of this Kings Reign, died *Cicely* Dutchess of *York*, Mother to King *Edward* the Fourth, at her Castle of *Berkamstead*, being of extream age; who had lived to see three Princes of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered: she was buried at *Foderingham* by her Husband.

Perkin, thrust out of *Scotland*, sailed into *Ireland*, and from thence came into *Cornwal*, and there gets Forces.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between *England* and *Scotland*, *Perkin Warbeck* was commanded to depart out of the *Scottish* Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family sailed into *Ireland*: where understanding that the *Cornish* men were ready to renew the War again, he thought best not to let pass so fair an occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and not above sixscore men, he sailed into *Cornwal*, and there landed in the month of *September*, and came to a Town called *Bodmin*; where with fair words and large promises he so prevailed with the people, that he had gotten to him above three thousand persons to take his part; and then made Proclamations in the name of King *Richard* the fourth, as Son to King *Edward* the fourth: and, by the advice of his three Counsellors: *John Heron* a bankrupt Mercer, *Richard Skelton* a Taylor, and *John Astley* a Scrivener, determined to attempt first the winning of *Exeter*; which with great violence he assaulted, and the Townsmen with as great valiantness defended: whereof when the King heard, he sent the Lord *Dawbeny* to their rescue: but before he came, the Lord *Edward Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*, and the valiant Lord *William* his Son, accompanied with Sir *Edmund Carew*, Sir *Thomas Trenchard*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *Thomas Fulford*, Sir *John Halewel*, Sir *John Croker*, *Walter Courtney*, *Peter Edgecomb*, *William* St. *Maure*, with others came to their aid: upon whose coming *Perkin* left the siege, and retired to *Taunton*; where he mustered his men, as though he meant to prepare for Battel: but finding his number to be much diminished (for of six thousand which he had at *Exeter*, many were fled from him, when they saw no great ones to take his part) he began to distrust his case; and hearing withal, that the King with a great Power was at hand, about midnight with threescore Horsemen in his company, he departed in post from *Taunton*, and took Sanctuary in a Town called *Beauly* near to *Southampton*. When King *Henry* heard that *Perkin* was fled, he sent after him to the Sea side, to stop his passage and apprehend him: But the Messengers that were sent, when they came to St. *Michaels Mount*, though they found not *Perkin*, yet there they found his wife the Lady *Katherine Gourdon*, whom they presently brought to the King; a beautiful young Lady; to whom, in honour of her birth, and commiseration of her beauty, the King allowed a competent maintenance, which she enjoyed during the Kings life, and many years after. King *Henry*, being come to *Exeter*, stayed there a few dayes, about examination of the Rebellion and execution of the chief Offenders: of whom there being a great multitude, and all of them craving pardon, the King caused them all to be assembled in the Church-yard of St. *Peter*, where they all appeared bare-headed in their shirts, and halters about their necks: whom the King, viewing out of a Window made for the purpose, after he had paused a while, made a speech unto them, exhorting them to obedience; and then in hope they would afterward be dutiful Subjects he pardoneth them all: whereat they made a great shout, crying all, God save King *Henry*! though some of them afterward, like ungrateful wretches, fell into new Rebellions.

Followed by the Kings Forces, he takes Sanctuary at *Beauly*.

King *Henry* pardons *Perkins* followers.

All this while *Perkin* was in Sanctuary: and the King, thinking himself in danger as long as he was in safety, set a Guard about the place, to keep him from escaping; whereby *Perkin* was so restrained, that at last he submitted himself to the Kings mercy, and was thereupon sent to the *Tower*, to be there in safe custody. This done, King *Henry* appointed *Thomas* Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Amyas Pawlet*, and *Robert Sherburn* Dean of *Pauls*, to be Commissioners for

Perkin submits himself to King *Henry*, and is sent to the *Tower*.

for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for assessing their Fines, which they did with great severity to some, with great mildness to others, to all with equity,

1499. It was now the fourteenth year of the Kings Reign, when one *Sebastian Gabato*, a *Genouese*'s Son, born at *Bristow*, perswaded the King to man and Victual a Ship at *Bristow*, to search for an Island, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities, who setting forth with three other small Ships of *London* Merchants, returned home two years after, when he had made a large discovery Westward, and would have gone to *Cataia*, if the Mariners had not forced him to return; as likewise six years before, one *Christopher Columbus* a *Spaniard*, made the first discovery of *America*.

Perkin makes escape out of the *Tower*. *Perkin* being in the *Tower* and carefully guarded, yet found means to escape; and fled to the Priory of *Sheen* near *Richmond*; where discovering himself to the Prior of that Monastery, he begged of him for Gods sake, to get the Kings Pardon for his life; which the Prior effected: but then was *Perkin* brought to the Court at *Westminster*, and was one day set

Submits himself again, and is again sent to the *Tower*. fettered in a pair of Stocks before *Westminster-Hall*, and there stood a whole day; the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in *Cheap-side*, and there standing the whole day also, he then read openly his Confession, written with his own hand; wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the *Tower*, and care taken he should be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithstanding once again *Perkin* attempted to escape, and drawing into a Confederacy with him the young Earl of *Warwick*; by fair words and large promises so corrupted his Keepers, *Strangwish*, *Blewet*, *Astwood*, and long *Roger*, Servants to Sir *John Digby* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, that they intended to have slain their Master, and set *Perkin* and the Earl of *Warwick* at liberty: But this practice was soon discovered, so that *Perkin* and *John a water*, sometime Mayor of *Cork* in *Ireland*, one of *Perkins* chief Founders, were on the sixteenth day of *November* arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to *Tyburn* and there hanged; where *Perkin* took it upon his death, that the Confession he had formerly made was true: soon after also *Blewet* and *Astwood*, two of the Lieutenants men, were in the same place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the same month, *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick* was arraigned at *Westminster* before the Earl of *Oxford*, then High Steward of *England*; not for consenting to break Prison, but for conspiring with *Perkin* to raise Sedition, and destroy the King; and, upon his confession, had Judgement, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same month, in the year 1499. was brought to to the Scaffold on the *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. This Earl of *Warwick* was the eldest Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, and was the last Heir-male of the name of *Plantagenet*, and had been kept in the *Tower* from his very infancy out of all company of Men and sight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one Beast from another; and therefore could never know how to practise his escape of himself, but by *Perkins* subtlety: for which cause the King favoured him so far, that he was not buried in the *Tower*, but at *Bissam* by his Ancestors. And thus ended the designs of *Perkin Warbeck*, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King, the space of seven or eight years, a great part of the Kings Reign.

Perkin attempting again to escape, is hanged at Tyburn.

Edward Plantagenet Earl of *Warwick* for plotting with *Perkin* is beheaded.

Another practice to set up one *Ralph Wilford*, to be the Earl of *Warwick*. But in the time of *Perkin*'s being in the *Tower*, another like practice was set on foot; for an *Augustine* Frier called *Patrick*, in the County of *Suffolk*, having a Scholar named *Ralph Wilford*, a Cordwayners Son, he caused him to take upon him to be the Earl of *Warwick*, lately by great chance gotten out of the *Tower*; and they going together into *Kent*, when the Frier perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpit, desiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholar were apprehended and attainted; the Scholar *Wilford* was hanged on *Shrovetuesday* at S. *Thomas Waterings*, and the Frier was condemned to perpetual Prison: for at that time so much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest, though he had committed Treason against the King, yet had his life spared: And this practice was some cause to exasperate the King against the Earl of *Warwick*, who though innocent in himself, yet was nocent in pretenders: and besides King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince *Arthur*, had written to the King in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his Sons succession, as long as the Earl of *Warwick* lived; and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

But the practice discovered, and *Wilford* hanged.

1500. In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in *England*; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne* about many important businesses: the King and Queen sailed over to *Callice*, where at an enterview between him and the Duke, at St. *Peters* Church without *Callice*, the Duke offered to hold the Kings Stirrup at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit; but descending from Horse-back, they embraced with great affection: and after Communication between them, the King and Queen in the end of *June* returned into *England*.

King *Henry* sails to *Callice* to confer with the Duke of *Burgoigne*.

1502. In his seventeenth year, two great Marriages were solemnized: the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain* was sent by her Father King *Ferdinand*, with a puissant Army of Ships into *England*; where she arrived at *Plimouth*, the second day of *October*; and, on the fourteenth of *November* after, was espoused openly to Prince *Arthur*, both being clad in white; he of the age of fifteen years, she of eighteen: at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before time he had not used to do; whereof one of his Chamberlains asking him the cause, he answered merrily, saying, I have been this night in the midst of *Spain*, which is a hot Countrey, and that

Prince *Arthur* espouseth the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*: and lie together all night.

that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Matron was laid in Bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Ladies portion was two hundred thousand Duckets; her joynture the third part of the principality of *Wales*, *Cornwal*, and *Chester*. At this Marriage was great solemnity and Royal Justings: during which time there came into *London* an Earl, a Bishop, and divers other Noble Personages sent from the King of *Scots* for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady *Margaret* the Kings eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy in the name of King *James* his Master, affianced and contracted the said Lady, which Contract was published at *Pauls* Cross, the day of the Conversion of Saint *Paul*; for joy whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and great fires were made through the City of *London*; and if such joy were made when the match was made, what joy should be made now at the issue of the Match, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and *England* and *Scotland* are but one great *Britain*? The Ladies portion was ten thousand pounds, her joynture two thousand pounds a year, after King *James* his death; and in present one thousand. When this Match was propounded at the Council Table, some Lords opposed it; objecting, that by this means the Crown of *England* might happen to come to the *Scottish* Nation. To which King *Henry* answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but of *Scotland* to *England*: and this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the Match proceeded, and in *August* following was consummate at *Edenburgh*, and she conducted thither in great state by the Earl of *Northumberland*.

The King of *Scots* marries the Lady *Margaret*, King *Henry*'s eldest daughter.

Prince *Arthur* after his marriage, was sent again into *Wales*, to keep that Countrey in good order; to whom were appointed for Counsellers, Sir *Richard Pool* his Kinsman and chief Chamberlain, Sir *Henry Vernon*, Sir *Richard Crofts*, Sir *David Philips*, Sir *William Udal*, Sir *Thomas Englefield*, Sir *Peter Newton*, *John Walleston*, *Henry Marton*, and Doctor *William Smith* President of his Council; but within five months after his marriage, at his Castle at *Ludlow*, he deceased, and with great solemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*. His Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was stayed from the Title of *Prince* of *Wales*, the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady *Katherine*, the Relict of Prince *Arthur*, was with childe or no. The towardlines in learning of this Prince *Arthur* is very memorable; who dying before the age of sixteen years, was said to have read over all or most of the Latin Authors, besides many other.

Prince *Arthur* within five months after his marriage dieth.

His towardlines in learning.

And now Prince *Arthur* being dead, and the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* left a young Widow; King *Henry* loth to part with her Dowry, but chiefly being desirous to continue the Alliance with *Spain*; prevailed with his other Son Prince *Henry*, though with some reluctation, such as could be in those years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contracted with the Princess *Katherine* his Brothers Widow; for which marriage, a dispensation, by advice of the most learned men at that time in Christendom, was by Pope *Julius* the second granted, and on the five and twentieth day of *June*, in the Bishop of *Salisbury*'s house in *Fleet-street*, the marriage was solemnized.

Prince *Henry* not above twelve years old is contracted to the Lady *Katharine* his Brothers Widow, by dispensation from the pope.

A little before this time *Edmund de la Pool*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk* and Lady *Elizabeth* Sister to King *Edward* the fourth, had in his fury killed a mean person, and was thereupon indicted of Murther; for which although he had the Kings Pardon, yet because he was brought to the Kings Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemish to his Honour, that in great rage he fled into *Flanders* to his Aunt the Lady *Margaret*; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince *Arthur* and the Lady *Katherine*, whether it were that in that solemnity he had run himself in debt, or whether he were drawn to do so by the Lady *Margaret*, he passed over the second time, with his Brother *Richard* into *Flanders*. This put the King into some doubt of his intention; whereupon he hath recourse to his usual course in such cases, and sent Sir *Robert Curson* Captain of *Hammes* Castle, to feign himself one of that Conspiracy, thereby to learn the depth of their intentions: And to take away all suspicion of his employment, the first Sunday of *November*, he caused the said Earl and Sir *Robert Curson*, with five others, to be accursed openly at *Pauls* Cross, as enemies to him and his Realm. In conclusion, Sir *Robert Curson* acquainted the King with divers of that faction; amongst whom, *William* Lord *Courtney*, and *William de la Pool*, , Brother to the foresaid Earl of *Suffolk*, who were taken but upon suspicion, yet held long in Prison: but Sir *James Tyrrel* (the same that had murdered the two young Princes in the *Tower*) and Sir *John Windham*, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly attainted, and on the sixth day of *May* at the *Tower-hill* beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good success, he wandered about all *Germany* and *France*, where finding no succour, he submitted himself at last to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, by whom afterward he was delivered to King *Henry*, by this occasion: *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon*, by his Wife *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named *Jone*, was married to this *Philip* Duke of *Austria*; the younger named *Katharine* to *Arthur* Prince of *England*: and now Queen *Isabella* being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of *Castile* descended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke *Philip*; they were sailed out of *Germany* into *Spain*, to take possession of the Kingdom; but by tempest and contrary windes were driven upon the Coast of *England*, and landed at *Weymouth* in *Dorsetshire*; where desiring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir *Thomas Trenchard* (a principal Knight in that Countrey) to his house, who presently sent word to the King of their arrival. King *Henry* glad to have his Court honoured by so great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained: sent presently the Earl of *Arundel* to wait upon him, till himself might follow;

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* his courses by which he offended King *Henry*, and what his end was.

1506.

follow ; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant Troop of three hundred Horſe, and for more ſtate came to him by Torch-light. Upon whoſe Meſſage, though King *Philip* had many reaſons of haſte on his Journey; yet not to give King *Henry* diſtaſte, and withal to give his Queen the comfort of ſeeing the Lady *Katharine* her Siſter; he went upon ſpeed to the Queen at *Windſor*, while his Queen followed by eaſie journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King *Henry* taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of *Caſtile* into a room, where they two only were private; and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, ſaid unto him, Sir, you have been ſaved upon my Coaſt; I hope you will not ſuffer me to wrack upon yours. The King of *Caſtile* asking him what he meant by that ſpeech? I mean it (ſaith the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of *Suffolk*; who being my Subject, is protected in your Countrey, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of *Caſtile* anſwered; I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above thoſe thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will baniſh him. King *Henry* replied, that his deſire was to have him delivered to him: with this the King of *Caſtile* a little confuſed, ſaid, That can I not do with my Honour: Well then (ſaid the King) the matter is at an end: at laſt the King of *Caſtile*, who held King *Henry* in great eſtimation, compoſing his countenance, ſaid, Sir, you ſhall have him; but upon your Honour, you ſhall not take his life. I promiſe it upon my Honour, ſaid King *Henry*; and he kept his promiſe, for he was not put to death during all his Reign; but yet he took ſuch order, that in the Reign of his Son King *Henry* the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of *Caſtiles* being here, a Treaty was concluded and bears date at *Windſor*; which the *Flemings* term *Intercurſus malus*, for that the free Fiſhing of the *Dutch* upon the Coaſts and Seas of *England*, granted in the Treaty of *Undecimo*, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now when King *Henry* had received the King of *Caſtile* into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince *Henry* admitted to the Order of the Golden-fleece; and that the Earl of *Suffolk* was brought over and committed to the *Tower*, the King of *Caſtile* departed home.

Two Calls of Serjeants at Law.

In this Kings time were two Calls of Serjeants at Law; one in his eleventh year, in which were called nine Serjeants, *Mordant*, *Higham*, *Kingeſmil*, *Conisby*, *Butler*, *Taxely*, *Frowick*, *Oxenbridge*, and *Conſtable*; who kept their Feaſt at the Biſhop of *Ely*'s Palace in *Holborn*, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twentieth year, in which were called ſeven Serjeants, *Robert Brudnel*, *William Grevil*, *Thomas Marow*, *George Edgore*, *Lewis Pollard*, *Guy Palmes*, and *William Fairfax* (who kept their Feaſt at the Archbiſhops Houſe in *Lambeth*.

King *Henry* having gotten as much honour as the eſtimation of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intentive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Inſtruments fit for his purpoſe, but eſpecially two, *Empſon* and *Dudley*, both Lawyers, and both of them Barons of the Exchequer; *Dudley* of a goodly Family, but *Empſon* the Son of a Sieve-maker. Theſe two perſons being put in Authority, turned Law and Juſtice into Rapine. For firſt, their manner was, to cauſe divers Subjects to be indicted of Crimes, and then preſently to commit them; and not produce them to their anſwer, but ſuffer them to languiſh long in priſon; and by ſundry Artificial devices and terror, extort from them great Fines, which they termed Compoſitions and Mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) obſerve ſo much as the half face of Juſtice, in proceeding by Indictment; but ſent forth their Precepts to attach men, and convent them before themſelves and ſome others at their private houſes, and there uſed to ſhuffle up a Summary proceeding by examination, without trial of Jury; aſſuming to themſelves, to deal both in Pleas of the Crown, and controverſies Civil. Then did they alſo uſe to inthral and charge the Subjects Land with Tenures in *Capite*, by finding falſe Offices; refuſing upon divers pretexts and delayes, to admit men to traverſe thoſe falſe Offices, as by Law they might. Nay the Kings Wards, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to have livery of their Lands, without paying exceſſive Fines, far exceeding all reaſonable rates. When men were out-lawed in perſonal actions, they would not permit them to purchaſe their Charters of Pardon, except they paid great and intolerable ſummes; ſtanding upon the ſtrict point of Law, which upon Outlawries gives forfeiture of goods. Nay, contrary to all Law and colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the half of mens Lands and Rents during the ſpace of full two years, for a Pain in caſe of Outlawry. They would alſo ruffle with Jurors, and enforce them to finde as they would direct; and if they did not, then convent, impriſon, and fine them. Theſe and many other courſes they had of preying upon the people: but their principal working was upon Penal Statutes; wherein they conſidered not whether the Law was obſolete, or in uſe; and had ever a rabble of Promotors and leading Jurors at their command, ſo as they could have any thing found, either for fact or valuation. There remaineth to this day a report, that King *Henry* was on a time entertained very ſumptuouſly by the Earl of *Oxford*, at his Caſtle of *Heningham*: and at the Kings going away, the Earls Servants ſtood in their Livery-coats with Cogniſances, ranged on both ſides, to make the King a lane: Whereupon the King called the Earl to him, and ſaid, My Lord, I have heard much of your Hoſpitality, but I ſee it is greater than is ſpoken; theſe handſome Gentlemen and Yeomen whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your Menial Servants. At which the Earl ſmiled, and ſaid, It may pleaſe your Grace, That were not for mine eaſe; they are moſt of them my Retainers, and are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to ſee your Grace. Whereat the King ſtarted a little, and ſaid: By my faith (my Lord) I thank you for my good chear; but I may not endure to have my Laws broken in my ſight: my Attorney

Empſon and *Dudley* King *Henry*'s Inſtruments for raiſing of money, and by what unjuſt courſes.

Chiefly upon Penal Statutes.

The Earl of *Oxford* entertains King *Henry* to his coſt.

torney must speak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a composition, fifteen thousand Marks. And to shew further the Kings extream diligence: I remember (saith Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord of *Verulam* in his History) to have seen long since a Book of accompt of *Empsons*, that had the Kings hand almost to every leaf, by way of singing: and was in some places postilled in the Margent with the Kings own hand likewise, where was this remembrance:

Item, received of such a one five Marks for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the Party be some other way satisfied.

And over against this *Memorandum* (of the Kings own hand) *Otherwise satisfied.* This (saith he) I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a nearness, but yet with a kinde of justness.

1508. In his three and twentieth year, there was a sharp prosecution against Sir *William Capel*, now the second time, for mis-government in his majoralty: The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which, and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds, whereof, being a man of stomach, he refused to pay a farthing; and thereupon was sent to the *Tower*, where he remained until the Kings death. *Knesworth* likewise, that had been lately Mayor of *London*, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their Offices questioned and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand four hundred pounds, Sir *Lawrence Ailmer*, who had likewise been Mayor of *London*, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds; and Sir *Lawrence* for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where he stayed till *Empson* himself was committed in his place. By these courses he accumulated so great store of Treasure, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key, and keeping at *Richmond* (as is reported) the sum of near 18. hundred thousand pounds sterling. But though by this course he got great store of Treasure; yet by it he lost the best treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such monies as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

King *Henry* at his death leaves eighteen hundred thousand pounds in ready money.

It seems King *Henry*, after the death of his Queen the Lady *Elizabeth*, had an inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great beauty and vertue of the young Queen of *Naples*, the Widow of *Ferdinando* the younger; he sent three confident persons, *Francis Marsin*, *James Braybrook*, and *John Stile*, to make two inquiries; one of her person and conditions, the other of her estate: Who returning their answer, that they found her Beauty and Vertues to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of *Naples*, as he expected: he then gave over any further medling in that matter. After this, another Treaty of Marriage was propounded to the King, between him and the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess Dowager of *Savoy*, only daughter to *Maximilian*, and Sister to the King of *Castile*; a Lady wise and of great fame: In which business was imployed, for his first piece, the Kings then Chaplain, and after, the great Prelate, *Thomas Woolsey*. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promise *de Futuro* only. Which marriage was protracted from time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the King: which held him by fits till he died.

King *Henry* had concluded to marry the Lady *Margaret* Dutchess Dowager of *Savoy*: but protracted by reason of his Infirmity.

King *Henry*'s Executors.

He left Executors, *Richard Fox*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Fitz-James*, Bishop of *London*, *Thomas* Bishop of *Durham*, *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* and Treasurer of *England*, *Edward* Earl of *Worcester* and Lord Chamberlain, *John F.* Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, and *Robert R.* Knight, chief Justice of the Common Pleas. A little before his death, he had concluded a Marriage (in which negotiation *Fox* Bishop of *Winchester* was imployed) between his younger Daughter the Lady *Mary*, of the age of ten years, and *Charles* King of *Castile*, not much elder: but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to *Lewis* the *French* King.

Of his Taxations.

IN his third year, there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in *Britain*; that every man should pay the tenth peny of his Goods: which Tax though at first withstood in *Yorkshire* and *Durham*, yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh year, towards his Wars in *France*, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great summes of money were collected of the richer sort only. In his eleventh year, a Subsidy of sixscore thousand pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his Wars with *Scotland*, which caused afterward the insurrection in *Cornwal*. In his nineteenth year a Subsidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year, he raised great summes of money from Offenders against Penal Statutes: the greatest, but the unjustest way for raising of money, that ever any King of *England* used; and not content with this, he required, and had at the same a benevolence both from the Clergy and Laity. To the Clergy was imployed *Richard Fox*, then Bishop of *Winchester*; who assembling the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their contribution; but the Clergy being of two sorts, rich and poor, made each of them several excuses: The rich and such as had great livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping Hospitality, and maintaining their Families; and therefore desired to be spared. The poor sort alledged, that their means were small, and scarce able to finde them necessaries, and therefore desired to be forborn. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in Hospitality, in apparel, and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have store to spend in that order, there is no reason but for your Princes service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, though your livings be small, yet your frugality is great, and you spend not in house-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content, for you shall pay.

Bishop *Fox*'s Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the King.

Of

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Yeomen of the Guard when first ordained.

THis King was the first that ordained a company of tall strong men,(naming them Yeomen of the Guard)to be attending about the person of the King; to whom he appointed a Livery by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time the authority of the Star-Chamber, which subsisted before by the Common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all strangers rights: Another for admission of poor suitors, *In formâ pauperis*, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Atturney, or Clerk. Another, that no person that did assist by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be Impeached therefore, or Attainted either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainder did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the summes which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the Letter *M.* and Thieves with the Letter *T.* so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but be put to death; and this to reach also to Clerks Convict. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, that the Mayors of *London* should have Conservation of the River of *Thames*, from the Bridge of *Stanes* to the waters of *Yendale* and *Medway*. In his seventeenth *John Shaw* Mayor of *London* caused his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the *Guild-hall* to the water side when he went to *Westminster* to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caused the Kitchins and other houses of Office to be builded at the *Guild-hall*; where since that time the Mayors Feast hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth year King *Henry* being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, *Richard* the third, *Edward* the fourth, *Henry* the sixth, *Henry* the fifth, *Henry* the fourth, and *Richard* the second; also of Dukes 11, Earls 28. Lords 48. he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

Fines to be final, ordained by this King.

The Mayors Feast when first kept at *Guild-hall.*

The Title of Merchant Taylors when first given.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the tenth year of his Reign, *Jone Boughton* Widow, was burnt in *Smithfield*, for holding certain opinions of *John Wickliffe*. In his seventh year, King *Henry*, finding great inconvenience by the priviledge of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope *Alexander*, desiring him by his authority, to adjudge all *English* men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treason, to be enemies to the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the priviledge of Sanctuary to all such as once had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500. a Jubilee in *Rome* was celebrated; whereof *Alexander* the then Pope, by his Messenger *Gaspar Pons* a *Spaniard*, gave notice to the King, offering withal, that those who could not come to *Rome*, should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came; and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the King, and also promised to bestow it upon a War against the *Turk*; by which course he gathered great summes, for which he had other use than to spend it so idely. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope *Alexander* the sixth died of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, where his Son *Valentinois* meaning to poyson *Adrian* Cardinal of *Cornetta*, sent thither certain flaggons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a servant of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before Supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for drink, his own provision being not yet come: The servant that had the poysoned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son *Valentinois* came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poysoned; but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died: his Son by the strength of youth bare it out, though with long languishing.

Pope *Alexander* the sixth poysoned, by what chance

Works of Piety and other Structures by him, and others

THis King Magnificently enlarged *Greenwich*, which *Humfrey* Duke of *Gloucester* had formerly builded, calling it *Placentia*. In his sixteenth year, he new builded his Mannor of *Sheen*, and named it *Richmond*: He also new builded *Baynards* Castle in *London*. In his two and twentieth year, he finished the goodly Hospital of the *Savoy* near *Charing-cross*, to which he gave Lands for the relieving of two hundred poor people. This was first called *Savoy-place*, built by *Peter* Earl of *Savoy*, Father to *Boniface* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, about the nine and twentieth year of *Henry* the third, who made the said *Peter* Earl of *Richmond*. The house belonged since to the Duke of *Lancaster*; and at this time was converted to an Hospital, retaining still the first name of the *Savoy*. In this Kings time, *John Morton* being Bishop of *Ely*, bestowed great cost upon his house at *Hatfield* in *Hartfordshire*, now the house of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Salisbury*; and at *Wesbich* Castle in *Cambridgeshire*, a house belonging to that See; all the Brick building was of his charge: Being afterward Bishop of *Canterbury*, he bestowed great summes in repairing and augmenting his houses at *Maidstone*, *Alington-Park*, *Charing*, *Ford*, *Lambeth*, and specially at *Knoll* in *Kent*, where he died. King *Henry* also builded three houses of *Franciscan-Friers*, which are alled Observants; one at *Richmond*, another at *Greenwich*, a third at *Newark*; and three other of *Franciscan-Friers*, which are called Conventuals, one at *Canterbury*

Greenwich enlarged by King *Henry.*

Richmond newbuilded.

The *Savoy* made an Hospital.

The priviledge of Sanctuaries abated.

another at *Newcaſtle*, and a third at *Southampton*. And drawing near his end, he did theſe works of Charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed againſt any of his Laws, Thieves, and Murtherers only excepted: He paid alſo all Fees of all Priſoners in all Goals in and about *London*, abiding there for that cauſe only: He paid alſo the Debts of all ſuch perſons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty ſhillings or under, and ſome alſo for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the Eaſt-ſide of the High Altar at *Weſtminſter* Church, with a Tavern called the *White-Roſe* near adjoyning, was taken down, in which place a moſt beautiful Chappel was then preſently begun to be builded by King *Henry*; the charges whereof amounted to the ſumme of fourteen thouſand pounds (as *Stow* witneſſeth.) In his ſecond year, the great Conduit in *Cheapſide* at the charges of *Thomas Ilam* Alderman of *London*, was new made; and the Croſs alſo in *Cheapſide* was new builded; towards the charges whereof *Thomas Fiſher* Mercer gave five hundred Marks. In his ſeventh year, the Conduit in *Grace-ſtreet* was begun to be builded by the Executors of Sir *Thomas Hill* Grocer, late Mayor of *London*. Alſo this year, *Hugh Clapton* Mayor of *London*, builded the great Bridge of *Stratford* upon *Avon*; as likewiſe a fair Chappel toward the South-end of that Town; and near unto the ſame, a pretty houſe of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life: He glazed alſo the Chancel of the Pariſh Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from *Aliſbury* towards *London*, and one mile beyond *Aliſbury*. In his tenth year, *John Tate* Mayor of *London*, builded the Church of St. *Anthonies* with a Free-School, and certain Alms-houſes for poor men. In his time his Mother the Lady *Margaret* Counteſs of *Richmond* builded two Colledges in *Cambridge*, one called *Chriſts* Colledge, the other St. *Johns*; and endowed them with large poſſeſſions, for the maintenance of learning. *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, founded *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, and *William Smith* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Brazen-noſe* Colledge: He alſo builded at *Lichfield* an Hoſpital, for a Maſter, two Prieſts, and ten poor men; as likewiſe a Free-School, with a School-Maſter, and an Uſher. *Anne Aveling* gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in *Ciceſter*. In his time alſo *John Alcock* Biſhop of *Ely*, builded *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*: and in his two and twentieth year *Tho. Kneſworth* Mayor of *London* builded the Conduit at *Biſhopſgate* at his own charge; and gave to the Fiſhmongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at *Oxford*, and two at *Cambridge*, to each of them four pounds a year: alſo to poor people and Priſoners in *Ludgate* ſomething yearly. In his twentieth year, Sir *William Capel* Mayor of *London*, cauſed all *Hounſditch* to be paved over; which till that time, had lien very noyouſly to all travellers that way. In his fourteenth year, all the Gardens without *Moor-gate* (which had continued time out of minde) were deſtroyed; and of them was made a plain Field, for Archers to ſhoot in. In this Kings time alſo, *Thomas Savage* Archbiſhop of *York*, repaired the Caſtle of *Cawood*, and the Mannor of *Scroby*, and founded the Chappel at *Maclesfield* in *Cheſhire*, where he was born. Alſo in his time *Stephen Gennings*, Mayor of *London*, founded a Free Grammar School at *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordſhire*, where he was born; and gave Lands ſufficient for a Maſter and an Uſher, leaving the overſight to the Merchant Taylors in *London*. This Town of *Wolverhampton*, commonly ſo called, is originally and rightly called *Wilfrune-hampton*, upon this occaſion. The Town was anciently called *Hampton*, to which a noble Woman named *Wilfrune*, a Widow, ſometime Wife of *Athelm* Duke of *Northampton*, obtained of King *Ethelred*, to give Lands to the Church there which ſhe had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the ſaid *Wilfrune*. In this Kings time alſo *John Colet* Dean of *Pauls*, founded *Pauls* School in the Church-yard there.

The Croſs in *Cheapſide* new builded.

The Conduit in *Grace-ſtreet* builded.

Chriſts Colledge, and St. *Johns* in *Cambridge* founded.

Corpus Chriſti Colledge, and *Brazen-noſe* in *Oxford* founded

Jeſus Cotledge in *Cambridge* founded.

Hounſditch was firſt paved.

Wolverhampton why ſo called.

Pauls School firſt founded.

Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his firſt year, happened the Sickneſs called the Sweating Sickneſs; which though it continued not long, yet took away many thouſands: and in his two and twentieth year, the like Sweating Sickneſs happened again; but, by reaſon of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

Two Sweating Sickneſſes.

In his ſecond year Wheat was ſold for three ſhillings the Quarter, Bay-ſalt at the like price: In his ſeventh year Wheat was ſold at *London* for twenty pence the Buſhel, which was counted a great dearth. In his tenth year, Wheat was ſold at *London* for ſix pence the Buſhel, Bay ſalt for three pence half-peny, *Nantwich* Salt for ſix pence, white Herrings nine ſhillings the Barrel, red Herrings three ſhillings the Cade, red Sprats ſix pence the Cade, and *Gaſcoigne* Wines for ſix pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year *Gaſcoigne* Wine was ſold at *London* for forty ſhillings the Tun, a Quarter of Wheat four ſhillings, and Bay-ſalt four pence the Buſhel.

The price of Corn and other things in his time.

The two and twentieth of *Auguſt* 1485. the very day that King *Henry* got the Victory of King *Richard*; a great fire was in *Bread-ſtreet* in *London*, in which was burnt the Parſon of St. *Mildreds*, and one other man in the Parſonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new Foundation in the Church of St. *Mary Hill* in *London*, the body of *Alice Hackney*, which had been buried in the Church a hundred ſeventy five years before, was found whole of ſkin, and the joynts of her Arms pliable, which Corps was kept above ground four dayes, without annoyance, and then again buried.

A dead body found whole of ſkin above a hundred years after it was buried.

In his twelfth year, on *Bartholomew* day, at the Town of St. *Needs* in *Bedfordſhire* there fell Hail-ſtones that were meaſured eighteen Inches about.

Hail-ſtones 18. inches about.

In his thirteenth year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, ſuddenly in the night brake out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Mannor of *Sheen*; by violence whereof a great part of the old Building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of *Braham* in *Nor-*

Norfolk was burnt: also this year, a great Plague happened, whereof many people died in many places, but specially in *London*, where there died in that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Alum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of *Norwich* was well-near consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in *July*, a Gallery new builded at *Richmond*, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Tempest which drave King *Philip* into *England*, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of *Pauls*; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black Eagle, which was in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House; as indeed it proved: for this King *Philip* being the Emperours Son, arriving in *Spain*, sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease his Wife Queen *Jone*, out of her tender love to him, fell distracted of her Wits.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned: She lived his Wife eighteen years, and died in Childbed in the *Tower* of *London*, the eleventh of *February*, the very day in which she was born; and is buried at *Westminster*, in the magnificent Chappel and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had Issue by her three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son *Arthur* was born at *Wincheſter*, the twentieth day of *September*, in the second year of his Reign, and died at *Ludlow*, at fifteen years old and a half: and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Maries* in *Worcester*, where in the South-side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son *Henry* was born at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, on the two and twentieth day of *June*, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son *Edmund* was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and died at five years of age, at *Bishops Hatfield*, and lies buried at St. *Peters* in *Westminster*. His eldest Daughter *Margaret* was born the nine and twentieth day of *November*, the fifth year of her Fathers Reign; and at fourteen years of age was married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*; unto whom she bare three Sons, *James* the fifth, *Arthur*, and *Alexander*, and one Daughter, which three last died all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King *James*, (slain at *Flodden-field* in fight against the *English*) she was re-married to *Archibald Douglass* Earl of *Angus*, in the year 1514 to whom she bare *Margaret*, espoused to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Father of the Lord *Henry*, who died at the age of nine months, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Parish Church of *Stepney* near *London*: Her second Son was *Henry* Lord *Dernly*, reputed for Personage the goodliest Gentleman of Europe; who married *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch *James* the first, King of *Great Britain*. Her third Son was *Charles* Earl of *Lenox*, Father to the Lady *Arbella*. King *Henry's* second Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was born in the year 1492. at three years of age died, and was buried at *Westminster*: His third Daughter the Lady *Mary* had been promised to *Charles* King of *Castile*; but was married to *Lewis* the twelfth, King of *France*; who dying three months after, she was then married to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*: His fourth Daughter, the Lady *Katherine* was born in the year 1503. in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and died an Infant.

The Lady *Arbella's* Parentage.

Queen *Elizabeth* died the very day in which she was born.

Births in the eighth month not long lived.

Margaret Queen of *Scots* her Issue.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was of Body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher than the common sort, his eyes gray, his hair thin, of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the vertue of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick, if not rather that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumspection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; alwayes Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was less addicted to bodily pleasures of any kinde, than he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cases; one for Safety, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth: in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church was seen by his great employment of Church-men; for through the hands of Bishop *Morton*, Bishop *Fox*, and his Chaplain *Ursewick*, the greatest part of all his Negotiations passed. He was frugal from his Youth, not covetous, till ancient and sickly; and therefore what defect he had in that kinde, must be attributed to age and weakness. The City of *London* was his Paradise, for what good fortune soever befel him, he thought he enjoyed it not, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent came by Women; his own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his transmission of the Crown to his Posterity, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady *Margaret*, descended from *John* of *Gaunt*; the second by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward* the fourth; the third by the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of himself King of *England*, and married to *James* the Fourth, King of *Scotland*; by means whereof, as he was

the Prince that joyned the two Roſes in one, ſo he was the Founder of joyning the two Kingdoms in one. And laſtly, it may be ſaid of him as was ſaid by one of *Auguſtus Cæſar*,—— *Hic vir, hic eſt, tibi quem promitti ſæpius audis:* For *Cadwallader* laſt King of the *Britains* ſeven hundred years before had propheſied of him; and of later time King *Henry* the ſixth plainly foreſhewed him.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the two and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a defluxion alſo taking into his Breaſt, waſted his Lungs, ſo that thrice in a year, and ſpecially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Ptiſick, which brought him to his end; at his Palace of *Richmond*, on the two and twentieth day of *April* in the year 1508. when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight months, being dead, and all things neceſſary for his Funeral prepared; his Corps was brought out of his privy Chamber, into the great Chamber, where it reſted three dayes; and every day had there a Dirge and Maſs ſung by a Prelate, Mitred: and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, wherein it remained alſo three dayes, and had a like ſervice there: and ſo three dayes in the Chappel: Upon Wedneſday the ninth of *May*, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King, laid on Cuſhions of Gold: and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chaplain and a great number of Prelates ſet forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Chariot, and after the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every ſide were carried Torches, to the number of ſix hundred: and in this order they came from *Richmond* to St. *George*'s field: where there met with it all the Prieſts and Religious men within the City and without: The Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all clothed in Black, met with the Corps at *London* Bridge: and ſo the Chariot was brought throughout the City to the Cathedral of St. *Paul*, where the Body was taken out, and carried into the Choire, and ſet under a goodly Hearſe of Wax; where, after a ſolemn Maſs, was made a Sermon by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*: The next day the Corps in like manner was removed to *Weſtminſter*; Sir *Edward Howard* bearing the Kings Banner. In *Weſtminſter* was a curious Hearſe full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by ſix Lords, and ſet under the Hearſe, which was double railed: when the Mourners were ſet, *Garter*, King at Arms, cried, For the ſoul of the Noble Prince *Henry* the ſeventh, late King of this Realm: The next day were three Maſſes ſolemnly ſung by Biſhops, and after the Maſſes was offered the Kings Banner and Courſer, his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm, and at the end of the Maſs, the Mourners offered up rich Palls of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin: and when the Choire ſang *Libera me*, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treaſurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treaſurer and Comptroller of the Kings Houſhold brake their Staves, and caſt them into the Grave: Then *Garter* cried with a loud voice, *Vive le Roy Henry le huiteſme, Roy d' Angliterre & de France. ſyre d' Irlande*: And thus ended the Funeral.

Of Men of Note in his time.

OF Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be ſeen in the Hiſtory of this Kings Reign: For men of Letters in his time, of Forreigners were *Sanctus Pagninus* a great Hebrician; *Leonicenus*, *Gattinaria*, *Cabellus* and *Optatus*, Phyſicians; *Auguſtinus Niphus*, *Jacobus Faber*, *Stapulenſis* and *Pighius*, Philoſophers; *Petrus Bembus*, and the famous Clerk *Renchlin*, who reſtored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Countrey, there lived in his time, *George Rippley* a Carmelite Frier of *Boſton*, who wrote divers Treatiſes in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer; *John Erghom* born in *York*, a Black Frier, ſtudious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the works he wrote may appear. *Thomas Mallorie* a Welſhman, who wrote of King *Arthur*, and of the Round Table. *John Rouſe* born in *Warwickſhire*, a diligent ſearcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatiſes of Hiſtorical Argument: *Thomas Scroop* ſurnamed *Bradley*, of the Noble Family of the *Scroops*, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himſelf to his houſe, where for twenty years he lived the life of an Anchorite; and after, coming abroad again was made a Biſhop in *Ireland*, and went to *Rhodes* in Ambaſſage; from whence being returned, he went barefooted up and down in *Norfolk*, teaching the Ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred years old. *John Tonneys*, an Auguſtine Frier in *Norwich*, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things printed by *Richard Pinſon*. *Robert Fabian* a Sheriffe of *London*, and an Hiſtoriographer. *Edmund Dudley*, the ſame man whom King *Henry* uſed to take the forfeitures of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book entituled *Arbor Rei-publicæ*. *John Bockingham* an excellent Schoolman: and *William Blackney* a Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity, and a Necromancer.

Robert Fabian lived at this time.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Hugh Brice* was Mayor.
John Tate, *John Swan*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Henry Cellet* was Mayor.
John Percival, *Hugh Clopton*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
William Horn was Mayor.
John Fenkel, *William Remington*, Sheriffs.

In

In his fourth year,
Robert Tate was Mayor.
William Isaac, *Ralph Tinley*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
William White was Mayor.
William Capel, *John Brook*, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Matthew was Mayor.
Henry Cote, *or Coot*, *Robert Revel*, and he dying,
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Hugh Clopton was Mayor.
Thomas Wood, *William Brown*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Martin* was Mayor.
William Purchase, *William Walbeck*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Ralph Austry was Mayor.
Robert Fabian, *John Winger*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Chawrie was Mayor.
Nicholas Alwin, *John Warner*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *Henry Collet* was Mayor:
Thomas Kneesworth, *Henry Sommer*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Tate was Mayor.
John Shaa, *Richard Hedon*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Purchase was Mayor.
Barthol. Rede, *Thomas Windew*, or *Windout*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Percival* was Mayor.
Thomas Bradbury. *Stephen Gennings*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Nicholas Aldmine was Mayor.
James Wilford, *Thomas* or *Richard Brond*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Rennington was Mayor.
John Hawes, *William Steed*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year.
Sir *John Shaa* was Mayor.
Lawrence Aylmer, *Henry Hede*, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Anno Dom. 1509.

KING *Henry* the Seventh being deceased, his only Son Prince *Henry* Heir by his Father of the House of *Lancaster*, and by his Mother of the House of *York*; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown, at the age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of *April*, in the Year 1509. who having been trained up in the study of good Letters all his Fathers time; he governed at first as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in so regular and fair a manner, that as of *Neroes* Government, there was said to be *Quiquennium Neronis*; so of this Kings, there might as just be said, *Decennium Henrici*; and perhaps double so long a time, comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign, that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew, when we come to the time of his alteration. King *Henry*, having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able Counsellors; made it his first care, to make choice of an able Council; to which he called *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Chancellour of *England*, *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, and Treasurer of *England*, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Lord Steward of his Houshold, *Charles Somerset* Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Thomas Lovel*, Sir *Henry Wyat*, Doctor *Thomas Ruthal*, and Sir *Edward Poynings*; by advice of these Counsellors, his first Act after the care of his Fathers Funeral, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady *Katherine* of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother Prince *Arthur*; to which perhaps, but in respect of filial piety, he had not the greatest devotion; and for relinquishing whereof, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope, than his Father had done, for getting it to be allowed: but obsequiousness to his Fathers desire, and respect to his Councils advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned, till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both: and so on the third day of *June* following, he married the said Lady at the Bishop of *Salisburies* House in *Fleet-street*; where of many great solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin Widow, she was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behinde at the full length; and then (having made in the *Tower* four and twenty Knights of the *Bath*) two dayes after being *Midsummer* day, he was Crowned at *Westminster*, together with his Queen, by the hands of *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with all circumstances of State in such cases usual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King? they all with one voice, cried, Yea, Yea.

His choice of good Counsellors.

He marries the Lady *Katherine* the relict of his Brother *Arthur*.

He and his Queen Crowned.

This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to proclaim Pardons for all Offences, (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have restitution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such injustice are alwayes most odious, and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished; he therefore caused *Empson* and *Dudley*, the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the *Tower*, and divers of their inferiour Agents, called Promoters, as *Canby*, *Page*, *Smith*, *Derby*, *Wight*, *Simpson*, and *Stockton*, to be set on the Pillory in *Cornhill*, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City, with their faces to the Horse tails; with the shame whereof in seven dayes after, they all died in *Newgate*. Shortly after a Parliament was called, whereof Sir *Thomas Ingleby* was chosen Speaker; and therein *Empson* and *Dudley* were attainted of High Treason, and after arraigned; *Edmund Dudley* in the *Guildhall*, on the seventeenth of *July*, and Sir *Richard Empson* at *Northampton* in *October* following; and on the seventeenth of *August* the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the *Tower-hill*, and their bodies and heads buried, the one at *White-Friers*, the other at the *Black*.

Empson and *Dudley* committed to the Tower.

1510. Both of them beheaded.

On *Midsummer* Eve at night, King *Henry* came privily into *Cheapside*, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the same: and this first year King *Henry* spent in Justs and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence alwayes; and sometimes with great acts of Valour on the Kings part specially.

In *February* the same year, Ambassadors came from

from the Kings Father in law, the King of *Aragon*, requiring aid againſt the *Moors*; in which ſervice, the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, a Knight of the Garter, making ſuit to be employed, he was ſent thither, and with him the Lord *Anthony Gray*, Brother to the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sidney*, Eſquires of the Kings Houſe, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *Roger Haſtings*, Sir *Ralph Elderton*, and others, who, on the Munday in the Rogation Week, departed out of *Plymouth* Haven with four Ships Royal, and on the firſt of *June* arrived at the Port of *Cadis* in South *Spain*; of whoſe coming the King of *Aragon* hearing, ſent to bid them welcome; but adverti ſing them withal, that he had now by reaſon of new troubles with *France*, taken truce with the *Moors*, and therefore they might return again to their own Countrey, to whom yet he allowed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon the Lord *Darcy* and all his men went aboard their Ships; but *Henry Guilford*, *Wolſtan Brown*, and *William Sydney*, deſirous to ſee the Court of *Spain*, went thither, and were honourably entertained. *Henry Guilford*, and *Wolſtan Brown* were made Knights by the King; who gave to Sir *Henry Guilford* a *Canton* of *Granado*; and to Sir *Wolſtan Brown* an *Eagle* of *Sicily* on a *Chief*, to the augmentation of their Arms; *William Sydney* ſo excuſed himſelf, that he was not made Knight, After this they returned to their Ships, and their Ships into *England*.

Sir *Henry Guilford*, and Sir *Wolſtan Brown* the honours done them in *Spain*.

During the time that the Lord *Darcy* was in *Spain*, the Lady *Masgaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Daughter unto *Maximilian* the Emperour, and Governeſs of *Flanders* and other the Low-Countreys, pertaining to *Charles* the young Prince of *Caſtile*, ſent to King *Henry* for fifteen hundred Archers, to aid her againſt the Duke of *Gelders*, which the King granted; and thereupon Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, and Comptroler of the Kings Houſe appointed to go, accompanied with his Son in Law the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Matthew Brown*, Sir *John Digby*, *John Werton*, *Richard Witherill*, and others to the number of fifteen hundred, took Shipping at *Sandwich*, and paſſing over to the ſaid Lady Regent, did her there great ſervice; for which *John Norton*, *John Fogge*, *John Scot*, and *Thomas Linde* were Knighted; and then with many thanks and rewards returned, not having loſt in all the Journey, by War or Sickneſs, above an hundred men.

Sir *Edward Poynings* ſent aid to the Dutcheſs of *Savoy*.

In the third year of King *Henries* Reign, one *Andrew Barton* a *Scottiſh* Pyrate, was grown ſo bold, that he robbed *Engliſh* men no leſs than other Nations, till the King ſent his Admiral, Sir *Edward Howard*, to repreſs him, who in a fight ſo wounded the ſaid *Barton*, that he died; and then taking two of his Ships, brought the men Priſoners to *London*; and though their offence deſerved no leſs than death, yet the King was ſo merciful as to pardon them all; provided they departed the Realm within twenty dayes. The King of *Scots* hearing of the death of *Barton*, and taking of his Ships, ſent to King *Henry*, requiring reſtitution; but King *Henry* anſwered his Herauld, that he rather looked for thanks for ſparing their lives, who ſo juſtly had deſerved death.

Sir *Edward Howard* Admiral, repreſſeth *Andrew Barton* a *Scottiſh* Pirate.

In the third year alſo of King *Henry*'s Reign, the *French* King made ſharp War againſt Pope *Julius* the ſecond; whereupon King *Henry* wrote to the *French* King, requiring him to deſiſt from his War againſt the Pope, being his Friend and Confederate; but when the King of *France* little regarded his requeſt, he then ſent him word to deliver him his Inheritance of the Dutchy of *Normandy* and *Guyen*, and the Countreys of *Anjou* and *Mayne*; as alſo his Crown of *France*, or elſe he would recover it by the Sword. But when the King of *France* was not moved with this threatning neither; King *Henry* then joyning in League with the Emperour *Maximilian*, with *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and with divers other Princes, reſolved by advice of his Council to make War on the King of *France*, and to that end made preparation both by Sea and Land.

Anno Reg. 3 1512. King Henry makes preparation for War with France.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmas at *Greenwich*, in a moſt magnificent manner. On New-years day was preſented one of his Jovial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what his ſhows at other times were, I think fit to ſet down at large. In the Hall was made a Caſtle, garniſhed with Artillery and Weapons, in a moſt warlike faſhion, and on the Front of the Caſtle was written, *la Fortreſſe Dangereuſe*: within the Caſtle were ſix Ladies, cloathed in Ruſſet Satten, laid all over with leaves of Gold: on their heads Coyfs and Caps of Gold. After this Caſtle had been carried about the Hall, and the Queen had beheld it; in came the King with five other, apparelled in Coats, one half of Ruſſet Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold; the other half of rich cloth of Gold: on their heads Caps of Ruſſet Satten, embroidered with works of fine Gold. Theſe ſix aſſaulted the Caſtle, whom the Ladies ſeeing ſo luſty and courageous, they were contented to ſolace with them; and upon further communication, to yield the Caſtle; and ſo they came down and danced a long ſpace: after that the Ladies led the Knights into the Caſtle, and then the Caſtle ſuddenly vaniſhed out of their ſights. On the twelth day at night, the King with eleven more were diſguiſed, after the manner of *Italy*, called a Mask; a thing not ſeen before in *England*. They were apparelled in Garments long and broad, wrought all with Gold, with Viſors and Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done, theſe Maskers came in, with ſix Gentlemen diſguiſed in Silk, bearing ſtaffe Torches, and deſired the Ladies to dance, and after they had danced and communed together, took their leave and departed.

One of King *Henry*'s Jovial Devices.

The five and twentieth of *January* began the Parliament, of which was Speaker Sir *Robert Sheffield* Knight, where the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſhewed the wrong which the King of *France* did to the King of *England*, in withholding his Inheritance from him; and thereupon the Parliament concluded, that War ſhould be made on the *French* King and his Dominions.

The War with *France* concluded by Parliament.

At this time King *Ferdinand* of *Spain*, having War with the *French* King, wrote to his Son in Law King *Henry*, that if he would ſend over an Army into *Biskey*, and invade *France* on that ſide; he would aid them with Ordinance, Horſes,

and

Upon the King of *Spains* promise of aid, King *Henry* sends a great Army to him, but is deluded.

and all other things neceſſary: whereupon *Thomas Gray*, Marqueſs *Dorſet*, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *Brook*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lords *John*, *Anthony*, and *Leonard Gray*, all Brothers to the Marqueſs; Sir *Griffith ap Rice*, Sir *Maurice Barkeley*, Sir *William Sands*, the Baron of Burford, and Sir *Richard Cornwal* his Brother, *William Huſſey*, *John Melton*, *William Kingſtone* Eſquires, and Sir *Henry Willoughby*, with divers others, to the number of ten thouſand; who taking Ship at *Southampton* on the ſixteenth of *May*, the third of *June* they landed on the Coaſt of *Biskey*, whither, within three dayes after their arrival, came from the King a Marqueſs and an Earl to welcome them; but of ſuch neceſſaries as were promiſed, there came none: ſo as the *Engliſh* being in ſome want of victuals, the King of *Navarre* offered to ſupply them, which they accepted; and promiſed thereupon not to moleſt his Territories. After the Army had lien thirty dayes, looking for aid and proviſion from the King of *Spain*, at laſt a Biſhop came from the King, deſiring them to have patience a while, and very ſhortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the *Engliſh* men forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into ſuch ſickneſs, that many of them died, at leaſt eighteen hundred perſons: which the Lord Marqueſs ſeeing, he ſent to the King to know his pleaſure, who ſent him anſwer, that very ſhortly the Duke of *Alva* ſhould come with a great power, and joyn with him: and indeed the Duke of *Alva* came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promiſed; but being come within a dayes journey, he ſuddenly turned towards the Realm of *Navarre*; and entring the ſame, chaſed out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of *Spains* uſe. This *Spaniſh* policy pleaſed not the *Engliſh*, who finding nothing but words from the King of *Spain*, and being weary of lying ſo long idle, they fell upon ſome ſmall Towns in the borders of *Guyen*; but, for want of Horſes, as well for ſervice as draught, were unable to perform any great matter: at which time, being now *October*, the Lord Marqueſs fell ſick, and the Lord *Howard* ſupplyed his place of General. To whom the King of *Spain* once again ſent excuſing his preſent coming, and requiring him, ſeeing the time of year was now paſt, that he would be pleaſed to break up his Army, and diſperſe his Companies into Towns thereabouts till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promiſes: Hereupon the Lord *Howard* and his Company went to *Rendre*, the Lord *Willoughby* to *Gorſchange*, and Sir *William Sands* with many other Captains to *Fontareby*. King *Henry* in the mean time, hearing what the King of *Spains* intention was; ſent his Herald *Windſor* with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there; for that very ſhortly he meant to ſend them a new ſupply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord *Herbert* his Chamberlain; but this meſſage ſo incenſed the Souldiers, that in a great fury they had ſlain the Lord *Howard*, if he had not yielded preſently to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of *December* they landed in *England*; being taught by this experience what truſt is to be given to *Spaniſh* promiſes.

Anno Reg. 5 1514.

About the ſame time that the Marqueſs went into *Spain*, Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, with twenty great Ships made forth towards *Britain*: where ſetting his men on land, he burned and waſted divers Towns and Villages, and being threatned by the Lords of *Britain* to be encountred, to encourage his Gentlemen, he made divers of them Knights; as Sir *Edward Brook* Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Griffith Down*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *John Burdet*, Sir *William Pirton*, Sir *Henry Sherburn*, and Sir *William Bull*. The *Britains* were ten thouſand, the *Engliſh* but five and twenty hundred; yet the *Britains*, not contented with this advantage of number, would needs uſe policy beſides; for, by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men, that as ſoon as the Battels were joyned, they ſhould retire a little, meaning thereby to draw the *Engliſh* into ſome diſadvantage; but the common Souldiers not knowing their Generals purpoſe, and ſuppoſing he had ſeen ſome preſent danger, inſtead of retiring took their heels and fled; ſo giving the *Engliſh* by their *Britiſh* policy, if not a Victory, at leaſt a ſafety to return to their Ships. After which the *Britains* ſued for Truce, and could not obtain it; for the *Engliſh* Admiral purſued his forraging the Countrey, till fearing there were many *French* Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Iſle of *Wight*. King *Henry* in the mean time followed his pleaſures, and in *June* kept a ſolemn Juſt at *Greenwich*, where he and Sir *Charles Brandon* took up all comers; and the King ſhewed himſelf no leſs a King at Arms than in Eſtate.

Policy to ſelf-hurt.

After this, King *Henry* having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Governance of Sir *Anthony Outhread*, Sir *Edmund Ichingham*, *William Sidney*, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Iſle of *Wight*, there to joyn with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five aed twenty fair Ships: and to *Portſmouth* he went himſelf to ſee them, where he appointed Captains, for one of his chiefeſt Ships called the Regent, Sir *Thomas Knevet* Maſter of his Horſe, and Sir *John Carew* of *Devonſhire*, and to another principal Ship called the Sovereign, he appointed for Captains, Sir *Charles Brandon*, and Sir *Henry Guilford*; and then making them a Banquet, ſent them going. The *French* King likewiſe had prepared a Navy of nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of *Breſt*, whereof the chief was, a great *Carrick*, called the *Cordelyer*, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. Theſe two Fleets met at the Bay of *Britain*, and there entered a terrible fight; the Lord Admiral made with the great Ship of *Deep*, and chaſed her; Sir *Charles Brandon* and Sir *Henry Guilford* being in the Sovereign, made with the great *Carrick* of *Breſt*, and laid ſtemme to ſtemme to her: but, whether by negligence of the Maſter, or by reaſon of the ſmoke from the Ordinance, the Sovereign was caſt at the ſtern of the *Carrick*; whereat the *French* men ſhouted

The two Fleets of the *French* and *Engliſh* have a terrible Fight.

Sir *Thomas Knevet* in the Kings Ship called the *Regent* drowned.

shouted for joy; which Sir *Thomas Knevet* seeing, suddenly he caused the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get asunder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the stream the Ships turned, and the Carrick was on the Weather side, and the Regent on the Lee side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the *English* men entred the Carrick, which when a Gunner saw, he desperately set fire on the Gun-powder (as some say) though others affirmed, that Sir *Anthony Outhread* following the Regent at the Stern, bowged her on divers places, and set her powder on fire; but howsoever it chanced the Carrick and the Regent both were consumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir *Piers Morgan*, and with him nine hundred men: In the Regent were Sir *Thomas Knevet* and Sir *John Carew*, and with them seven hundred men, all drowned and burnt. King *Henry* to repair the loss of the Regent, caused a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been seen in *England*, and named it *Henry Grace de Dieu*.

King *Henry* makes the great Ship called *Henry Grace de Dieu.*

Though King *Henry* had hitherto followed his pleasures, as well agreeing with his youth and constitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time severer studies; for he frequented daily his Council Table, and no matter of importance was resolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with *France*, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Council, till he had it debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he called his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was resolved, that himself in person with a Royal Army, should invade *France*; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

It is concluded in Parliament, that King *Henry* in person should invade *France.*

On *May* even this year, *Edmund de la Pool* Earl of *Suffolk* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*: This was that Earl of *Suffolk*, whom King *Philip* Duke of *Austria* had delivered up into the hands of King *Henry* the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed; but his Son King *Henry* the Eighth was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir *Charles Brandon* was created Viscount *Lisle*:

Edmund de la Pool Earl of *Suffolk* put to death.

Sir *Charles Brandon* is created Viscount *Lisle.*

For all the great preparation for *France* King *Henry* forbore not his course of Revelling, but kept his Christmas at *Greenwich*, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In *March* following, the Kings Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was set forth, under the conduct of Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir *Walter Devereux*, Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Woolstan Brown*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *Anthony Poynings*, Sir *John Walloppe*, Sir *Thomas Windham*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *Arthur Plantagenet*, *William Sidney* Esquires, and divers other Gentlemen, who sailing to *Britain*, came into *Bertram* Bay, and there lay at Anchor in sight of the *French* Navy, whereof one *Prior John* was Admiral, who keeping himself close in the Haven of *Brest*; the *English* Admiral intended to assail him in the Haven; but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caused certain Boats to be manned forth, thinking thereby to toule out the *French*; but when this neither would draw them to come abroad, he then called a Council, where it was determined, that first they should assail *Prior John* and his Gallies, lying in *Blankesable* Bay, and after set upon the rest of the *French* Fleet in the Haven of *Brest*; and it was further appointed that the Lord *Ferrers*, Sir *Stephen Bull*, and others should go on Land, with a convenient number, to assault the Bulwarks, which the *French* had there made; while the Admiral with Row Barges, and little Gallies entred into the Bay, that so the *French* men might at once be assailed both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lore Admiral had a trick by himself, for by the advice of a *Spanish* Knight called Sir *Alphonso Charunt*, affirming that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him *William Fitzwilliams*, *William Cook*, *John Colley*, and Sir *Wolstan Brown*, as his most trusty friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprise with their assistants only; and so confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thither in person, to have the honour of the enterprise himself; but it seems the King had better Fates, at least went not; and thereupon on Saint *Marks* day the Admiral put himself in a small Row Barge; and appointing three other small Row Ships, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, therewith on a sudden rowed into the Bay, where *Prior John* had moored up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies, with the Bulwarks on the Land, shot most cruelly, yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the *French* men: the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the *French* men perceiving, they entred the Gallies again with Morris Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, with a Pike was thrown over-board and drowned; the just issue of his head-strong enterprise; the fore-named *Alphonso* was also there slain: upon which sorrowful accident, the Lord *Ferrers* with the rest returned into *England*. After whose departure *Prior John* came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the Borders of *Sussex*, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of *Surrey*: who so scowred the Seas, that the *French* were no more to be seen on any Coast of *England*.

Sir *Edward Howard* Lord Admiral, following his own head strong device, is drowned.

King *Henry* had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jest, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War in *France* himself in person; he sent before to prepare the way for him, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* high Steward of his

Houſhold, accompanied with the Lord *Thomas Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Dowckeroy* Prior of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Haſtings*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, Sir *Thomas Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Cornwal* aad others, to the number of eight thouſand, who arrived at *Callice* about the middle of *May*; after him in the end of *May*, followed Sir *Charles Somerſet*, Lord *Herbert*, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Gray* Earl of *Kent*, the Lord *Stafford* Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Lord *Dudley*, the Lord *Delaware*, Sir *Edward Huſſey*, Sir *Edward Dimmock*, Sir *David Owen*, with others to the number of ſix thouſand: Theſe Generals joyning together, iſſued out of *Callice*, and on the two and twentieth day of *June*, ſate down before the ſtrong Town of *Terwin*, which City was ſtrongly fortified; and in it was Governour the Lord *Poultreny*, who had with him ſix hundred Horſemen, and five and twenty hundred *Almains*, beſides the Inhabitants. Here at the very firſt happened two diſaſters to the *Engliſh*, one, that the Baron *Carew* was ſlain with a ſhot from the Town; the other, that Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, and Sir *Edward Belknappe* coming from *Guyſnes* with four and twenty Carts of Proviſion, were ſet upon by the Duke of *Vendoſme*, Lieutenant of *Picardy*, and many of the *Engliſh* ſlain, and the Proviſion taken. In this ſtate was the *Engliſh* Camp at *Terwin*, when King *Henry* the laſt day day of *June* came himſelf to *Callice*, and on the one and twentieth of *July* took the field, having in his Army of fighting men not above nine thouſand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Carriages, eleven thouſand and three hundred men: His forward was led by *Charles Brandon* Viſcount *Liſle*, his main Battel by himſelf, and Sir *Henry Guilford* carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the ſiege of *Terwin*, entring upon the *French* ground the five and twentieth of *July*. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that miſtook the way, a great Gun called the *John Evangeliſt*, was overthrown in a deep Pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered; but a few dayes after, the Maſter Carpenter taking with him a hundred labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carted it ready to bring away, was ſet upon by eight hundred *French*; and the moſt of his company ſlain: The Gun was taken by the *French*, and carried to *Bulloign*. In the *French* Army were to the number of eleven thouſand Footmen, and four thouſand Horſe; whereof were Captains, the Lord *De la Pa'yce*, the Lord *De Priennes*, the Duke *De Longuevyle*, the Earl of Saint *Paul*, the Lord of *Floringes*, the Lord of *Clermont*, and *Richard de la Pool* an *Engliſh* man, Son to *John* Duke of *Suffolk*. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and ſome light skirmiſhes paſſed between them, ſpecially one; on a day called the dry Wedneſday, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army ſtood in order of Battel, from ſix a clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards *Terwin*; and as the Army marched, another of the Kings Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the *French* underſtanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord *Berners*, Captain of the *Engliſh* Pioneers, prevented them; and though ſet upon by the *French* to the number of nine or ten thouſand, yet by the valour of the Earl of *Eſſex*, and Sir *Rice ap Thomas*, with the bold adventures of Sir *William Tyler*, and Sir *John Sharp*, they recovered it, and brought it ſafe to the Camp. On the fourth of *Auguſt* King *Henry* came before the City of *Terwin*, where he ſtrongly fortified himſelf with Ordinance, and other warlike defences. In which mean time, the Captain of *Bulloign* knowing that many of the Garriſon of *Callice* were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their abſence, and do ſome great exploit upon *Callice*; and thereupon with a thouſand men, came to *Newnham* Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward ſome of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming ſo near the Walls of *Callice*, that they were deſcried; about ſix ſcore Coopers and other Artificers iſſued forth, and driving them back, recovered again *Newnham* Bridge, and took divers of them priſoners; eſpecially when the Gate of *Callice*, called *Bulloigne* Gate, was opened, and that *Colepepper* the under-Marſhal, with two hundred Archers iſſued forth, and joyned with them. The *French* priſoners were brought to *Callice*, and there ſold in open Market: amongſt others a Cooper of the Town of *Callice* bought a priſoner that dwelt in *Bulloigne*, and had of the Priſoner for his ranſome, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the *French* man prayed the Cooper to ſee him ſafe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger; the Cooper was content, and went himſelf alone with the *French* man, till he came beyond the Cawſey, and there would have departed; but the *French* man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no reſcue was nigh, by force took the Cooper priſoner, and carried him to *Bulloigne*, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

Whilſt King *Henry* lay thus at the ſiege of *Terwin*, on the eleventh of *Auguſt* the Emperour *Maximilian* was come to *Ayre*; which King *Henry* underſtanding, went and met him between *Ayre* and the Camp, where with great complements they ſaluted each other; but their complements were broken off by the extream foul weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperour *Maximilian* came from *Ayre* to the Kings Camp, wearing a Croſs of Saint *George*, as the Kings Souldier, and receiving wages of him for ſervice, an hundred Crowns a day: An honour never done to any King of *England* before; and yet was no diſparagement to the Emperour; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperour before had ever been Souldier to a King; ſo no Souldier before was ever lodged in ſuch a Tent. At this time the City of *Terwin*, being in ſome diſtreſs for want of Victuals; the *French* King appointed all his Horſemen to the number of eight thouſand

An Army of King *Henry*'s ſits down before *Terwin*.

The King comes thither himſelf, and has his Army marſhalled.

The number of the *French* Army.

Callice defended by Coopers and other Artificers.

A fooliſh Souldier well ſerved.

The Emperour *Maximilian*, takes pay of King *Henry* as his Souldier.

sand, to see victuals by any means convoyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Mounsier *De Priennes*: but King *Henry* by advice of the Emperour *Maximilian* had made Bridges to pass his men over the River, to the other side of the Town, where was easiest access; in such sort, that when the *French* Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entred the Town, they found the *English* Army there ready to resist them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them: but in conclusion the *French* were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs, for that they used more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of *Longuevyle*, the Lord of *Cleremont*, Captain *Bayard*, and others to the number of twelve score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the Kings presence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir *John Pechye* Banneret, and *John Carre* Knight, who had both of them done great service in this encounter. King *Henry* having obtained this Victory against the *French* Horsemen, and hindered the Town of *Terwin* from relief of Victuals, and withal plying his Battery more fiercely than before; made the Townsmen soon fall to desire composition, and upon condition, that the Souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the Kings hands. This was done on the eighteenth of *August*, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* entred the Town the same night, and set up the Banner of Saint *George* in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of *England*. The four and twentieth of *August*, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishops Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of *Terwin* should be rased, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Palace; all the Ordinance was sent to *Ayre*, to be kept there to the Kings use.

The *English* defeat the *French* in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

Terwin is delivered up to King *Henry*.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of *Tourney*; whereupon he set forward in three Battels; the Earl of *Shrewsbury* led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperour, the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rereward. In this order the Kings Army marched forwards towards *Tourney*; by the way, he went and visited the young Prince of *Castile*, and the Lady *Margaret*, Governess of the Prince, in the Town of *Lisle*, where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three dayes, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his his Camp lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and misty; by chance at last they met with a Victualler coming from the Camp, who was their guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what distress a great Prince might be brought by a little over-sight.

King *Henry* layes siege to *Tourney*.

On the one and twentieth day of *September*, the King removed his Camp towards *Tourney*, and being come within three miles of the Town, he sent *Garter* King of Arms to summon the Town; but they, though they had but few men of War amongst them, yet stood upon their Guard; whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such fierce batteries upon it, that though it were written on the Gates of the Town, graven in stone, *Jamais tu ne as perdu ton Pucellege*; thou hast never lost thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: and in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand pounds sterling besides for redemption of their liberties: and then Master *Thomas Woolsey*, the Kings Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of *England*; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entred into *Tourney*, and calling into his presence *Edward Guilford*, *William Fitzwilliams*, *John Dansie*, *William Tyler*, *John Sharp*, *William Hussey*, *John Savage*, *Christopher Garnish*, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knighthood. And then remembring the great entertainment the Prince of *Castile* and the Lady *Margaret* had given him at *Lisle*, he would not be behinde them in such Courtesie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of *Tourney*, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in *Tourney*, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Justs, where the King and the Lord *Lisle* answered all comers: after the Justs, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of Gold: and when they had passed the time at their pleasures, the Garments of the Maskers were cast off amongst the Ladies, take them that could. This was King *Henry*'s disposition, that he could not forbear Revelling in the midst of his Arms; and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here *Maximilian* the Emperour finding the *French* Forces to be but weak, perswades King *Henry* to proceed on and pursue his Victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the War for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done the *French* sufficiently lesson'd to acknowledge their error, and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this end to the War: and so taking his leave of the Emperour; and leaving Sir *Edward Poynings* Governor of *Tourney*, he returned to *Callice*; and from thence into *England*, and then rode in Post to the Queen at *Richmond*.

Tourney is delivered up to King *Henry*.

King *Henry* makes a solemn Justs in *Tourney*.

Whilest King *Henry* was thus busied in his War with *France*, the King of *Scots*, though his Brother in law, yet instigated by the *French* King, and taking advantage of King *Henry*'s absence, assembled his people to invade *England*; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord *Humes* his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entred the Borders; but as he was returning with a great booty of

The King of *Scots* invades the *English* borders, but is repelled.

Cattel, in a field over-grown with Broom, called *Milfield*, he was encountred by Sir *Edward Bulmer*, having with him not above a thousand men; who lying in that field in Ambush, broke out upon him, and put him to flight, with the slaughter of five or six hundred of his company, and four hundred taken Prisoners; the Lord *Humes* himself escaped by flight, but his Banner was taken: and this by the *Scots* was called, *The ill Rode*. In the mean time the whole power of *Scotland* was assembled, no fewer than one hundred thousand men; though *Buchanan* in favour of his Countrey, saith, not the fifth part of that number: and with these King *James* approaching the borders, and coming to *Norham* Castle, laid siege unto it, which for want of powder, was soon delivered up unto him. But by this time the Earl of *Surrey*, Lieutenant of the North parts, had assembled an Army of six and twenty thousand men; to whom also soon after his Son the Lord Admiral, with one thousand expert Souldiers came and joyned: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King *James* being removed six miles from *Norham*, lay embattelling upon a great Mountain called *Floddon*, where it was impossible to come near him, but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the hill, on the left hand, was a great marish ground full of reeds and water, on the right hand was a River called *Till*, so swift and deep that it was not passable; on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no assailing him on that part; the forepart of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of *Surrey* found there was no possibility of a Battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: whereupon he called a Council, by which it was determined to send *Ronge-Cross* Pursuivant at Arms with a Trumpet to the King of *Scots*, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it; whereunto the King of *Scots* by his Pursuivant *Ilay* made answer, that at the day prefixed he should finde him ready for Battel as he desired, that he would willingly have come to such a match if he had been at *Edenburgh*; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Surrey*, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the *Scottish* King to come down out of his strength, or else stop him from receiving of Victuals or any other thing out of *Scotland*. This counsel of the Lord *Howard* his Father followed, and King *James* perceiving what their meaning was, thought it stood not with his honour to be fore-stalled out of his own Realm; and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other: which the Earl of *Surrey* perceiving, he determined to mount it, and to fight with the *Scots*, before they should have leasure to fortifie their Camp: and herewith making a short Speech, for encouragement of his Souldiers, he divided his Army into Battels; the Vantguard was led by the Lord *Howard*, to whom was joyned as a Wing, Sir *Edward Howard*; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself, and the Rere-ward was by Sir *Edward Stanley*; the Lord *Dacres* with a number of Horsemen was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordinance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the *Scots*. On the other side King *James* reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the *English* half mad, to venture a Battel upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves so forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this manner; the main Battel he led himself, to which he appointed two Wings; the right led by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford*, and *Montross*; the left by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*; together with the Lord *Humes* L. Chamberlain: and so confident they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing; for when the Battel being joyned, Sir *Edward Howard* in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord *Dacres* with his Horsemen and trod under foot the *Scottish* Battel of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the *Scottish* Army being led by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Montross*, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to flight. In another part also Sir *Edward Stanley* did the like upon the Battel led by the Earls of *Lenox* and *Argyle*, putting it to flight, with the slaughter also of these two Earls. King *James* notwithstanding, maintained the fight still with great resolution, till Sir *Adam Forman* his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not fainting, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his Enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the Kings base Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and seventeen Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as *Paulus Jovius* saith) amongst whom was Sir *William Scot* Chancellour to the said King, and Sir *George Forman* his Serjeant Porter; the Lord *Humes* and the Earl of *Huntley* got horses and escaped. Neither was the Battel without blood to the *English*; for there were slain at least a thousand, and (that which in a Defeat was strange) many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the *Scots*, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return, and by Bands of *Scots*, that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords

The Battel called *Floddon* Field.

How the *English* Army was marshalled.

How the *Scottish* Army was marshalled.

The King of *Scots* slain.

Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir *Edward Howard* his Son, the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Edward George*, and others. This Battel was fought on Friday the ninth of *Sept.* in the year 1513. called by some *Bramston*, by some *Floddon* field. King *James* here slain was the same that had married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh, and Sister to the present King *Henry*; and might have enjoyed many happy dayes, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to *France*, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing, which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) *George Buchanan* relates concerning this King; that intending to make a War with *England*, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sate, said, I am sent unto thee O King, to give thee warning, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruine: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frighted with Phantasms, and no warning could divert his Destiny, which had not been Destiny if it could have been diverted. The day after the Battel, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord *Dacres* and others to be his; and thereupon bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of *Sheen* in *Surrey*, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a waste room amongst timber and stone; which *John Stow* saith, he so saw, and farther relateth, that the servants of *Lancelot Young*, Glasier to Queen *Elizabeth*, being at *Sheen*, in new Glasing the Windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Master; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining favour, though the moisture were clean dried up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward he caused to be buried at St. *Michaels* Church in *Woodstreet*, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of *Stow*, *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross* affirmeth, that it was held for certain, the Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord *Bauchard* slain in that Battel, *Buchanan* saith, of *Alexander Elfinston*, who in countenance and stature was like the King; and that King *James* was seen alive the same night at *Kelso*, whence he passed to *Jerusalem*, and there spent the rest of his dayes in holy contemplation: but howsoever it was, he was never seen any more in *Scotland*.

The same that had married the Lady *Margaret* eldest Daughter of King *Henry* the Seventh.

A vision that appeared to King *James* dehorting him from the Battel.

King *Henry* being now returned from *Tourney* into *England*, and finding the great services done in his absence against the *Scots*; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at *Lambeth* he created the Earl of *Surrey* Duke of *Norfolk*, with an augmentation of the Arms of *Scotland*; Sir *Charles Brandon* Viscount *Lisle*, he created Duke of *Suffolk*; the Lord *Howard* high Admiral, he made Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Charles Somerset* Lord *Herbert* his chief Chamberlain Earl of *Worcester*, and shortly after Sir *Edward Stanley* he made Lord *Monteagle*; and in *March* following, Master *Thomas Woolsey* his Almoner, was made Bishop of *Lincoln*. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a rub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, the Son of a Butcher, sent to *Oxford* by reason of his pregnancy of wit, so soon, that taking there the first degree of Art, he was called the Boy-Batchelour; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, at which time the Marquess *Dorset* committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his gift, sent for him one Christmas, and bestowed it upon him; whereof *Woolsey* going to take possession, at his being there, for what misdemeanour is not delivered, he was by Sir *Amyas Paulet* set by the heels, which afterward he remembred to Sir *James* his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasure five or six years; all which time he lay in the *Middle-Temple*, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very sumptuously, setting the Cardinals Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-Sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir *John Naphant* Treasurer of *Callice*, and by him was preferred to be King *Henry* the Sevenths Chaplain: and now being by this means in the Kings eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the Kings heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Messenger to the Emperour *Maximilian*, about a business that required haste; for which employment no man was thought more fit than *Woolsey*; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Errand, and bade him make all speed he could: *Woolsey* departed from the King at *Richmond* about noon, and by the next morning was got to *Dover*, and from thence by noon that day was come to *Callice*, and by night was with the Emperour; to whom declaring his Message; and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to *Callice*, and the night following came to the Court at *Richmond*. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom *Woolsey* answered, that he had been with the Emperour, and had dispatched the business, and for proof shewed the Emperours lines: the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgotten: whereto *Woolsey* answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that business I had dispatched before, taking the boldness so to do without commission, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldness I humbly intreat your Graces Pardon. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanery of *Lincoln*, and soon after made

Dukes and Earls created.

Thomas Woolsey his parentage, education, and rising.

made his Almoner. In this ſtate King *Henry* the Eight found him, with whom alſo he grew into ſuch favour, that he made him of his Council; and having won *Tourney*, made him Biſhop of that City; and returning into *England*, the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* falling void by the death of Doctor *Smith*, made him Biſhop of that Dioceſs. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but ſoon after he was raiſed higher; for Doctor *Bambridge* Archbiſhop of *York* dying, he was tranſlated from *Lincoln* to that See: and that he might not be inferiour to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat *à Latere*; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellour of *England*: and being come to his height of Dignity, he ſo carried himſelf in Expenſes of Houſhold, in number of Retinue, and in all circumſtances of State, that no Subject before or ſince hath in any degree come near him: and if we may ſay it, he was the firſt debaucher of King *Henry*; for to the end he might have the managing of all matters himſelf, he perſwaded the King that he ſhould not need trouble himſelf with frequenting the Council Table as he did, but take his pleaſure, and leave thoſe things to his Council, whereof himſelf would alwayes give him true Information. This was plauſible Counſel, and no marvail if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of ſo great a Prelate.

The fields about *Iſlington*, *Hogſdon*, and *Shoraitch* laid open.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of *London* finding themſelves grieved with the Incloſures of the common fields about *Iſlington*, *Hogſdon*, and *Shorditch*, and other places adjoyning, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereat though the Kings Council were at firſt offended, yet the Mayor and City ſhewed them ſuch reaſons, that they reſted ſatisfied, and the Fields were never ſince hedged.

The Pope gives King *Henry* the Title of *Chriſtianiſſimo*.

On the nineteenth of *May* this year, Pope *Julius* the Second ſent to King *Henry* a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of *France*, transferred, by Authority of the *Lateran* Council, the title of *Chriſtianiſſimo* from him upon King *Henry*, which with great ſolemnity was publiſhed the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; but this ſolemnity muſt not paſs without Revelling, Maſques, and Juſts; wherein the King and the Duke of *Suffolk* were defendants againſt all comers; who having the Duke of *Longueville*, and the Lord of *Clermont* to be ſpectators, ſpread the fame of their Chivalry into Foreign Nations.

And now the great love, that had been long between King *Henry* and the *Flemings*, began to abate upon this occaſion; King *Henry* the Seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter *Mary*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*: but, by reaſon of her young years, and for want of aſſurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time; but now King *Henry* the Eight ſeeing his Siſter of convenient years, began to call upon it, and ſignified ſo much to the Council of *Flanders*; but they, whether having other ends, or out of *Spaniſh* delayes, put him off with excuſes, and at laſt ſent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that year. The King of *France* had ſoon Intelligence how much King *Henry* diſtaſted theſe *Spaniſh* dealings, and meant to make ſome good uſe of it, for the ends he began to propoſe to himſelf; which were to get the Lady *Mary* for himſelf, and thereby procure Peace with *England*, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpoſe he got the new Pope *Leo* the tenth to be his Mediator, and both of them ſent Ambaſſadors to King *Henry*, the Pope to perſwade him to have Peace with *France*, the *French* King to treat about a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*: upon whoſe Ambaſſages, King *Henry* partly to ſatisfie the Pope, and partly to advance his Siſter, did not unwillingly hearken to the motions; but while this was in working, *Prior John* (who knew nothing of theſe intentions) began again to play his pranks; and coming with his Gallies on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, burnt *Brighthemſteed*, and took away the Goods he found in the Village: whereupon the Lord Admiral ſent Sir *John Walloppe* to Sea, with divers Ships, and eight hundred men, who for one Village that *Prior John* burnt in *England*, burnt one and twenty Villages and Towns in *France*, to the great honour of himſelf, and his Countrey.

A Peace is concluded with *France*; and the King of *France* marries the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s younger Siſter.

And now King *Henry* by advice of his Council, and ſpecially of *Woolſey* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, concluded both the Peace with *France*, and the Marriage of his Siſter the Lady *Mary*, with the *French* King; but yet it ſtuck a while upon ſome differences, King *Henry* demanding *Bulloign*, and the King of *France Tourney*: in concluſion theſe demands were waved, and the principal conditions were; firſt concerning the Ladies Joynture; that ſhe ſhould have two and thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly revenues if ſhe ſurvived the King; and then concerning this Peace, that the *French* King ſhould pay yearly to King *Henry*, for five years, one hundred thouſand Crowns, and the Peace to continue between them during their lives, and a year after, and bound reciprocally to aſſiſt each other with ten thouſand foot, if the War were by Land, with ſix thouſand, if by Sea. All things thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* was brought to *Dover* by King *Henry* and his Queen: and on the ſecond of *October* taking ſhipping, was conducted by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, the Earl of *Surrey*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Berners*, the Lord *Monteagle*, Sir *Mauris Berkely*, Sir *John Pechye*, Sir *William Sands*, Sir *Thomas Bulleyne*, Sir *John Carre*, and many other Knights and Ladies; but being not paſt half way over the Sea, their Ships by tempeſt were diſperſed, and the Lady with ſome jeopardy landed at *Bullen*, where Sir *Chriſtopher Garniſh* was fain to ſtand in the water, and take her in his arms, and ſo ſet her on ſhore; and there the Duke of *Vendoſme*, with a Cardinal, and many other great States received her. From *Bullen* the eighth of *October* ſhe came to *Abbevyle*, where the Dauphin received her: on the morrow being Saint *Dennis* day, ſhe came to Saint *Dennis*, where the marriage between the King of *France* and her, was ſolemnized (though ſome write it had been ſolemnized before at *Abbevyle*.) The fifth of *November* ſhe was Crowned Queen of *France*, at which time the Dauphin held the

1515.

She is Crowned Queen of *France*.

Crown

Crown over her head as being too maſſie for her to wear; and the day following ſhe was received into *Paris* in moſt magnificent manner. In honour of whoſe marriage and Coronation, the *Dauphin* had cauſed a ſolemn Juſts to be proclaimed, which ſhould be kept in *Paris* the ſeventh of *November*. Upon report of this Proclamation in *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and his four Brothers, the Lord *Clinton*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *Giles Capel*, *Thomas Cheiney*, and others obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themſelves with great valour, but ſpecially the Duke of *Suffolk*, whoſe glory the Dahupin ſo much envied, that he got a *Dutch* man, the talleſt and ſtrongeſt man in all the Court of *France* ſecretly as another perſon to encounter him, with a purpoſe to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour: for he foiled the *Dutch* man in ſuch ſort, that when they came to the Barriers, the Duke by main ſtrength took him about the neck, and ſo pommeled him about the head, that he made the Blood iſſue out at his noſe: many other Princes and Lords did bravely; and after three dayes the Juſts ended.

A Juſts proclaimed in *Paris* by the Dauphin.

Where *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk* won great honour.

King *Henry* was not long behinde to ſolemnize it in *England* alſo; for at *Greenwich* the Chriſtmaſs following, on New years night, and Twelfth night, he preſented ſuch ſtrange and magnificent devices, as had ſeldom been ſeen; and the third of *February* following, he held a ſolemn Juſts, where he and the Marqneſs *Dorſet* anſwered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountred him both man and horſe.

The King of *France* 82. dayes after his marriage dies.

At this time preparation was making for King *Henry* in perſon to go to *Callice*, there to meet with the *French* King and Queen, but death hindered the deſign; for before the next Spring, the firſt of *January* the *French* King died at the City of *Paris*, fourſcore and two dayes after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for an old man to marry a young Lady. King *Henry* hearing of the *French* Kings death, ſent the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield*, and Doctor *Weſt*, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Indenture, who obtaining her good will to be her Huſband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her firſt love:) wrote to the King her Brother for his conſent; whereat the King ſeemed to ſtick a while, but at laſt conſented; ſo as he brought her into *England* unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more ſurety married her ſecretly in *Paris*, and after having received her Dower, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to *Callice*, and there openly married her with great ſolemnity. At their coming into *England*, King *Henry* to ſhew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, all richly appareled, held a new kinde of Juſts, and running courſes on Horſeback in manner Volant, as faſt as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

Anno Reg. 7 1516

The Duke of *Suffolk* ent to fetch over the Queen Dowager of *France*, marries her.

A new kinde of Juſts uſed by King *Henry*.

This year the King being at his Manour of *Oking*; *Woolſey* Archbiſhop of *York* came and ſhewed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he diſabled himſelf, till the King willed him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor *Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, finding *Woolſey*, being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourſhip, than he could well ſuffer, reſigned up the Seal, which the King preſently gave to *Woolſey*. About this time, Cardinal *Campejus* was ſent by Pope *Leo* to King *Henry*, to ſolicite him to a War againſt the *Turk*, with whom Cardinal *Woolſey* was joyned in Commiſſion; who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinal, ſent ſtore of red Cloth to *Callice* to make them fit followers of ſo great a Lord: and when *Campejus* was landed at *Dover*, Cardinal *Woolſey* cauſed the Gentry of *Kent* to wait upon him to *Blackheath*; where he was met and received by the Duke of *Norfolk* and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, ſhifted himſelf into his Cardinals Robes. Eight Mules he had laden with neceſſaries; but *Woolſey* not thinking them enough far his honour, ſent him twelve more. But now ſee the ſhame of pride; for in *Cheapſide* his Mules by ſome miſchance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whoſe lids flying open, ſhewed the world what treaſure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shooes, broken meat, Marrow-bones, and Cruſts of Bread; expoſing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on afore with his Croſſes, guilt Axe and Mace, unto *Pauls* Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir *Thomas More*, in the name of the City; and then waited on with many Biſhops, was conducted to *Bath* place, where he was lodged for his own particular: he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*: but the errand he came about, which was to have aid by money for a War againſt the *Turk*, he could not obtain, for it was well known to be but a device to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

Woolſey is made a Cardinal, and Lord Chancellour.

In his ſeventh year King *Henry* kept his Chriſtmaſs at his Manour of *Eltham*, where on Twelfth night according to his cuſtom, was a ſtately mask of Knights and Ladies, with ſolemn Dancing, and a moſt magnificent Banquet.

An. Reg. 7.

It was now the eighth year of King *Henry's* Reign, when the new League between him and the *French* King was proclaimed in the City of *London*: and this year *Margaret* Queen of *Scots* eldeſt Siſter to King *Henry*, having before married *Archibald Dowglaſs* Earl of *Angus*; by reaſon of diſſenſion amongſt the Lords of *Scotland*, was glad with her Husband to flie into *England*, and to ſeek ſuccour at her Brothers hands; who aſſigned to her the Caſtle of *Harbottle* in *Northumberland* to reſide in; where ſhe was delivered of a Daughter named *Margaret*. From thence the King ſent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon

An. Reg. 8. 1517.

Margaret Q. of *Scots* King *Henry's* Siſter comes into *England*.

upon the third of *May*, Queen *Margaret* riding on a white Palfrey (which the Queen of *England* had sent her) behinde Sir *Thomas Parre*, came through *London* to *Baynards* Caſtle, and from thence went to *Greenwich*: but her Husband the Earl of *Angus*, was ſecretly before departed into *Scotland*; which when King *Henry* heard, he only ſaid it was done like a *Scot*. And now in honour of his Siſters coming, King *Henry* the nine and twentieth of *May*, appointed two ſolemn dayes of Juſts; where the King, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Eſſex*, and *Nicholas Carew* Eſquire, took upon them to anſwer all comers; amongſt others, the King and Sir *William Kinſton* ran together, which Sir *William*, though a ſtrong and valorous Knight, yet the King overthrew him to the ground: all the reſt was performed with no leſs valour than magnificence. This year died the King of *Aragon*, Father to the Queen of *England*; for whom was kept a ſolemn Obſequy in the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*; and Queen *Margaret*, after ſhe had been a year in *England*, returned into *Scotland*.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons ſent to build a Caſtle at *Tourney*.

In this year were ſent twelve hundred Carpenters and Maſons, with three hundred Labourers, to the City of *Tourney* in *France*, to build a Caſtle there, to keep the City in awe. And now the Cardinal being weary of hearing ſo many cauſes himſelf, as were daily brought before him; ordained by the Kings Commiſſion (after the pattern of *Moſes*) divers under Courts to hear complaints of Suitors: whereof one was kept in *Whitehall*, another before the Kings Almoner, Doctor *Stokeſley*, a third in the Lord Treaſurers lodging near the Star-Chamber, and the fourth at the Rolls in the afternoon: theſe Courts for a time were much frequented; but at laſt the people perceiving that much delay was uſed in them, and that ſentence given by them bound no man by Law, they thereupon grew weary of them, and reſorted to the common Law. By occaſion of this Government of the Cardinal, who under colour of Juſtice, did what he pleaſed: many great men withdrew themſelves from the Court, as firſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who went and lived in their Dioceſſes; then the Duke of *Norfolk*, and at length the Duke of *Suffolk*, being run deep into the Kings debt, by reaſon of his many employments into *France*, and his great Houſe-keeping ſince his marriage with the Kings Siſter, hoping the King would have forgiven it, and would no doubt have done it, but that the Cardinal oppoſed it, to the end the Duke ſhould be the more at his command.

Cardinal *Woolſey* erects divers new Courts.

In *October* this year, *Matthew* Biſhop of *Sion* commonly called the Cardinal of the *Swizzers* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*; by whoſe ſoliciting, and Cardinal *Woolſey*'s perſwaſion, the King lent the Emperour a great ſumme of money; for *Woolſey* being angry with the King of *France* for detaining the Revenues of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*, perſwaded King *Henry*, that the beſt way to abate the *French* Kings power, was to furniſh the Emperour with money, the better to maintain War againſt him: and what *Woolſey* ſaid, was in thoſe dayes to King *Henry* an Oracle.

King *Henry* in great danger by a fall in Hawking.

This year the King kept his Chriſtmaſs at his Manour of *Greenwich*; where on Twelfth night according to his cuſtom, rare devices with great magnificence were preſented; after which time the King exerciſed himſelf much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good ſport to him; for one time following his Hawk. and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, ſo that if one *Edmund Mody* a foot-man had not leapt into the water, and lift up his head which was faſt in the clay, he had been drowned.

An Inſurrection in *London* againſt ſtrangers; eſpecially Artificers.

In this year alſo there happened in the City of *London* an Inſurrection againſt ſtrangers, ſpecially of Artificers, complaining that ſtrangers were permitted to reſort hither with their Wares, and to exerciſe handy-crafts, to the great hinderance and impoveriſhing the Kings own Subjects; and not only ſo, but that they were borne out in many great Inſolencies, and wrongs they offered to the *Engliſh*, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in *London*, called *Williamſon*, had bought two Pigeons in *Cheapſide*, and was about to pay for them, when a *French* man took them out of his hand, ſaying, They were no meat for a Carpenter: Well (ſaid *Williamſon*) I have bought them, and I will have them; Nay (ſaid the *French* man) I will have them for my Lord Ambaſſadour; hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the *French* Ambaſſadour, who ſo aggravated the matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was ſent to priſon, and when Sir *John Baker* ſued to the Ambaſſadour for him, he anſwered, By the Body of God, the *Engliſh* Knave was worthy to loſe his life for denying any thing to a *French* man; and other anſwer he could have none. Many like and worſe inſolencies were offered by ſtrangers, which one *John Lincoln* a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor *Beale*, Preacher on Eaſter Tueſday at the *Spittle*, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which ſo ſtirred up many, that ſtrangers could hardly paſs the ſtreets, but were ſtrucken, and ſometimes beaten down. At laſt, one evening many Prentices, and others aſſembling, rifled ſome ſtrangers houſes, and much miſchief was like to be done: but by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the induſtry of *Robert Brook* Recorder, and Sir *Thomas More* that had been under-Sheriffe of *London*, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the diſturbers were ſent to priſon, whereof *Lincoln* and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their ſhirts, bound in ropes and halters about their necks (and thereupon called the black Wagon) were brought to *Weſtminſter*, where the King himſelf ſate that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatneſs of their offence; they all cryed, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchaſed the King no ſmall love amongſt the people.

How pacified.

An. Reg. 9. 1518.

In his ninth year, in *June*, King *Henry* had many Ambaſſadours at his Court; for whoſe entertainment he prepared a coſtly Juſts; himſelf and twelve more againſt the Duke of *Suffolk* and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies ſleeve full of Diamonds, and perhaps

perhaps ſomething elſe of the Ladies in his heart, which made him perform his courſes with the applauſe of all beholders. This year, by reaſon of a ſweating ſickneſs *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned; and the year following, *Trinity* Term was held one day at *Oxford*, and then adjourned again to *Weſtminſter*.

About this time Cardinal *Woolſey* obtained of Pope *Leo* authority to diſpenſe with all offences againſt the Spiritual Laws; by virtue whereof he ſet up a Court, and called it, *The Court of the Legat*, in the which he proved Teſtaments, and heard Cauſes: to the great hindrance of all the Biſhops of the Realm; and to the debauching of Prieſts and Religious perſons, who relying upon his greatneſs, took ſuch a liberty of licentiouſneſs to themſelves, that none was more diſorderly than thoſe that were in Orders: and ſuppoſing perhaps, they might lawfully commit ſuch ſins themſelves, as they forgave to others. And indeed the Cardinals carriage exceeded all bounds of moderation; for when he ſaid Maſs, he made Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory: and when the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, writing a Letter to him, ſubſcribed, Your Brother *William* of *Canterbury*, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

Cardinal *Woolſey* makes Dukes and Earls to ſerve him of Wine, and to hold the Baſon at the Lavatory.

An. Reg. 10 1519

It was now the tenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the King of *France*, longing much to have *Tourney* reſtored to him, by great gifts and greater promiſes won the Cardinal *Woolſey*, to move the King in it; who upon his perſwaſions, was contented to be treated with all about it: to which the King of *France* ſent the Lord *Bonquet* high Admiral of *France*, and the Biſhop of *Paris*, who in their attendance, having above fourſcore Gentlemen, and with their ſervants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in *England*, and on Munday the ſeven and twentieth of *September*, were met at *Blackheath* by the Earl of *Surrey*, High Admiral of *England*, attended likewiſe with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to *London*, where they were lodged at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The laſt of *September*, the Ambaſſadours went to the King at *Greenwich*, where after long communication, an Agreement was at laſt concluded under pretence of a marriage to be had between the Dauphin of *France* and the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*; that in name of her marriage money, *Tourney* ſhould be delivered to the *French* King, he paying to the King of *England*, for the Caſtle he had made in that City, ſix hundred thouſand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thouſand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage ſhould chance not to take effect, then that *Tourney* ſhould be again reſtored to the King of *England*; for performance of which Articles, Hoſtages ſhould be delivered: namely, Mounſieur *de Memorancie*, Mounſieur *de Monpeſac*, Mounſieur *de Moy*, and Mounſieur *Morret*; and moreover, the *French* King ſhould pay to the Cardinal of *England* a thouſand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Biſhoprick of *Tourney*: All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambaſſadours a ſolemn Banquet, and after preſented them with a ſtately Mummery. The eighth of *October*, the King feaſted them at *Greenwich*, and at night preſented a ſtately Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence: The next day, Sir *Thomas Exmew* Mayor of *London* feaſted them at Goldſmiths-Hall, and then delivering their four Hoſtages, they took their leave. At whoſe departure the King gave to the Admiral of *France*, a garniſh of gilt Veſſel, a pair of covered Baſons gilt, twelve great gilt Bouls, four pair of great gilt Pots, a ſtanding Cup of Gold, garniſhed with great Pearls; and to ſome other he gave Plate, to ſome other Chains of Gold, to ſome rich Apparel: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of *Worceſter*, Lord Chamberlain, the Biſhop of *Ely*, the Lord of St. *Johns*, Sir *Nicholas Vaux*, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*, as Ambaſſadours from the King of *England*, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others to the number of above four hundred, paſſed over to *Callice*, and from thence went to *Paris*; where, after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and ſtately ſhews, they took their leaves and rode to *Tourney* to ſee the City delivered to the *French* men, on the eighth of *February*, to the great grief of the *Engliſh* Garriſon. After the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours were returned, King *Henry* to chear up the four *French* Hoſtages, left here for performance of Covenants, on the ſeventh of *May*, preſented a ſolemn and ſtately Mask, wherein himſelf, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *French* Queen were Actors: and on the eighth of *March* following was a ſolemn Juſts holden, and with great magnificence performed.

A Treaty between the Kings of *France* and *England*, to have *Tourney* delivered back, and upon what conditions.

An. Reg. 11. 1520.

In the eleventh year of King *Henry*'s Reign died the Emperour *Maximilian*, for whom, the King cauſed a ſolemn Obſequie to be kept in *Pauls* Church. After whoſe death the *French* King and the King of *Spain* endeavoured by ſundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in concluſion, *Charles* King of *Caſtile* (afterwards called *Charles* the fifth) was elected Emperour; for joy whereof a ſolemn Maſs was ſung at *Pauls*, the ſeventh of *July*, at which were preſent the Cardinal *Campejus*, the Cardinal of *York*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, with the Ambaſſadours of *Spain*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Scotland*: And this year the King kept Saint *Georges* Feaſt at *Windſor*, with great ſolemnity.

The Emperour *Maximilian* dieth

Charles King of *Caſtile* is elected in his place, called *Charles* the fifth.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in *France*, after the manner of that Countrey, carried themſelves ſo familiarly with the King, that the Lords of his Council thought it a diſparagement to him; and thereupon, with his leave firſt obtained, they baniſhed them the Court: and in their places brought in more ſtayed and graver men: namely Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*.

Young Gentlemen after the *French* faſhion, being over-familiar with the King are baniſhed the Court.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen, lying at her Manour of *Havering* in *Eſſex*, deſired the King to bring thither the four Hoſtages of *France*, to whom ſhe made a Royal Banquet, and in *September* following, the King lying at his Manour of *New-hall* in *Eſſex*, otherwiſe called

Beaulieu, where he had newly built a ſtately Manſion, invited the Queen and the *French* Hoſtages thither, where after a ſumptuous Banquet, he preſented them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Maskers were the Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, the Marqueſs *Dorſet*, the Lord *Aburgaveny*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *William Kingſton*, the youngeſt of whom was fifty years old at leaſt, that the Ladies might ſee what force they had to make age young again.

A Mask of all Lords.

At this time the *French* King was very deſirous to ſee the King of *England*, with whom he had entred into ſuch a League of alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an enterview between them at ſome convenient place: to which the Cardinal, not ſo much to ſatisfie the *French* King, as to ſhew his own greatneſs in *France* eaſily condeſcended; and thereupon perſwaded King *Henry*, how neceſſary it was, that ſuch an enterview ſhould be: and then were ſent to *Guyſnes*, under the rule of Sir *Edward Belknappe*, ſome ſay three thouſand, but *Godwin* ſaith eleven hundred; whereof three hundred Maſons, ſix hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glaſiers, and other Artificers, who ſpent two months erecting the Building builded on the Plain before the Caſtle of *Guyſnes*, a moſt ſtately Palace of Timber, curiouſly garniſhed without and within: whither both the Kings in *June* next following, agreeing to come, and to anſwer all comers at the Tilt, Tournies, and Barriers; whereof Proclamation was made in the Court of *England* by *Orleance* King of Arms of *France*, and in the Court of *France* by *Clarentius* King of Arms of *England*: whilſt theſe things were preparing on *Candlemas* Even, as the King and Queen were come from Even-ſong at their Manour of *Greenwich*; ſuddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entred into the Queens Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Wagon, in which ſate a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen, there preſent, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to anſwer all comers at the Tilts on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on *Shrovetueſday* next enſuing, where they all behaved themſelves with great valour, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

An enterview agreed upon between the two Kings of *France* and *England*

By this time King *Henry* was ready for his journey into *France*, and ſo removing from his Manour of *Greenwich*, on Friday the five and twentieth of *May*, he with his Queen arrived at *Canterbury*, where he meant to keep his Whitſuntide. At which time the Emperour *Charles*, returning out of *Spain*, arrived on the Coaſt of *Kent*, where by the Vice-Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Fitz-williams* he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in great ſtate. After which the King himſelf rode to *Dover*, to welcome him; and on Whitſunday early in the morning conducted him to *Canterbury*, where they ſpent all the Whitſuntide in great joy and ſolace. The chief cauſe that moved the Emperour at this time to come on land, was to have diſſwaded the King from any enterview with the *French* King. but when he ſaw him ſo forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to perſwade him, that he ſhould put no truſt in the *French* Kings words, and with great gifts and promiſes, prevailed with the Cardinal to joyn with him in this perſwaſion. The laſt of *May* the Emperour took his leave, and the ſame day the King made ſail from *Dover* and landed at *Callice*, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of *June* the King and Queen removed from *Callice*, to his Princely Lodging beſide the Town of *Guyſnes*, the moſt Royal Building that ever was ſeen; likewiſe *Francis* the *French* King had his lodging prepared cloſe to the Town of *Ard*, in a ſtrange but moſt magnificent faſhion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind, whatſoever ſhould be in difference between them; no leſs an honour to the Cardinal than a confidence in the Kings. On Thurſday the ſeventh of *June*, the Kings met in the vale of *Andren* ſo magnificently attired, both themſelves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of cloth of Gold. Here they ſpent that day in loving complements, and at night departed, the one to *Guyſnes*, the other to *Ard*. On Saturday the ninth of *June*, were ſet up in a place within the *Engliſh* pale two Trees of honour, with ſtately rooms and ſtages for the Queens, and thither the two Kings came, moſt Royally accompanied; where in moſt magnificent manner they performed acts of valour, both on foot and horſeback; and after them all the great Lords both of *France* and *England* did the like: this ſolemnity of Juſts and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth day of *June*; at which time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: the *French* King and Queen removed to *Ard*, the King and Queen of *England* to *Callice*, where he remained till the tenth of *July*, and then riding toward *Graveling*, was by the way met by the Emperour, and by him conducted thither, and there in moſt Royal manner entertained; whereof when the *French* King heard, he began from that day forward, to have King *Henry* in a kinde of jealouſie, as though to love him and the Emperour both were inconſiſtent, and could not ſtand together. On Wedneſday the eleventh of *July*, the Emperour and his Aunt the Lady *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, came with the King of *England* to the Town of *Callice*, and there continued with Feaſting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of *July*. In which time, all the Articles of the League of *Tripartito*, between the Emperour and the Kings of *England* and *France* were reviewed; to which the King of *France* had ſo fully condeſcended, that he had ſent Monnſieur *de Roche* to the Emperor with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably obſerve and keep them all: all which notwithſtanding, he diſpenſed with his conſcience afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday *July* 14. the Emperour took his leave and went to *Graveling*; the King with his Queen returned into *England*.

The two Kings meet in ſo magnificent manner, that the place was called the Camp of cloth of Gold.

The King of *France* is jealous of King *Henry*'s kindneſs to the Emperour.

Articles of League between the Emperour and the two Kings of *England* and *France* broken by the King of *France*.

The Emperour *Charles* comes into *England*.

It was now the twelfth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when being returned from *Callice*, he kept his *Chriſtmas* at *Greenwich* with great magnificence;

nificence; and on Twelfth-day he and the Earl of *Devonshire* maintained a solemn Justs against all comers.

The Cardinal had long born a spleen against the Duke of *Buckingham*, and now finds means to work his will.

The Cardinal had long born a grudge against the Duke of *Buckingham*, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said that the Duke once holding the Bason to the King; the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water; which the Duke disdaining, shed the water in his Shooes; with which the Cardinal incensed, threatned him that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke, to shew that the King might take notice of the Cardinals malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange fashion? he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention; for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his skirts. But this Jest did the Duke no good, for the Earl of *Surrey* Lord Admiral, who had married the Dukes Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Dukes special friend, he had caused upon certain suggested crimes to be imprisoned; so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in displeasure one *Charles Knevet*, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him; him the Cardinal gets to him, to see what he could get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire of revenge, or out of hope of reward, or that the matter was so indeed, this *Knevet* confessed to the Cardinal, that this Duke had once fully determined to make away the King; being brought into a hope to be King himself by a vain Prephesie, which one *Nicholas Hopkins* (a Monk of an House of the *Charter* Order, besides *Bristow*, called *Henton*) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold misdoings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravated to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the *Tower* by Sir *Henry Morney* Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of *April*, and shortly after in *Guildhall* before Sir *John Brugge*, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers points of high Treason; the substance whereof was, that in the second year of the Kings Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the Kings death at *London* and at *Thornbery* in *Glocestershire*; and that in the sixth year of the Kings Reign, he went in person to the Priory of *Henton*, and there had conference with the foresaid *Nicholas Hopkins*, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord *Aburgaveny*, who had married his Daughter, that if King *Henry* died without issue, he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points he was arraigned in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting then as High Steward of *England*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marques *Dorset*, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Devonshire*, *Essex*, *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Oxford* and *Darby*; the Lord of *S. Johns de la Ware*, *Fitz-water*, *Willoughby*, *Brook*, *Cobham*, *Herbert*, and *Morley*. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all booted not; for by these Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of *May*, was led by *John Keyme*, and *John Skevinton* Sheriffs of *London* to the Scaffold on *Tower-hill*, and there beheaded. The *Augustine* Friers took his body and head, and buried them. This *Edward Bohun* Duke of *Buckingham* was the last High-Constable of *England* the greatest place, next the High Steward, in the Kingdom) whose power extended to restrain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of *Hereford*, *Stafford*, and *Northampton*: He married *Eleanor* the Daughter of *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and had Issue *Henry* Lord *Stafford* (Father to *Henry* Lord *Stafford* late living) and three Daughters, *Elizabeth* married to *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, *Katharine* married to *Ralph Nevil* Earl of *Westmorland*, and *Mary* married to *George Nevil* Lord of *Aburgaveny*.

The Duke of *Buckingham* is beheaded. His Honours and Issue.

In this mean while, a new War was begun between the Emperour and the King of *France*; for composing whereof, the Cardinal of *York* was sent attended with the Earl of *Worcester*, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint *Johns*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Primate of *Armagh*, Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Sir *John Pechy*, Sir *John Hussey*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Doctors. On the twelfth of *July* he arrived at *Callice*, whither came to him the Chancellour of *France*, and the Count *de Palice* attended with four Hundred Horse, as Ambassadours from the *French* King; and from the Emperour the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambassadours from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to *Rome* about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to *Bruges*, to speak with the Emperour, with whom having stayed thirteen dayes, after most Royal Entertainment, he returned back to *Callice*; and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace with the *French* Commissioners, but was colder in the matter than he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealings with the Emperour, so as nothing was concluded; but that the Fishermen of both the Princes might freely Fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of *February* following; whereof he sent advertisement to both the Princes; to the Emperour by the Lord of Saint *Johns*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen*; to the *French* King by the Earl of *Worcester*, and the Bishop of *Ely*. During all which time of the Cardinals stay in *Callice*, all Writs and Patents were there by him sealed, and no Sheriffe could be chosen for lack of his presence, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in person. Before he returned, he made a

The Cardinal is sent to make a Peace between the Emperour and the King of *France*, but deals not fair in it.

The Cardinal carries the great Seal over with him, and the inconveniencies by it.

new League with the Emperour, and intimated to the *French* King, that he doubted the King of *England* would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereat, though the King of *France* were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps dissemblingly) that he would continue the King of *Englands* friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many Pensions which he had before given to some *English*. Presently upon this, was *Tourney* besieged by the Lord *Hugh de Moncada* a *Spaniard*; and though the *French* King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rendred up to the Emperour the last of *November*, in the thirteenth year of King *Henry*'s Reign.

The Cardinal seeks to be Pope, but too late.

This year Pope *Leo* died the first of *December*, suspected to be poysoned by *Barnaby Malespina* his Chamberlain, whose Office was alwayes to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor *Pace* was sent to *Rome*, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of *York*; who was brought into a hope through the Kings favour to be elected Pope: but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor *Pace* could get to *Rome*, *Adrian* the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor *Pace* was a very Learned and Religious man, yet through crosses in his employment fell mad and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor *Stephen Gardiner*.

Doctor *Pace* the Cardinals Agent, falls mad and dieth.

An. Reg. 13. 1522.

On the second of *February*, King *Henry* being then at *Greenwich*, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against *Luther*, as it was given out; but thought to be written by Sir *Thomas Moor*, or by *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester*: of which Book (saith *Holingshead*) I will only say thus much, that King *Henry* in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam againg *Luther*, to rase out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law. Which Book *Luther* answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

King *Henry* for writing a Book against *Luther*, hath the Title given him to be Defender of the Faith.

In this mean time, many displeasures grew between the two Kings of *England* and *France*, specially two: one, that *French* men seized upon *English* Ships as they passed: for remedy whereof, one *Christopher Cee* an expert Sea-man, was sent with six Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of *Albany* was returned into *Scotland*, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of *France* denied to be done with his privity, yet King *Henry* knew the Duke of *Albany* had Commission from the *French* King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Musters made in *England*, and a note taken of what substance all men were.

This year died the Lord *Brook*, Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Garter, Sir *John Pechy*, and Sir *Edward Pelknappe*, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at *Ard*, when the two Kings met last.

At this time *Owen Dowglass* Bishop of *Dunkell* fled out of *Scotland* into *England*, because the Duke of *Albany*, being come thither, had taken upon him the whole government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon *Clarenteaux* the Herauld was sent into *Scotland*, to command the Duke of *Albany* to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herauld was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the *French* King seized all *English* mens goods in *Bourdeaux*, and imprisoned their persons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of *Tourney*, but also withheld the *French* Queens Dower: whereof, when King *Henry* understood, he called the *French* Ambassadour residing in *England*, to give account thereof; who though he gave the best reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house; and the *French* Hostages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of *Tourney*, were restrained of their liberty, and committed to the custody of the Lord of Saint *Johns*, Sir *Thomas Lovell*, Sir *Andrew Windsor*, and Sir *Thomas Nevyle*; each of them to keep one; and withall, all *French* men in *London* were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all *Scotch* men much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards *Scotland*; who set fire on many *Scottish* Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prisoners and returned.

Upon differences between the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *French* Ambassadour is commanded to keep his house.

King *Henry* hearing, that the Emperour would come to *Callice*, so to pass into *England*, as he went into *Spain*; appointed the Lord Marques *Dorset*, to go to *Callice*, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at *Dover*. The Cardinal taking his journey thither on the tenth of *May*, rode through *London*, accompanyed with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishops, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hundred. The five and twentieth of *May* being Sunday, the Marques *Dorset* with the Bishop of *Chichester*, the Lord *de la Ware*, and divers others, at the water of *Graveling*, received the Emperour, and with all honour brought him to *Callice*, where he was received with Procession, by the Lord *Berners* Lieutenant of the Town. On Munday he took Shipping at *Callice*, and landed at *Dover*; where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights and Gentlemen received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being *Ascension* Even, the King came to *Dover*, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperour and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from *Dover*, and came that night to *Canterbury*, and from thence next day to *Greenwich*; where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperours presence, Royal Justs and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and ten Aids, kept the place against the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marques *Dorset*, and other ten Aids, on their part. On Friday the sixth of *June*, the Emperour and the King with all their Companies went to *London*, where the City

The Emperour comes into *England*, and with what state he is received.

City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperour was lodged at the *Black-fryers*, and all his Lords in the new Palace of *Bridewell*. On Whitsunday the King and the Emperour rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traverse and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and at the last Lavotary two Dukes, which pride the *Spaniards* much disdained. After many Feastings in other places, at last they rode to *Windsor*, where they stayed a whole week; and there, on *Corpus Christi* day, the Emperour wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sate in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to *Winchester*; before whose coming thither there was come to *Hampton*, the Earl of *Surrey* Admiral of *England*, with all the Kings Navy, and with him the Lord *Fitz-water*, the Baron *Curson*, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Sir *Richard Jerningham*, *Francis Brian*, Sir *William Barentine*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, Sir *Edward Donne*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Anthony Poyns*, Sir *Henry Sherbourn*, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir *William Fitz-williams*, Sir *Edmund Bray*, Sir *Giles Capel*, Sir *William Pirton*, *John Cornwallis*, Sir *John Wallop*, Sir *Edward Ichingham*, Sir *William Sidney*, *Anthony Brown*, *Giles Hussey*, *Thomas Moor*, *John Russel*, *Edward Bray*, *Henry Owen*, *George Cobham*, *Thomas Oldhall*, *Thomas Lovel*, *Robert Ichingham*, *Anthony Knevet*, Sir *John Tremaile*, Sir *William Skevington* Master of the Ordinance, and *John Fabian* Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noised only that it was but to scour the Seas for the safe conducting of the Emperour. For the Earl of *Surrey*, having wafted the Emperour over to the Coast of *Biskay*, upon his return, made to the Coast of *Britain*; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of *Morleys*, and by assault took it: having won this Town the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir *Francis Brian*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Richard Cornwall*, Sir *Thomas Moor*, Sir *Giles Hussey*, Sir *John Russel*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *George Cobham*, Sir *John Cornwallis*, Sir *Edward Ridgley*, and some others; and after the Earl had lien a while on the Coast of *Britain*, he was commanded home by the Kings Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the *Cow* under the Isle of *Wight*, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Governance of the Vice Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*.

The Earl of *Surrey* Admiral, surprizeth *Morleys* in *France*.

In this mean time divers exploits were atchieved between them of the Garrison in the Marches of *Callice*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign*; where the *French* commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord *Ross*, and the Lord *Dacres* of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against *Scotland*, burnt the Town of *Kelsie*, and fourscore Villages, and overthrew eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

The Earl of *Surrey* wins many Towns in *France*.

King *Henry* intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in *France*, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of *Surrey*, he sent over to *Callice*; whither the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battels; the first was led by Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water*, the middleward by himself and his Brother the Lord *Edmund Howard*, the Rereward by Sir *William Sands*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield*, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir *Edmund Guilford* was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entred the *French* ground the second of *September*, and took his Journey towards *Hedring*. By the way there came to him a great power of *Burgognians*, sent by the Lady *Margaret*, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Countrey, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of *Selloys*, the Town of *Brunbrigge*, *Senkerk*, *Botington*, and *Manstier*, with divers others. On the 16. of *September*, they came before the Castle of *Hedring*, and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordinance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven dayes he raised his siege; and passing foom thence to *Dorlens*, burnt the Town and rased the Castle, as also the Town of *Dortier*, and then the year being ta- spent, came back to *Callice* the sixteenth of *October*.

At this time the Duke of *Albany*, being established Governour of *Scotland*, raised an Army of fourscore thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army would fright the *English*; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Warden of the East and middle Marches, to enter into *Tividale*, and so forward ten Miles into *Galloway*, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he tarried within the *Scottish* ground, and the next day being Good-Friday, withdrew back into *England*, with a head of four thousand Cattel; having burned *Grimseley*, *Mowhouse*, *Donford*, *Myles*, *Ackforth*, *Crowling*, and many other Towns and Villages.

An. Reg. 14 1523.

In King *Henry*'s fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of *April* began a Parliament, which was holden at the *Black-fryers*, whither the King came, and there sate down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side sate the Cardinal of *York*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor *Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Commonwealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir *Thomas More*, who at first disabling himself, at last made two Petitions

A Parliament holden at *Black-Fryers*.

ons

The Speaker makes two Petitions to the King.

ons to the King; one for himself, that if he should be sent by the Commons to the King on a Message, and mistake their intent, he might then with the Kings pleasure resort again to the Commons, to know their meaning. The other, for the House of Commons, that if in communication and reasoning, any man should speak more largely than of duty he ought to do, yet all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of Record. Which Petitions were granted, and then the Parliament began; where at first a Subsidy was demanded, but as there was much ado in the House of Commons about it, so there was no less amongst the Clergy in the Convocation House; for *Richard* Bishop of *Wincheſter* and *John* Bishop of *Rocheſter* were much against it, but most of all, one *Rowland Philips*, Vicar of *Croydon*, and a Canon of *Pauls*; but the Cardinal, taking him aside, dealt so with him, that he took him off, so as he came no more to the House; and then the Bell-weather (as one saith) giving over his hold, the rest soon yielded; and so was granted the half of all their spiritual yearly Revenues, to be paid in five years following. The Clergy being thus brought on, on the nine and twentieth of *April*, the Cardinal came into the House of Commons, to work them also; and there, shewing the great charges the King was necessarily to be at in his present Wars, demanded the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, to be raised of the fifth part of every mans Goods and Lands, which was four shillings of every pound. This demand was enforced the day after by the Speaker Sir *Thomas More*; but the Burgesses were all against it, shewing that it was not possible to have it gathered in money; for that men of Lands had not the fifth part thereof in Coyn. And further alledged, that there be not many Parishes in *England*, one with another, able to spare a hundred Marks, except Cities and Towns; and seeing there were not above thirteen thousand Parishes in the Kingdom, (at this day there are but 9285.) how could such a summe be raised? Hereupon certain of the House were sent to move the Cardinal, to be a means to the King to accept of a lesser sum; but the Cardinal answered, he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his mouth with a pair of Pincers, then make to the King any such motion. Whereupon the Cardinal came again into the House, and desired that he might reason with them that were against the demand; to which it was answered, that the order of that House was to hear, and not to reason, except amongst themselves. When the Cardinal was gone, the Commons, after long debating the matter, at last agreed of two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upward, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence, and under forty shillings of every head of sixteen years and upwards, four pence, to be paid in two years: when this was told to the Cardinal, he was much offended; so that to please him, the Gentlemen of fifty pound Land and upward, by the motion of Sir *John Huſſey*, a Knight of *Lincolnſhire*, were charged with twelve pence more in the pound, to be paid in three years.

A Subsidy with much ado granted.

How many Parishes in the Kingdom.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do; whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that ere it were long he would look to things himself, without any Substitute. Which speech of the Kings, though it danted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as peremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was Prorogued till the tenth of *June*; during which Prorogation, the Common people said to the Burgesses. We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home, with many like threatnings. At this time, the Cardinal, by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at *Weſtminſter*: which was never seen before in *England* (saith *Hall*. The one and thirtieth of *July*, the Parliament was adjourned to *Weſtminſter*; and there continuing till the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, was that day at nine of the clock at night dissolved.

The Cardinal makes a false report to the House of Commons.

The Parliament dissolved at nine a Clock at night.

About this time the Bishop of *Durham* died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Cardinal; who resigned the Bishoprick of *Bath* to Doctor *John Clerk*, Master of the Rolls; and Sir *Henry Marney*, that was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord *Marney*: Also during this Parliament, Sir *Arthur Plantagenet*, Bastard Son to King *Edward* the fourth, at *Bridewel*, was created Vicount *Liſle*, in the right of his Wife, who was Wife before to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded.

Sir *Henry Marney* created Lord *Marney*.

Sir *Arthur Plantagenet* base Son of King *Edward* the fourth is created Vicount *Liſle*.

The fifteenth of *June*, in the fifteenth year of the Kings Reign, *Chriſtian* King of *Denmark* with his Queen, driven out of his own Countrey, came into *England*, and was lodged at *Bath* place; who, after he had been feasted by the King, and by the City of *London*, and received great gifts of both, returned again into *Flanders*, where he remained as a banished man: some years after, King *Henry* sent Doctor *Henry Standiſh*, Bishop of St. *Aſaph*, and Sir *John Baker* Knight, into *Denmark*, to perswade the people to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

An. Reg. 15 1524.

About this time the Earl of *Kildare*, having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into *Ireland*, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild *Iriſh* to indifferent conformity. All this while had *England* Wars both with the *French* and with the *Scots*. In *Scotland* the Marques of *Dorſet* threw down the Castles of *Wederborne*, of *Neſgate*, of *Blackater*, of *Mackwalls*, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In *France* the Lord *Sands*, Treasurer of *Callice*, with twelve hundred men went before *Bulloigne*, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to *Callice*, with the loss

The Earl of *Kildare* doth good service in *Ireland*.

The Marques *Dorſet* in *Scotland*.

The Lord *Sands* in *France*.

loſs only of a dozen men. King *Henry* being advertiſed that the Duke of *Albany* was providing of Forces in *France*, with which to return into *Scotland*, ſent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir *William Fitz-williams*, with divers great Ships to intercept him; but when he could not meet with him, he then landed in the Haven of *Treport*; where with ſeven hundred men, he beat ſix thouſand *French* that fought to impeach his landing, took their Bulwarks and much Ordinance in them, burned the Suburbs of the Town of *Treport*, and all in five hours, and then returned.

Sir *William Fitz-williams* with 700 beat ſix thouſand *French*.

All this while King *Henry* had plaid with the *French*, but now he means to be in earneſt, and therefore ſends over the Duke of *Suffolk* with an Army, the four and twentieth of *Auguſt*; attended with the Lord *Montacute* and his Brother Sir *Arthur Pool*, the Lord *Herbert*, Son to the Earl of *Worceſter*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Marney*, the Lord *Sands*, the Lord *Barkley*, the Lord *Powis*, and the Baron *Curſon*, Sir *Richard Winkefield*, Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Sir *John Vere*, Sir *Edward Nevil*, Sir *William Kingſtone*, Sir *Richard Weſton*, Sir *Andrew Winſore*, Sir *Robert Winkefield*, Sir *Anthony Winkefield*, Sir *Edward Guilford*, Sir *Edward Grevile*, Sir *Edward Chamberlain*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Everard Digby*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, Sir *Richard Cornwal*, Sir *William Courtney*, Sir *William Sidney*, Sir *Henry Owin*, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were ſix hundred Demi-launces, two hundred Archers on Horſeback, three thouſand Archers on foot, and five thouſand Bill-men. Alſo ſeventeen hundred taken out of the Garriſons of *Hammes*, *Guiſnes*, and *Callice*, in all ten thouſand and five hundred, beſides two thouſand ſix hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of *Suffolk* took the field, his Vantguard was led by the Lord *Sands*; the Captain of the right Wing was Sir *William Kingſton*, and of the left Sir *Everard Digby*: the Captain of all the Horſemen was Sir *Edward Guilford*, Marſhal of *Callice*; the Duke himſelf led the Battel, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* the Rereward. The Dukes enterpriſe was the winning of *Bell* Caſtle, which the Lord *Sands* and the Lord *Ferrers* aſſaulted, and had it yielded to them: and then Sir *William Skevington* was placed Captain in it. At this time the Duke of *Bourbon*, high Conſtable of *France*, began to have his minde alienated from the King of *France*, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of *Suffolk* ſent Sir *John Ruſſel* (afterward created Duke of *Bedford*) to him, who paſſing in diſguiſed Apparel, ſo prevailed with him, that he profeſſed to take part with the Emperour, and the King of *England*; who having ten thouſand *Almains* in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the *Engliſh*) to proclaim in the Army the acceſs of ſo powerful an aſſiſtant: and thereupon the Duke of *Suffolk* removed to *Ard*, and ſo forward into *Picardy*. At *Cordes* between *Ternin* and St. *Omers*, there came to him the Lord of *Iſilſtein*, and with him of *Spaniards*, *Almans*, and others, three thouſand footmen, and five hundred Horſe. With theſe Forces, the Duke marching on, took firſt the rich Town of *Anchor*, then the Caſtle of *Bounguard*, and then by aſſault the Town of *Bray*, though two thouſand good men of War were in it: After this, the Towns of *Cappe*, and *Roy*, *Lihome* and *Davenker*. And then came before the Town of *Mount-Dedier*, in which were a thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; yet upon Sir *William Skeuingtons* Batteries, was yielded to him. From hence he removed to *Roy*, where he reſted a while with his whole Army: and there on *Alholland* day, in the chief Church of *Roy*, made Knights, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Powis*, *Oliver Manners*, *Arthur Pool*, *Richard Sands*, *Robert Jerningham*, *Robert Salisbury*, *Edward Beningfield*, *Richard Corbert*, *Thomas Wentworth*, *William Storton*, *Walter Mantel*, *George Warram*, and *Edward Seymor* (that was after Duke of *Somerſet*.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called *Neele*, from thence to *Veane*, and then to *Beauford*, where the Duke made *John Dudley*, and *Robert Utreight* Knights, and from thence on the eighth of *November*, to a place called *Mount Saint Martin*; here the *Welſhmen* began to murmure, that they might not return home, the Winter being ſo far ſpent; but there was to the number of a thouſand perſons, under the leading of Sir *John Walloppe*, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Adventurers, and by ſome Kreekers, and theſe had more deſire to ſtay, than the *Welſhmen* had to be gone; for the great gains they made by the ſpoils of ſo many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of *November* the Duke removed to a place within two miles of *Boghan* Caſtle, defended by great Mariſhes, that lay before it, but the Froſt being at that time ſo great that many loſt their Fingers and Toes with cold, and ſome died; Sir *Edward Guilford* acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Mariſhes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordinance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he reſolutely did, and had the Caſtle preſently delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what ſtate the Army ſtood, had prepared ſix thouſand men to be ſent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord *Montjoy*; but before they could be put in order to paſs the Sea, the Duke, partly by extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was conſtrained to break up his Army, and return to *Callice*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* is ſent with an Army into *France*.

How marſhalled.

He wins many Towns.

A great Froſt.

In this mean time, the *Scots* knowing that the ſtrength of *England* was gone into *France*, took boldneſs to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of *Surrey*, Treaſurer and High Admiral of *England*, with ſix thouſand men, being ſent againſt them, took divers of their Caſtles and Holds; and at *Yedworth*, skirmiſhing with a great Garriſon of *Scots*, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Caſtle. And now the *French* King finding that the *Scots* did not work any great trouble to the *Engliſh*, whereby to keep them from moleſting of *France*, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of *Albanies* preſence, whom they accounted their Governour, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to tranſport him into *Scotland*; but when the Duke of *Albany* heard

heard that Sir *William Fitz-williams* was sent with a great Fleet to ſtop his paſſage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of *Breſt*, and gave it out that he would not go into *Scotland* that year; which being told to the King of *England*, he commanded that his Ships alſo ſhould be laid up in Havens till the next Spring. And now ſee the cunning of the *Scot*; for when he ſaw the Kings Ships diſcharged, he then boldly took Shipping himſelf, and ſailed into *Scotland*; whither being come he preſently levved a great Army, and approached the *Engliſh* Borders; but when he heard the Earl of *Surrey* was coming againſt him with a mighty power, he then ſent a Herauld to him, promiſing of his Honour, to give him Battel; and if he took him priſoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl anſwered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; but if he took him priſoner, the quarter, he would give him, ſhould be to cut off his head, and ſend it for a Preſent to his Maſter the King of *England*. At this time, the Earl of *Surrey* being at *Alnewick*, came the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, the Lords *Clifford*, *Dacres*, *Lumley*, *Ogle*, and *Darcie*, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thouſand: and from the Court came the Maſter of the Horſe, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Edward Baynton*, and others. The laſt of *October*, the Duke of *Albany* ſent two or three thouſand men over the water to beſiege the Caſtle of *Warke*; who by battery of their Ordinance won the outermoſt Ward, called the *Barnekins*; and continuing their battery, won the ſecond Ward; but then Sir *William Liſle*, that was Captain of the Caſtle, iſſuing forth with thoſe few he had left, drove the *French* men from the place, and ſlew of them to the number of three hundred: a memorable ſervice, and for which the Earl of *Surrey* afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commiſſion was only to defend *England*, and not to invade *Scotland*. Shortly after the Queen of *Scots*, Mother to the King, ſent to her Brother the King of *England*, for an abſtinence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the *Engliſh* Army brake up, and the Earl of *Surrey* returned to the Court.

A policy of the Duke of *Albany*.

The Earl of *Surrey* his ſervice againſt the *Scots*.

And now for a while we muſt be content to hear of petty occurrences, becauſe greater did not happen; which if it make us like the ſtory the worſe, it may make us like the times the better; ſeeing they are ever the beſt times that afford leaſt matter to be talked of: but this time will laſt but a while; for ſhortly we ſhall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never ſcarce been ſeen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage diſſolved after twenty years conſummation; Houſes built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demoliſhed; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Priſoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church it ſelf ſhaken, that it hath ſtood in diſtraction ever ſince.

At this time the Emperour *Charles* ſent to the King of *England* two Mules trapped in Crimſon Velvet, richly embroydered; alſo eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Ruſſet Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of ſtrange Timber, and work richly garniſhed; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he ſent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the *Spaniſh* faſhion: which Preſents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

Preſents ſent to the King and Queen by the Emperour.

At this time in the month of *October* the Cardinal ſent out Commiſſions, that every man, being worth forty pounds, ſhould pay the whole Subſidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought, would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better than any words he could deviſe.

The Cardinal requires the ſubſidy to be paid by Anticipation.

In this year the King ſent the Lord *Morley*, Sir *William Huſſey* Knight, and Doctor *Lee* his Almoner, to *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria*, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of *Noremberg*, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognoſtications, foreſhewing much hurt to come by waters and floods, many perſons withdrew themſelves to high grounds, for fear of drowning; ſpecially one *Bolton*, Prior of Saint *Bartholomews* in *Smithfield*, builded him an Houſe upon *Harrow* on the Hill, and thither went and made proviſion for two months. Theſe great waters ſhould have fallen in *February*, but no ſuch thing happening, the Aſtronomers excuſed themſelves, by ſaying, that in the computation they had miſcounted in their number an hundred years.

A great Inundation threatned by Prognoſtication, but miſtaken.

In this mean time, many enterpriſes were attempted, between the *Engliſh* men of *Callice* and *Guyſnes*, and the *French* men of *Bulloign* and the Frontiers of *Picardie*; and ſtill Sir *William Fitz-williams* Captain of *Guyſnes*, Sir *Robert Jerningham*, Captain of *Newnham* Bridge, Sir *John Walloppe*, and Sir *John Gage*, were the men that did the *French* moſt hurt.

This year, the firſt of *September*, was Doctor *Thomas Hannibal* Maſter of the Rolls received into *London*, by Earls, Biſhops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambaſſadour from Pope *Clement*; who brought with him a Roſe of Gold for a preſent to the King: and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a ſolemn Maſs ſung by the Cardinal of *York*, the ſaid Preſent was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers reſembling Roſes.

A Preſent ſent to the King from the Pope.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called *Kreekers* being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horſemen, made an attempt to fetch ſome booty from a Village not far from *Muttrell*; whereof the Earl of *Dammartin* having notice, he ſet upon them with a far greater number, and ſlew moſt of them; and this was the end of the *Kreekers*, as brave men as ever ſerved any Prince.

The Adventurers called *Kreekers*, all deſtroyed.

In *December* this year, there came to *London* divers Ambaſſadours out of *Scotland*, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of *Scots*, and the

the Lady *Mary* Daughter to the King of *England*.

At this time the Lord *Leonard Gray*, and the Lord *John Gray*, Brothers to the Lord Marquess *Dorset*, Sir *George Cobham* Son to the Lord *Cobham*, *William Cary*, Sir *John Dudley*, *Thomas Wyat*, *Francis Points*, *Francis Sidney*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, *Oliver Manners*, *Percival Hart*, *Sebastian Newdigate*, and *Thomas Calen*, Esquires of the Kings Houshold, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmass, which was proclaimed by *Windsor* the Herauld, and performed at the time appointed very nobly, as Tilts, Turneys, Barriers, and the assault of a Castle erected for that purpose, in the Tilt-yard at *Greenwich*, where the King held his Christmass that year with great state and magnificence.

1525. About this time, *John Jokin* Steward of the Houshold to the *French* Kings Mother, came into *England*, and was received in secret manner, into the house of one Doctor *Larke*, a Prebendary of Saint *Stephens*; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal, about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of *England* and *France*: of whose often Meetings Mounsieur *de Prate* the Emperours Ambassadour grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of *January*, Mounsieur *Brynion*, President of *Roan*, came to *London* as Ambassadour from the *French* King, and was lodged with the said *John Jokin*; which small things should not be related, but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of *March*, were received into *London* Mounsieur *de Bever* Lord of *Campher*, Admiral of *Flanders*, Mounsieur *John de la Coose* President of *Malines*, and Master *John de la Gache*, as Ambassadours from the Lady *Margaret* in the name of the Emperour, who required three things. First they demanded the Lady *Mary* the Kings only Daughter to be presently delivered, and she to be named Empress, and as Governess take possession of all the *Low-Countreys*. Secondly, that all such summes of money as the King should give with her in Marriage should be paid incontinently. Thirdly, that the King of *England* should pass the Sea in person, and make War in *France* the next Summer. The first two demands were not agreed to for certain causes; and as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of *March* a Gentleman came in Post from the Lady *Margaret*, with Letters signifying, that whereas the King of *France* had lien long at the siege of *Pavia*, he had now been forced to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in *London*, and on the twentieth of *March* being Sunday, the King himself came to *Pauls*, and there heard a solemn Mass. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought, if the King of *France* had not now been taken prisoner, that the King of *England* would have joyned in amity with him, as being angry with the *Flemings*, for Inhansing his Coyn in *Flanders*, which caused much money to be conveyed out of *England* thither. The King of *France* being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed into *Spain*, and at last brought to *Madrill*, where he fell so sick, that the Physicians had little hope of his life, unless the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength: In which time many propositions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none, without restitution of the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*. At last, the *French* King weary of imprisonment, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any conditions: the chief whereof were, that the *French* King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperour the Dutchy of *Burgoigne*; with all Members pertaining to it; and at the same instant, should put into the Emperours hands the Dauphin of *France*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleance* his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of *France*, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League, and perpetual confederation for defence of their estates. Of whose attonement when King *Henry* heard, as before he had expressed gladness that he was taken prisoner, so now he sent Sir *Thomas Cheiney* to him, to express his joy for being set at liberty; so sudden is the interchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The *French* King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady *Isabel*, Daughter to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, and had with her in Dower eleven hundred thousand Duckets; though three years before, being at *Windsor*, she had covenanted to take to Wife the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter.

The King of *France* is taken prisoner

At this time Cardinal *Woolsey* obtained License of the King to erect a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipswich*; and towards the charge of them got leave also to suppress certain small Monasteries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those Houses, to the maintenance of those two Colledges: a pernicious Precedent, and that which made the King a way afterward, to make a general suppression of all Religious Houses; though indeed there be great difference between converting of Monasteries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

The Cardinal suppresseth forty Monasteries, towards the erecting of two Colledges.

In *March* King *Henry* sent *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, and Sir *Richard Winkefield* Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, into *Spain*, to confer with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in *France*; and yet were these two Princes at this time in League: but he that shall observe the carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall finde it a strange Riddle of *Ragion di stato*; and their Leagues to have been our meer complements, where the scale was turned with the least grain of a circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept; for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it, though they were both accessaries, yet neither was principal; and where there

is not a principal, the Oath remains inviolate. And upon thoſe hinges did the friendſhip of theſe Princes turn, as at this time the Emperour, though not long before he had parted with the King of *England* in the greateſt kindneſs that could be, yet gave not the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours ſo kind entertainment now, as he had formerly done; but for what cauſe was not apparent, unleſs upon ſome ſiniſter report made to him, by Mounſieur *de Prate*; who having been his Leigier with the King of *England*, was without taking leave of the King departed, and come to the Emperour before the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours came.

The Cardinal ſeeks to raiſe money by a Commiſſion: which the people oppoſe, and the King diſclaims.

But howſoever King *Henry* being determined to make War in *France* himſelf in perſon, his Council fell into conſideration how the charge of the War ſhould be maintained; which care the Cardinal takes upon him; and thereupon appoints Commiſſioners in all Shires, to ſit and draw the people to pay the ſixth part of every mans ſubſtance, in Plate or Money: but the people oppoſed it, alledging, that it was againſt the Law of the Realm, for any man to be charged with ſuch payments, unleſs by Parliament: and as the Cardinal continued to preſs it, ſo the people continued to deny it; and when ſome for denying it were committed to priſon, the Commons in many Countreys made great Aſſemblies for their defence: the report whereof at laſt came to the King, who thereupon came to *Weſtminſter* and proteſted openly that it was done without his knowledge, and that it was never his meaning, to ask any thing of his Subjects but according to Law; and therefore deſired to know by whoſe Authority it was done. Here the Cardinal excuſed himſelf and ſaid, that it was the opinion of all the Judges, and of all his Council, that he might lawfully demand any ſum, ſo it were done by Commiſſion, and thereupon it was done. But the King liked not to take advantage of a diſtinction to draw money from his Subjects; and thereupon gave warning for doing any ſuch thing hereafter: and ſignified ſo much by his Letters into all the Shires of *England*: giving alſo a general Pardon to all that had offered to riſe upon it; which though he did of his own free grace, yet the Cardinal to win a good opinion in the Commons gave out, that it was by his means the King granted the Pardon.

An. Reg. 17. 1526.

Dukes and Earls created.

King *Henry*'s ſeventeenth year, was honoured with advancing of many in honour; for on the eighteenth of *June* at his Palace of *Bridewell*, the Kings Son (which he had by *Elizabeth Blunt* Daughter to Sir *John Blunt* Knight) called *Henry Fitz-Roy*, was created firſt Earl of *Notingham*, and after on the ſame day Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerſet*, *Henry Courtney* Earl of *Devonſhire* was created Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Brandon* Son to the Duke of *Suffolk* and the *French* Queen (a childe of two years old) was created Earl of *Loncoln*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Lord *Roſs* was created Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *Henry Clifford* was created Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Robert Ratcliffe* Lord *Fitz-water* was created Vicount *Fitz-water*, and Sir *Thomas Bullen* Treaſurer of the Kings Houſhold was created Vicount *Rochford*.

A Peace between *England* and *France*, for which a great ſumme of money paid to King *Henry*.

At this time the *French* Kings Mother, as then Regent of *France*, procured by her Ambaſſadours, at firſt a Truce, and afterward a Peace with *England*, which was proclaimed in *London*, the eighth of *September*. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of *England* ſhould receive at certain dayes twenty hundred thouſand Crowns, which in ſterling money amounted to the ſumme of four hundred thouſand pound; whereof fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir *William Fitz-williams*, and Doctor *Taylour*, was ſent to the Lady Regent, to take her corporal Oath, and likewiſe King *Henry* the four and twentieth of *April*, at *Greenwich*, in preſence of the Ambaſſadours of *France*, *Rome*, and *Venice*, took his corporal Oath, to obſerve the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the *French* King, during his life, and one year after.

The ſtill Chriſtmaſs by reaſon of the ſickneſs.

In this Winter was a great mortality in *London*, ſo as the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Chriſtmaſs at *Eltham*, with a ſmall number, and was therefore called the ſtill Chriſtmaſs. At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the ſtate of the Kings Houſe: many Officers and other ſervants were diſcharged, and put to their penſions, in which number were fourſcore and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but ſix pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countreys.

On Shrovetueſday this year, a ſolemn Juſts was held at *Greenwich*, the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and eleven other of the other part.

An. Reg. 19. 1528.

The King viſits the Cardinal in a Mask.

In his nineteenth year King *Henry* kept a ſolemn Chriſtmaſs at *Greenwich*, with Revels, Masks, Diſguiſings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of *December* and third of *January* were ſolemn Juſts holden, when at night the King and fifteen other with him, came to *Bridewel*, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinals place, where were at ſupper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the Dancing was made a great Banquet. This Chriſtmaſs was a Play at *Grayes-Inne*, made by one Maſter *Roe* a Serjeant at Law; the effect whereof was, that Lord *Governance* was ruled by Diſſipation and Negligence, by whoſe evil order Lady *Publick Weal* was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him, and thereupon ſent the ſaid Maſter *Roe* to the Fleet, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority: by which we may ſee how inſeparable a companion ſuſpicion is to a guilty conſcience.

King *Henry* made arbitrator between the Emperour and the King of *France*.

The fourteenth of *January* came to the Court *Don Hugo de Mendoza*, a Grandee of *Spain*, as Ambaſſadour from the Emperour to the King, with a large Commiſſion, to make King *Henry* Judge; how juſt the conditions were, which the Emperour required of the King of *France*: and about this negotiation tarried two years in *England*: ſo deſirous the Emperour was to continue good correſpondence with the King of *England*.

On Shrovetueſday the King and the Marqueſs of *Exeter* with others, in moſt ſumptuous attire

attire came to the Tilt, and ran so many courses, till two hundred fourscore and six Spears were broken; and then disarming themselves went into the Queens Chamber, where a sumptuous Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing; for hitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassadours from the King of *France*, requiring to have the Kings Daughter the Lady *Mary*, to be given in marriage to the Duke of *Orleance*, second Son to their Master the *French* King, wherein they that were the suitors for it, were the hinderers of it; for amongst them was the President of *Paris*, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King *Henry* and the Lady *Katharine* of *Spain*, having been his Brothers Wife, were lawful or no: But howsoever the *French* Ambassadours at *Greenwich* on Sunday the fifth of *May*, in the Name of their Master the *French* King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during their lives. And shortly after were sent Sir *Thomas Bullen*, Vicount *Rochford*, and Sir *Anthony Brown* Knight, as Ambassadours to the King of *France*, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

The first exception taken to the lawfulness of the Kings marriage.

But enough of small Occurrence; and indeed there will be Occurences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard; for now the Duke of *Bourbon* General of the Emperours Army in *Italy*, was slain by a shot from the Walls of *Rome*, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entred and sacked the City, made the Pope flie to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, and there cooped him up; abused the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ransomes, spared neither Sacred Places, nor Religious Persons, but committed all manner of barbarous and inhumane cruelty. These insolencies of the Emperours Army committed against the Pope; together with the hard conditions the Emperour had imposed upon the King of *France* for setting him at liberty: and the Emperours breach of promise in not marrying the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter, were the apparent causes of King *Henry*'s breaking League with the Emperour *Charles*: but a more enforcing though concealed cause, perhaps was the growing greatness of the Emperour, by his acquests in *Italy* and other places; enough to breed a jealousie in all neighbouring Princes; and indeed King *Henry* had some cause to think the Emperours spirits were grown higher with his Victories, seeing where before he was wont alwayes to write Letters to King *Henry* with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and faithful Friend; now after his Victories in *Italy*, he caused his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only *Charles*. And yet a more pressing cause, though not avowed, might be the Cardinals spleen against the Emperour, for denying him the Bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spain*. But whichsoever of these was the predominant cause, all of them together made a cause sufficient for King *Henry* to fall off from amity with the Emperour; and his falling off from the Emperour, cause sufficient to fall in with the King of *France*: and thereupon the two Kings send their several Heraulds to the Emperour: King *Henry Clarentius*, the *French* King his Herauld *Guyen*, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperour, and he refusing to return a satisfactory Answer, to defie him as their Enemy. The Emperour heard the Heraulds with great temper, and answered *Clarentius* very mildly; that he knew his Masters grievance was grounded upon misinformation, wherein he would shortly rectifie him by his Letters, as desiring nothing more than to continue his friend; but *Guyen* he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master that he had broken his faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers dismissed them; only *Guyen* not thinking it fit to deliver his answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heraulds being returned home, and delivering the answers; the King of *France* was so incensed, to be charged with breach of faith, that soon after he sent another defiance to the Emperour, telling him in plain terms, that he lyed in his throat; and thereupon challenged him to the Combat, requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperour accepted the challenge, but other occurrences intervening hindered the performance.

Rome sacked by the Imperialists, and the Pope and Cardinals coopt up as prisoners.

Causes of King *Henry*'s breaking League with the Emperour.

The King of *France* gives the Emperor the lye, and challengeth him to a Combat.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appointed to go Ambassadour to the King of *France*; carrying with him twelve score thousand pounds, to be employed by the *French* King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperour, who the eleventh of *July* took shipping at *Dover*, and landed that day at *Calice*; with whom was *Cuthert Tunstal* Bishop of *London*, the Lord *Sands* Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of *Derby*, Sir *Henry Guilford*, Sir *Thomas More*, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of twelve hundred Horse. At *Amyens* he was received by the *French* King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of *France*; By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperour; which if refused, then the *French* King should marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henry*'s Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperour. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned, and on the last of *September* came to the King at *Richmond*. In *October* following, there came Ambassadours from the *French* King, to take King *Henry*'s Oath, for observing the League with the King of *France*: and on Sunday the tenth of *November*, King *Henry* at *Greenwich* received the Order of Saint *Michael* by the hands of the Lord *Annas de Memorancie*, great Master of the Kings Houshold, and Mounsieur *Humeries*: as likewise the same day at *Paris* the *French* King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord *Lisle*, Doctor *Taylor* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Nicholas Carew* Master of the Kings Horse, Sir *Anthony Brown*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothsly* Knight otherwise called Garter King of Arms, who were sent thither with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Habiliments of the Order.

The Cardinal goeth into *France* with a train of 1200. Horse.

Upon King *Henry*'s defiance of the Emperour in the *French* Kings quarrel *Engliſh* Merchants their Ships and Goods were attached in *Spain*, and in the *Low-Countreys*, as likewiſe all *Spaniſh* and *Flemiſh* Merchants were attached here; which being very detrimental to both Nations; at laſt, by mediation of *Hugo de Mendoza*, the Emperours Ambaſſadour Legier, a reconcilement was made, and free traffick between the Nations was revived.

1529. King *Henry* begins to be troubled in mind about his marriage.

In his twentieth year, on the two and twentieth of *February*, Sir *Piers Butler* of *Ireland*, was created Earl of *Oſory*. And now King *Henry* began to be troubled in minde about his marriage with Queen *Katharine*; but whether his trouble of minde grew for ſcruple of Conſcience, or from deſire of change, was by many men doubted; ſome thought he had ſet his affection upon the Lady *Anne Bullen*, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that marriage, moved this ſcruple, that he might be divorced; but this is not likely, for he married not the ſaid Lady, till above three yéars after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: if King *Henry*'s own proteſtation may be taken, it was very ſcruple of Conſcience that troubled his minde; but then by what means this ſcruple came firſt into his head, is another doubt; ſome thought it was firſt moved by his Confeſſor Doctor *Longland*, telling him, that the Marriage with the Relict of his Brother could not be lawful; but neither is this likely; for Doctor *Longland* was not like to tell him ſo, who knew the marriage had been made by diſpenſation from the Pope, an Authority in that time beyond exception: ſome thought it was a plot of *Woolſeys*, thereby to make variance between King *Henry* and the Emperour, with whom he was at variance himſelf, and for ſpleen to the Nephew, be revenged upon the Aunt; but neither is this likely: or elſe the Cardinal was much deceived in his plot; for though the Emperour laboured *Milan* and ſome other Univerſities, to forbear giving Sentence againſt the marriage, yet he continued amity with King *Henry* as much afterward as before: If we will believe the King himſelf, it was the Preſident of *Paris*, coming Ambaſſadour from the King of *France*, that firſt moved it, upon a propoſition of marriage between the Lady *Mary*, King *Henry*'s Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, ſecond Son to the *French* King: but by what means ſoever this ſcruple had beginning, King *Henry*'s deſire was now it ſhould have an ending; and that the matter might be debated with indifferency, he allowed the Queen to make choice of what Council ſhe thought beſt; who thereupon choſe *William Warham* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Nicholas Weſt*, Biſhop of *Ely*, Doctors of the Law; *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Henry Standiſh* Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, Doctors of Divinity, with many other; in the mean time he ſent to all the Univerſities in *Italy*, and *France*, to have their opions, but ſpecially to the Court of *Rome*, deſiring the Pope to ſend his Legate to hear the cauſe; who thereupon ſent Cardinal *Campejus*, and joyned Cardinal *Woolſey* in Commiſſion with him. The place appointed for the Cardinals to ſit and to hear the cauſe, was at the *Black-fryers*; where in the great Hall preparation was made of Seats, and all things neceſſary for ſuch a ſeſſion. Amongſt other Officers of the Court, *Stephen Gardiner* (afterward Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) ſate as chief Scribe. The Court being ſet, the Judges commanded ſilence, whileſt their Commiſſion was read; which done, the Scribes commanded the Crier to call the King by the name of K. *Henry* of *England*, come into the Court; who anſwered, Here: then called he the Queen, by the name of *Katharine* Q. of *England*, come into the Court. The Queen, though preſent, yet anſwered not, but riſing from her ſeat, went to the place where the King ſate, and kneeling down, ſaid in effect; Sir, I humbly deſire you to take pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a ſtranger, and I have here no indifferent Council, where all are your Subjects, and leſs aſſurance of friendſhip, when they all depend upon your favour; I have been your Wife theſe twenty years, and have born you divers Children; if you can charge me with diſhoneſty or undutifulneſs, I am content to depart from you to my ſhame; but if you cannot, I then deſire you to do me Juſtice, and to ſpare me until I may know what counſel my friends in *Spain* will give me; but if you will not, then your pleaſure be fulfilled: and having ſo ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and making a low courteſie, departed. The King being advertiſed that ſhe was going out of the Houſe, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, ſaying, *Katharine* Queen of *England*, come into the Court; which her Gentleman-Uſher Maſter *Griffith* hearing, told her, Madam, you are called: Well (ſaid ſhe) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way: and thus ſhe departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himſelf. The Queen being gone, the King ſaid, I confeſs ſhe hath been to me the moſt dutiful and loving Wife that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this ſcruple of my Conſcience, I would not leave her for any woman living: and having now referred the Judgment of the cauſe to theſe Commiſſioners, I ſhould be moſt glad they could find the marriage between us to be in ſuch ſort lawful, that with obedience to the law of God, we might continue together; for I take God to witneſs, there is nothing I more deſire. This ſaid, the King roſe, and the Court was adjourned to another day; for notwithſtanding the Queens Appeal (from which ſhe would by no means be drawn) the Cardinals continued their Seſſion weekly, and heard all of both ſides: the point that was chiefly ſtood on, was, whether Prince *Arthur* had ever had carnal knowledge of her, or no; the Kings Council alledged, he had, and proved it; firſt, by Prince *Arthur*'s ſpeech, the next morning after his marriage, that he had been that night in the midſt of *Spain*; and then by the words of the laſt Diſpenſation, *Vel forſan cognitam*: the Queens Advocates alledged the contrary; appealing to the Kings own Conſcience; whom the Queen charged that he knew her to be a Virgin when he married her; (though to ſay the

King *Henry* is cited to the Court and appears.

The Queen is cited and appears: but making her proteſtation departs: and appeals to the Pope.

King *Henry* juſtifieth his Queens dutifulneſs.

The chief point of difference was, whether Prince *Arthur* had ever carnal knowledge of her.

The Queen is allowed her Council to debate the lawfulneſs of her marriage. The Pope ſends his Legate to hear the cauſe.

the truth; it were ſtrange, Prince *Arthur* and ſhe having lien five months together, and he no leſs then almoſt 16 years old.) But whilſt arguments were thus urged on both ſides, and no certainty could appear, the King ſent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in *Bridewel*, to perſwade her, ſhe ſhould ſubmit her ſelf to the Kings pleaſure, and not to ſtand ſo peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her, found her at work amongſt her Maids, with a skain of white thread about her neck: who having heard their meſſage, anſwered, That in all other things ſhe would willingly ſubmit her ſelf to the Kings will, but in this, which concerned her honeſty, and the legitimateneſs of her Children, ſhe durſt not, but would relie upon the wiſdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (ſhe knew) would never have aſſented to the marriage, if there had been the leaſt ſcruple of unlawfulneſs in it; and other anſwer ſhe would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived ſhe could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to go on; ſo that at laſt it came to judgement; which every man expected ſhould be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in ſo ſecret a manner that he might hear and not be ſeen) where the Kings Council at the Bar calling for Judgement; Cardinal *Campejus*, as being chief Commiſſioner, ſtood up and ſaid; I find the caſe very doubtful, and the party defendant ſtanding to her Appeal, I will therefore give no Judgement, till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the Order of the Court of *Rome*, which hears no cauſes judicially from the laſt of *July* till the fourth of *October*; at which protraction of time, King *Henry* was not a little angry, and the Duke of *Suffolk* being preſent in a great rage ſaid; It was never merry in *England*, ſince we had Cardinals amongſt us. Soon after this the Cardinal took his leave of the King, and returned to *Rome*: He was indeed commanded ſo to do by the Pope, who would elſe moſt willingly have gratified King *Henry*, that had beſtowed upon him the Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*. Whileſt theſe things were in acting, Cardinal *Woolſey* had an inkling of the Kings affection to *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of the Vicount *Rochford*; and that the Divorce once paſſed, he meant to marry her; which match, becauſe for many reaſons, he miſliked, one perhaps, becauſe ſhe was a *Lutheran*, he ſent privily to the Pope, that by no means he ſhould give ſentence for the Divorce, till he had framed the Kings mind another way; for his deſire was, that the King ſhould marry the Dutcheſs of *Alanſon* the *French* Kings Siſter. This packing of *Woolſey* was not ſo cloſely carried, but that it ſoon came to the Kings knowledge; and the King, finding him a rub in his way, whom he expected to have expedited his proceeding, began to think it neceſſary to remove him, and to take him off from that greatneſs which had made him ſo preſuming; and indeed he made ſhort work with him; for ſoon after he ſent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the Kings own hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir *Thomas More*, Speaker then of the Parliament (the firſt Layman that bore that Office in any memory;) and in his room was choſen Speaker *Thomas Audeley* Attorney of the Dutchy. *Woolſey* now removed from his Chancellourſhip, was in the Parliament then holden charged with points of Treaſon; but that charge was ſo clearly taken off by his ſervant *Thomas Cromwel*, who was then of the Houſe, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of *Cromwel*, both for abilities in himſelf, and faithfulneſs to his Maſter.

The Queen continues in her Appeal

Cardinal *Campejus* adjourns the Court.

Woolſey ſeeks to Croſs the King about his marrying the Lady *Anne Bullen*, and why.

Woolſey hath the Great Seal taken from him: and is charged with Treaſon, but acquitted.

After this, the King being informed, that all thoſe things, which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the caſe of Præmunire; he cauſed his Attorney *Chriſtopher Hales* to ſue out a Præmunire againſt him; and thereupon the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were ſent unto him, to let him know, the Kings pleaſure was, he ſhould go to *Aſher*, a Houſe near to *Hampton-Court*, belonging to his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and there to reſide: whereupon the Cardinal, having firſt delivered up all his Moveables to the Kings uſe (the greateſt ſtore and richeſt that was ever known of any Subject) went preſently to *Putney* by water, and from thence rode to *Aſher*, where he and his family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-cloaths, or Diſhes to eat their meat in, or money wherewith to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Biſhop of *Carlile*. After this, his matter for the Præmunire being called upon in the Kings Bench, his two Attornies confeſſed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the Kings Protection; but the King of his clemency ſent him a ſufficient Protection, and left him the Biſhopricks of *York* and *Wincheſter*, with Plate and Stuffe convenient for his Dignity. His Biſhoprick of *Dureſme* was given to Doctor *Tunſtal*, Biſhop of *London*; his Abbey of Saint *Albans* to the Prior of *Norwich*; and the Biſhoprick of *London* to Doctor *Stokeſley*, Ambaſſadour then beyond the Seas.

Woolſey is in a Præmunire: and is confined to *Aſher*.

In this mean while, *Margaret* Dutcheſs of *Savoy*, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Lady *Loyis* Dutcheſs of *Angouleſme*, Mother to the *French* King, met at *Cambray* to treat of a Peace between the Emperour, the Pope, and the Kings of *England* and *France*, where were preſent Doctor *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London*, and Sir *Thomas More* then Chancellour of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, Commiſſioners for the King of *England*; after long debating, through the diligence of the ſaid Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was thereof called, The Womans Peace, and was indeed as fickle as women, for it was ſoon broken, and neither of the Princes truſted the other e're the more for it.

King *Henry* before this time had been wholly ruled by the Cardinal and by the Clergy, but now, growing ſenſible of that errour, he called his High Court of Parliament; in which the Commons complained ſharply of their grievances againſt the Clergy, ſpecially in ſix things.

The Commons in Parliament complain againſt the Clergy, and wherein.

The firſt, for that they exacted unreaſonable ſums of money, as due Fees, for the probate of mens laſt Wills and Teſtaments: inſomuch, that Sir Henry Guilford

Guilford, *Knight of the Garter, and Comptrollor of the Kings Houſe, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir* William Compton *payed for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *a thouſand mark.*

The ſecond, the extream exaction, which ſpiritual men uſed in taking of Corps or Mortuaries.

The third, that Spiritual men became Farmers of great Granges and Farms to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Graziers.

The fourth, becauſe many Abbots, Priors, and other ſpiritual men, kept Tan-houſes, and bought and ſold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temporal Merchants.

The fifth, becauſe ſuch Clergy-men as had the beſt livings would take the uttermoſt of their right, and yet live in the Court, or in Noblemens or in Biſhops houſes, where they ſpent nothing.

The ſixth, becauſe divers ignorant men amongſt them held ten or twelve Benefices to themſelves ſeverally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at ſmall penſion.

Theſe things before this time might not be touched, becauſe the Biſhops were Chancellours, and had all the rule about the King; but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to theſe complaints: whereupon the Burgeſſes drew up three Bills; one of the probate of Teſtaments; another for Mortuaries: and the third for Non-reſidence, Pluralities, and taking of Farms by ſpiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries paſſed firſt the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords: when two dayes after, was ſent up the Bill of probate of Teſtaments, at which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and all the Biſhops much frowned, but ſpecially *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who roſe up and ſaid: My Lords, you ſee what Bills come daily from the Commons houſe, and all is to the deſtruction of the Church; for Gods ſake, conſider what a Realm *Bohemia* was, and when the Church went down, then fell the Glory of that Kingdom: Now with our Commons is nothing but down with the Church; and all this meſeemeth, is for lack of Faith only. When theſe words were reported to the Houſe of Commons, they took the matter very hainouſly; and thereupon ſent their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with thirty of the Houſe to the King, complaining what a diſhonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to ſay, that they which were elected for the wiſeſt men of all Shires, ſhould be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to ſay, they were Infidels and no Chriſtians; ſo as what Acts or Laws ſoever they made ſhould be taken as Laws made by Paynims and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Chriſtian men. And therefore humbly beſought his Majeſty to call the ſaid Biſhop of *Rocheſter* before him, to give an accompt of the words he had ſpoken. Whereupon within few dayes after, the King ſent for the Biſhop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint againſt him, who excuſed himſelf, by ſaying he meant the doings of the *Bohemians* was for lack of Faith, and not the doings of the Houſe of Commons; of which excuſe, the King ſent word to the Houſe by Sir *William Fitz-williams* Treaſurer of his Houſhold; but it pleaſed the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and Commons, about the Bills of probate of Teſtaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own laws, and conſtitutions; and the Spirituality defended them, by preſcription, and uſage; to whom a Gentleman of *Grayes-Inne* made this anſwer. The uſage hath ever been of Thieves to rob on Shooters-hill; is it therefore lawful? Whileſt theſe Bills were in debate, an Act was paſſed, which releaſed to the King all ſuch ſums of money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fifteenth year of his Reign; which Bill at firſt was much oppoſed, but the moſt part of the Houſe being the Kings Servants, it was at laſt aſſented to: which once known in the Countrey abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill ſpoken of; for every man counted it a ſure debt, ſo as ſome made their Wills of the money, and ſome turned it over in ſatisfaction to their creditors. To qualifie which grievance, the King granted a general pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means alſo to have the three Bills paſſed; one for a probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third againſt plurality of Benefices, Non-reſidence, buying and taking of Farms by ſpiritual perſons, though this laſt with ſome qualifying.

An Inconſiderate ſpeech of Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter.

And how he excuſed it.

Preſcription not enough to make a thing lawful.

During this Parliament, the King created Vicount *Rochford*, Earl of *Wiltſhire*, the Vicount *Fitz-water* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the Lord *Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*.

Earls created.

By this time, the Lords of the upper Houſe had drawn certain Articles againſt the Cardinal, and ſent them down to the Houſe of Commons, the chief whereof were theſe.

Articles drawn by the Parliament againſt the Cardinal.

Firſt, that without the Kings aſſent, he hath procured himſelf to be made a Legate, by reaſon whereof he took away the right of all Biſhops and ſpiritual perſons.

Secondly, That in all his Writings which he wrote to Rome, *or to any Foraign Prince, he wrote* Ego & Rex meus, *I and my King; ſo preferring himſelf before the King.*

Thirdly, That without the Kings aſſent, he carried the great Seal of England *with him into* Flanders.

Fourthly, That having the French Pox, he preſumed to come and breath upon the King.

Fifthly, That he cauſed the Cardinals Hat to be put upon the Kings Coin.

Sixthly, That he would not ſuffer the Kings Clerk of the Market to ſit at Saint Albans.

Seventhly, That he had ſent infinite ſtore of treaſure to Rome *for purchaſing of his Dignity.*

Theſe Articles were read in the Houſe, and if not otherwiſe proved, yet confeſſed afterward under the Cardinals own hand, which added to the former præmunire; all his Lands and Goods were ſeized on to the Kings uſe.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to *Greenwich*, and there kept his Chriſtmaſs with his Queen *Katharine* in great ſtate; for though this matter, of making void the marriage between them, was hotly purſued by the King; yet abſtaining only from her bed, he con-

converſed with her ſtill, and they kept Court together, in as loving manner as they had done before. And now King *Henry* underſtanding that the Pope and the Emperour were to meet at *Bologna*, he ſent Ambaſſadours thither, the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, Doctor *Stokely* Elect of *London*, and Doctor *Lee*, to declare both to the Pope and to the Emperour, the opinions of divers learned men in the matter of his marriage; who all agree that it was againſt the Law of God; and thereupon requiring the Pope to do him Juſtice, and ſhewing to the Emperour, that the King moved this matter for diſcharge of his Conſcience only, and to no other end. To which the Pope anſwered, that when he came to *Rome*, he would hear the matter diſputed, and do the King right. The Emperour anſwered, that he would in no caſe be againſt the Law of God, and if this marriage were judged ſuch by the Court of *Rome*, he would reſt contented: with theſe Anſwers the Ambaſſadours returned.

An. Reg. 22. 1531. The Iſland of *Malta* given by the Emperour to the Maſter of Saint *Johns* of *Jeruſalem*.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when the Emperour gave to the Maſter of St. *Johns* of *Jeruſalem* the Iſland of *Malta*, in ſupplying of the Iſland of *Rhodes*, which the *Turk* ſometime before had won from that Order.

In this year the New Teſtament having been Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by *Tindal*, *Joy*, and others, was forbidden to be read; and many for reading it, were ſharply puniſhed by command of the Biſhops and Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellour; but none was more violent in the matter than the Biſhop of *London*, who cauſed all the Books to be brought into *Pauls* Church-yard, and there burned.

King *Henry* having heard by good information, that when *Campejus* was ſent Legate into *England*, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Popes mind, commanded to burn it; ſaw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it afoot for his own ends; neither to diſpleaſe the Emperour by granting it, nor King *Henry* by not granting it, but promiſing expedition to keep him in expectance; yet uſing delayes to keep him in dependence: and therefore reſolved now to take ſuch a courſe, that he ſhould not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon cauſed a Proclamation to be publiſhed, that no perſon of what eſtate or condition ſoever, ſhould purchaſe, or attempt to purchaſe from the Court of *Rome*, any thing prejudicial to the Juriſdiction, or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of impriſonment, and other puniſhments at his Graces pleaſure; and ſhortly after an Act was made, that Biſhops ſhould pay no more Annats, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Biſhops, ſince the fourth year of King *Henry* the ſeventh, an hundred and threeſcore thouſand pounds, beſides what had been paid for Pardons and other Diſpenſations. Another Act was alſo then made, that no perſon ſhould appeal for any cauſe out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commiſſary to the Biſhop, and from the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop, and from the Archbiſhop to the King: and all cauſes of the King to be tried in the upper Houſe of the Convocation.

An Act made that no more Annats ſhould be paid to *Rome*.

Nor no Appeals to the Pope.

At this time the Cardinal lying ſtill at *Aſher*, and his Adverſaries doubting leſt lying ſo near the King, he might one time or other get acceſs to the Kings preſence, and come again into favour; they uſed means to have him ſent further off, and thereupon the King appointed him to go to his Dioceſs of *York*, and not to come Southward without ſpecial Licenſe; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his Journey, and having in his train to the number of an hundred and threeſcore perſons, by eaſie journeys came to *Peterborow*, and there kept his Eaſter; the week after he went to *Stamford*, then to *Newark*, and ſo to *Southwel*, where he continued moſt part of all that Summer: and then rode to *Scroby*, where he ſtayed till *Michaelmas*, and then came to *Cawood* Caſtle, within ſeven miles of *York*, where he kept a plentiful houſe for all comers: and repaired the Caſtle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At laſt, he determined to be inſtalled at *York*, the next Monday after All-hollan-day; againſt which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal ſent to the King, to lend him the Mitre and Pall, which he uſed to wear at any great Solemnity. At which preſumption the King marvelled not a little; ſaying to thoſe that were about him, what a thing is this that pride ſhould thus reign in a man that is quite under-foot? but before the day of Inſtalment came, he was arreſted in this manner; Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the Kings Privy-Chamber was ſent down to the Earl of *Northumberland*, with whom he was joyned in Commiſſion to arreſt the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to *Cawood*, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the houſe, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was come, and in the Hall; then (quoth the Cardinal) I am ſorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complemental manner, as if he had come but only to viſit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl with a ſoft voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinals arm, ſaid, My Lord, I arreſt you of high Treaſon: the Cardinal ſomewhat aſtonied; asked to ſee his Commiſſion, which the Earl denying to ſhew; then (ſaith the Cardinal) I will not obey your arreſt; at that inſtant Maſter *Walſh* came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him if he were joyned in Commiſſion with the Earl; who anſwered, he was: well then, ſaid the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the Kings Privy-Chamber, your name is *Walſh*: I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of *Northumberland*, unleſs I ſee his Commiſſion: the meaneſt of the Kings Privy-Chamber is ſufficient to arreſt the greateſt Peer of the Realm, by the Kings Commandement, without any Commiſſion. Then the Earl took the Cardinals Keyes from him, and put him in cuſtody of his Gentlemen: ſome few dayes after he was conveyed from *Cawood* to *Pomfret*, and after to *Sheffield* Park, where he had kinde entertainment, and ſtaid with the Earl of

The Cardinal is commanded to his Dioceſs of *York*.

He prepares to be inſtalled, and ſends to the King for his rich Miter and Pall.

He is arreſted by Sir *Walter Walſh* one of the Kings Privy-Chamber.

of *Shrewsbury* and his Lady eighteen dayes, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change, and being asked how he did? not well (saith he) I have something suddenly at my stomach as cold as a whetstone, which I know is wind; I desire to have something from the Apothecary, to break wind; which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed: but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a loosenes, that the night following he had above fifty stools; yet the next day he rode to *Nottingham*, and the day after to *Leicester* Abbey; being so sick by the way that he was ready to fall off his Mule: coming to the Abbey Gates, the Abbot with all the Covent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to bed; where growing sicker and sicker, the next morning Master *Kingston* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do but tarry (saith he) the pleasure of God, to render up my poor soul into his hands; for this is my case, I have a Flux with a continual Fever; the nature whereof is, that if there be no amendment within eight dayes, either excoriation of the entrails will ensue, or frenzy, or else present death; and the best of them is death; and (as I suppose) this is the eighth day. Sir (said Master *Kingston*) you are afraid of that you have no cause; for I assure you, the King commanded me to say unto you, that you should be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did: No, no (Master *Kingston*) said the Cardinal, I see how it is framed; but if I had served God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs: but it is a just reward for my study to do him service, not regarding the service of God to do him pleasure: and having so said, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost: which made some about him remember, how he had said before, that at eight of the clock they should lose their Master. Being dead he was buried in the Abbey of *Leicester*.

Mr. Cavendish sick.

And dies.

His many Honours and great Retinue.

This man held at once the Bishoprick of *York*, *Winchester*, and *Durham*, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and Chancellour of *England*, the Abbey of Saint *Albans*, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in *Commendam*: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishoprick of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, which having been given by *Henry* the Seventh to strangers, that lived out of the Realm, they suffered *Woolsey* to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The retinue of this Prelate is scarce credible, a thousand persons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and some Lords; all which greatness as it came by the Kings favour, so by the withdrawing of his favour it was overthrown: so true is that saying of *Solomon*. *The Kings favour is as dew upon the grass; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death.* After this the King removed from *Hampton-Court* to *Greenwich*, where with his Queen *Katharine* he kept a solemn Christmas, and on the twelfth night he sate in state in the Hall, where were divers interludes, costly Masks, and a sumptuous Banquet. After Christmas he came to his Manour of *Westminster*, which before was called *York-Place*; for the Cardinal had made a Feoffment of it to the King, which the Chapter of *York* confirmed, and then it was no more called *York-Place*, but the Kings *Manour of Westminster*, new *Whitehall*,

White hall given by the Cardinal to the King.

About this time was a Call of eleven Serjeants at Law: namely *Thomas Audeley*, *Walter Luke*, *John Bawdewine*, *John Hynde*, *Christopher Jenny*, *John Densel*, *Edward Mervyne*, *Edmund Knightlye* *Roger Chomley*, *Edward Mountague*, and *Robert York*; who kept their Feast at *Ely-house* five dayes together; where on the last day the King and Queen dined: which *John Densel* of *Densel* in the County of *Cornwal*, was of *Lincolns-Inne*, and died the third day of *January*, *Anno Christi* 1535. and lieth buried within the Church of St, *Giles* in the Fields, in *Middlesex*: leaving by *Mary* his Widow the Daughter of Sir—— *Lucas* in *Warwickshire* Knight, two Daughters and Co-heirs, *Anne* the eldest married unto Sir *William Hollis* of *Haughton*, in the County of *Nottingham* Knight, Grand-father unto *John Hollis* Knight Earl of *Clare*, *&c.* deceased, and *Alice* the other Daughter married unto Master ——*Reskimer*.

At this time the whole Clergy of *England* was charged by the Kings learned Council, to be in a præmunire, for supporting and maintaining the Cardinals Legantine power: and were thereupon called by Process into the Kings Bench to answer; but before their day of Appearance came, they in their Convocation concluded an humble submission in writing, and offered the King an hundred thousand pound to have their Pardon by Parliament; which offer, after some labour, was accepted, and their Pardon promised. In which submission the Clergy called the King Supreme Head of the Church. This Pardon was signed with the Kings hand, and sent to the Lords, who assented to it; and then sent it to the Lower House: but here, divers of the House excepted against the Pardon, unless themselves also might be included in it; who (they said) having had something to do with the Cardinal, might be brought into the same case as the Clergy were. Hereupon their Speaker *Thomas Audeley*, with a convenient number of the House, was sent to the King about it; to whom the King made answer, that he was their Sovereign Lord, and would not be compelled to shew his mercy; and seeing they went about to restrain him of his liberty, he would grant a Pardon to the Clergy, which he might do by his great Seal without them; and for their Pardon, he would be advised before he granted it: with this answer the Speaker and Commons returned, much grieved and discontented; and some said that *Thomas Cromwel*, who was newly come into the Kings favour, had disclosed the secrets of the House, which made the King give this unpleasing answer. But soon after the King, of his own accord, caused their Pardon also to be drawn, and signed it; which easily passed both Houses, with great commendation

The King first called the Supreme Head of the Church.

The Kings Wisdom in granting his Pardons.

dation of the Kings judgment, to deny it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was received as of grace.

In this Parliament time, on the 30 of *March*, Sir *Tho. More* Lord Chancellor with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that though in the matter of the Kings Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgment of learned men in his own Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into *France*, *Italy*, the Popes Dominions, and the *Venetians*, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir *Bryan Tuke* took out of a box certain writings sealed, which were the determinations of the Universities of *Orleance*, of *Paris*, of *Anjou*, of *Burges*, of *Bolonia*, of *Padua*, and of *Tholouse*: all which were peremptory in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relict of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to dispence with it: and now (said they) you may know, that the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure, but for discharge of his Conscience: and this said, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoycing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a Wife; yet conversed with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations; in Whitsunweek after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recal her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which she utterly refused, using her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court of *Rome*, but of no other. After Whitsuntide the King and Queen removed to *Windsor*, and there continued till the 14 of *July*, on which day the King removed to *Woodstock* and left the Queen at *Windsor*, where she remained a while, and after removed to *Easthamstead*, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to perswade her to be conformable to the law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be at either of these three places, his Manor of *Oking*, or of *Easthamstead*, or the Monastery of *Bisham*, and there to continue without further molesting him with her suits.

The Pope cannot dispence against the Law of God.

Notwithstanding the determinations of Universities; yet the Queen stands still to her Appeal.

The Queen is confined.

And now *Cranmer* is to play his part. It chanced that Dr. *Stephens*, Dr. *Fox*, and he met at *Waltham* one day at dinner; where falling into discourse about the case then in agitation of the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine*; the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law: but (said *Cranmer*) it may better be proved by the Law of God, and it is no hard matter to do it: which words of his being made known to the King, *Cranmer* is sent for, and commanded to set his reasons down in writing: which having done, and shewed them to the King; he was asked whether he would stand to that which he had written? who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself, if his Majesty pleased: marry (said the King) and to the Pope you shall go: and thereupon sent him to the Court of *Rome*, and with him *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokesley* Elect of *London*, Dr. *Lee* the Kings Almoner, and others: who coming to *Bologna* where the Pope was, had a day of Audience appointed, but was hindred by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Popes foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when *Cranmer* had made his Proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to *Rome*: so the Ambassadors were dismissed, and *Cranmer* went to the Emperours Court, where in private Conference he satisfied *Cornelius Agrippa*, the most learned at that time about the Emperour, and brought him to be of his opinion. *Cranmer* returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction, the Kings Marriage with Queen *Katharine* was soon after dissolved by Parliament; and the Bishop of *Canterbury* accompanied with Dr. *Stokesley* Bishop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Lincoln*, and other learned men, rode to *Dunstable* where Queen *Katharine* then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princess Dowager: after which time, the King never saw her more.

Cranmer is sent to *Rome* to prove the Kings marriage unlawful.

The Queen is by Parliament divorced.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King *Henries* reign, Sir *Thomas More*, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to *Tho. Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament begun at the *Black-fryers*, was adjourned to *Westminster*, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the Black Parliament. This *Tho. Audely* was first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after Chancellour; in whose room of Speaker, *Humfrey Wingfield* of *Grayes-Inne* was chosen. On the first of *September* this year, the King being at *Windsor*, created *Anne Bullen* Marchioness of *Pembroke*, giving her a 1000 pounds land a year: and then being desirous to talk with the King of *France* in person on the 10 of *October*, taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Marques of *Dorset* and *Exeter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Oxford*, *Surrey*, *Essex*, *Derby*, *Rutland*, *Sussex* and *Huntington*, with divers Vicounts, Barons, and Knights, he sailed over to *Callice*; and on the 20 of *October* met with the King of *France* at *Bulloigne*, with whom he staid four days; in which time to do him honour, the King of *France* honoured the two Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* with the Order of Saint *Michael*; and then both Kings went to *Callice*, where the *French* King stayed certain days; in which time to do the King of *France* honor, King *Henry* honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter; and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting, on the 20 of *October* the *French* King departed from *Callice*, and King *Henry* returned into *England*; where on the 14 of *November* following, he married secretly the Lady *Anne Bullen*, which marriage was not openly known till Easter after, when it was perceived

Sir *Thomas More* delivers up the great Seal: and *Thomas Audeley* Speaker of the Parliament is made Lord Chancellor.

The Lady *Anne Bullen* is created Marchioness of *Pembroke*.

King *Henry* meets the King of *France* at *Callice*.

He marries the Lady *Anne Bullen*.

Cranmer is made Archbishop of *Canterbury.*

she was with child; at which time *William Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury* died: *Thomas Cranmer* was elected Archbishop in his room.

After that the King perceived his new Wife to be with child, he caused all Officers necessary to be appointed to her; and so on Easter eve she went to her Closet openly as Queen, and then the King appointed her Coronation to be kept on Whitsunday following, and Writings were sent to all Sheriffs, to certifie the names of men of forty pounds to receive the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine: the Assessment of which fines was appointed to *Thomas Cromwell* Master of the Jewel-house, and of the Kings Council; a man newly come into the Kings Favour, by whose industry great summes of money were by such fines gathered. In the beginning of *May*, the King caused Proclamation to be made, that all men who claimed to do any service at the Coronation, by way of tenure, grant, or prescription, should put in their claim three weeks after Easter in the Star-Chamber, before *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, for that time high Steward of *England*, the Lord Chancellour and other Commissioners. Two days before the Coronation were made Knights of the *Bath*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Clifford*, the Lord *Fitzwater*, the Lord *Hastings*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Vaux*, Sir *John Mordant*, Sir *Henry Parker*, Sir *William Windsor*, Sir *Francis Weston*, Sir *Thomas Arundel*, Sir *John Hurlson*, Sir *Thomas Poynings*, Sir *Henry Savil*, Sir *George Fitzwilliams*, Sir *John Tindall*, and Sir *Thomas Jeremy*. On Whitsunday the Coronation was kept in as great state and pomp for all circumstances as ever any was, and the day after a solemn Justs was holden.

The Order of Knighthood imposed upon all men of forty pounds Land.

Cromwell is taken into the Kings Service.

Queen *Anne Bullen* is Crowned.

In *May* this year Pope *Clement* sent a Messenger to King *Henry*, requiring him personally to appear at the general Council, which he had appointed to be kept the year following; but when his Commission was shewed, there was neither time nor place specified for keeping of this said Council; and so with an uncertain answer to an uncertain demand, the Messenger departed.

An. Reg. 25 1534.

It was now the five and twentieth year of the Kings Reign, when on Midsummer day, *Mary* the *French* Queen, and then Wife to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk* died, and was buried at St. *Edmundsbury*; and on the seventh of *September* following, between three and four a clock in the afternoon, the Queen was delivered of a Daughter that was named *Elizabeth*; the Godfather at the Christning was the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; the Godmother the old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the old Marchioness *Dorset* widow; and at the Confirmation the Lady Marchioness of *Exeter*: the Christning was was performed with exceeding great state, and great gifts were given by the Gossips.

The Queen is delivered of a Daughter named *Elizabeth.*

This year one *Pavier* the Town-clerk of *London* hanged himself, whom *Hollinshead* saith he heard once swear a great oath, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in *English*, rather than he would live to see that day, he would cut his own throat: which I therefore relate, that the judgment of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oaths.

The Judgment of God upon an unhallowed Oath.

A little before this time one *Elizabeth Barton*, named the Holy Maid of *Kent*, came to be discovered; whose abettors were *Richard Master* a Priest Parson of *Aldington* in *Kent*, *Ed. Bocking* Dr. of Divinity a Monk of *Canterbury*, *Rich. Deering* a Monk, *Edw. Thwyats* Gent. *Henry Gold* Parson of *Aldermary*, *Hugh Rich* a Fryer Observant, *Richard Risby* and *Thomas Gold*, Gentlemen. This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King *Henry* proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of *England* one month after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when *Warham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Fisher* Bishop of *Rochester* were thought to give credit to this Counterfeit; that we need not wonder at St. *Austin*, who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet they were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisted in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the Maid and her Abetters was confessed; and thereupon she and most of them were condemned, drawn to *Tiburn* and there hanged.

The Holy Maid of *Kent* her Imposture discovered, and she hanged.

In this mean time the *Scots* had been troublesome, and made inroads upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of *May* this year, was openly Proclaimed.

About this time at the suit of the Lady *Katharine* Dowager, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which cursed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, the Messenger not daring to come nearer: and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curse to be sent, the Duke of *Suffolk* was sent to her, lying then at *Bugden* besides *Huntington*, to discharge a great part of her houshold servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Princess.

It was now the six and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown, upon the Lady *Elizabeth*; to which, first all the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Popes Authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor *John Fisher*, Bishop of *Rochester*, Sir *Thomas More* Knight, and Doctor *Wilson* Parson of Saint *Thomas Apostles* in *London*, expresly denied at *Lambeth*, before the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor *Wilson* recanted, but the other two, persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two Bishop *Fisher* was much lamented, as reputed a man both of great learning and good life. The Pope had elected him Cardinal, and his Hat was come as far as *Callice*, but before it could come into *England* his head was off. Sir *Thomas More* was both learned and very wise, but so given to a vein of merry jesting and merry scoffing, that he could not refrain it at the very time of his death; as when he was carried to the

1535.

The Popes Authority in *England* abolished by Parliament.

Fisher Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Thomas More* beheaded: and why.

the Tower, being demanded his upper Garment (meaning his Gown) you shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; saying, it was the uppermost Garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my head, my neck is so short: and when he was to lay his head down upon the Block, having a great gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was no jesting matter. for he used to wear a shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellor of *England*, as one time the Duke of *Norfolk* coming to the Church found him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him; one, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches; that having passed through so many great employments, and born so many great Offices; yet in all his time he never purchased above one hundred pounds land a year, nor left any great stock of mony behind him, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellor of *England*, at the same time that his Father was a Judge of the Kings Bench, he would always at his going to *Westminster*, go first to the Kings Bench and ask his Father blessing before he went to sit in the Chancery,

Sir *Thomas More* given to jesting at his Devotion.

The ninth of *July* this year the Lord *Dacres* of the North was arraigned at *Westminster* of high Treason, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, as high Steward of *England*; his Indictment being read, he so answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of *September* Doctor *Taylour* Master of the Rolls was discharged of that Office: and the nineteenth of *October* following *Thomas Cromwell* was sworn in his place.

The Lord *Dacres* arraigned of high Treason.

Cromwell is made Master of the Rolls.

This year the King of the *Scots* was installed Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord *Erskin*; and *Stephen Gardiner*, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent Ambassadour Legier into *France*, where he remained three years. Also in *January* of this year, *Katharine* Princess Dowager, fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Ambassadour Legier, desiring her to be of good comfort; but she finding her death to approach, caused only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him her Daughter and his, and beseeching him to be a good Father to her: and then desiring him further, to have some consideration of her Servants, on the eighth of *January*, at *Kimbolton*, she departed this life. and was buried at *Peterborough*. A Woman of so vertuous a life, and of so great obsequiousness to her Husband, that from her only merit, is grown a reputation to all *Spanish* wives.

Queen *Katharine* Dowager dies at *Kimbolton*.

Also the nine and twentieth of *January* this year, Queen *Anne* was delivered of a child before her time, which was born dead.

Queen *Anne* is delivered of a Child before her time: and born dead.

And now King *Henry* began to fall into those great disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our best Princes; for first in *October* this year, he sent Doctor *Lee* and others to visit the Abbeys, Priories, and Nunneries in *England*, who set at Liberty all those Religious persons that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in *December* following a survey was taken of all Chantries, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of *February*, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of three hundred marks a year and under: the number of which houses was three hundred seventy and six: the value of their Lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable Goods one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year *William Tindall* was burnt at a Town in *Flanders*, between *Brussels* and *Mechlyn*, called *Villefort*, for translating into *English* the New Testament, and divers parts of the Old; who having been long imprisoned, was upon the Lord *Cromwell*'s writing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire, and burnt.

All Religious Houses of a certain value given by Parliament to the King.

William Tindall burnt in *Flanders* for translating into *English* the New Testament.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when on Monday there were solemn Justs holden at *Greenwich*, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to *Westminster*, whose sudden departure strook great amazement into many, but to he Queen especially, and not without cause; for the next day the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, and *Henry Norris* were brought to the Tower of *London*, prisoners, whither also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon, was brought Queen *Anne* her self, by Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Cromwell* Secretary, and Sir *William Kingston* Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Towergate fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, as she was innocent of that whereof she was accused: On the fifteenth of *May* she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of *Norfolk*, sitting as High Steward of *England*. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it so wise and discreet answers, that she seemed fully to clear her self of all matters laid to her charge: but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of *Suffolk* was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of *Norfolk*: immediately the Lord *Rochford* her Brother, was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of *May*, together with *Henry Norris*, *Mark Smeton*, *William Brierton*, and *Francis Weston*, all of the Kings Privy Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower Hill. Queen *Anne* her self on the nineteenth of *May*, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of *Callice* by

1537.

Queen *Anne* is committed to the Tower.

She is beheaded.

the Hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chappel there. This Queen *Anne* was the Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, and of Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; the Earls Father was the Son of Sir *William Bullen*, whose Wife was *Margaret* the second Daughter and Co-heir of *Thomas Butler* Earl of *Ormond*, and the said Sir *William* was the Son of Sir *Godfrey Bullen*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who lieth buried in Saint *Leonards* Church in the *Jewry*, whose Wife was *Anne* eldest Daughter and Co-heir to *Thomas* Lord *Hoo* and *Hastings*: and his descent was out of the House of the *Bullens* in the County of *Norfolk*: Thus much for her Parentage.

Her Parentage.

For her Religion, she was an earnest Professor, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Alms-deeds so liberal, that in nine months space, it is said she distributed among the poor, to the value of fifteen thousand pounds: Now for the Crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest;) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her innocency many: first, her own clearing of all objections, at the time of her Arraignment, then *Cromwell*'s Writing to the King, after full examination of the matter; that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by *Mark Smeton*: (and what was *Mark Smeton*, but a mean fellow, one that upon promise of life, would say any thing! and having said something, which they took hold of, was soon after executed lest he should retract it:) lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied it to the death: even *Henry Norris*; whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold for a proof: and it need be no marvel, if we consider the many adversaries she had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps in that respect, the King himself not greatly her friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Acorn to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty. But howsoever it was, that her death was contrived; certain it is, that it cast upon King *Henry* a dishonourable Imputation; insomuch that where the Protestant Princes of *Germany* had resolved to choose him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death, in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour, and it is memorable what conceit Queen *Anne* her self had of her Death; for at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy Chamber to her, and said unto him, Commend me to the King, and tell him, he is constant in his course of advancing me; for from a private Gentlewoman, he made me Marquess, from a Marquess a Queen; and now that he had left no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Her Religion and Alms-deeds.

Her Innocency.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King Married *Jane Seymour*, Daughter to Sir *John Seymour*, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: and on Tuesday in Whitsun-week her Brother Sir *Edmund Seymour* was created Vicount *Beauchamp*, and Sir *Walter Hangerford* was made Lord *Hangerford*.

The King Marries the Lady *Jane Seymour*.

The eighth of *June* the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, without the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, Daughter to the Queen of *Scots*, and Niece to the King: for which he was attainted of Treason, and an Act was made for like offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and she long time remained there a Prisoner; yet afterward was set at liberty, and married *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, who by him had *Henry*, Father of *James* the first King of *Great Britain*.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at *Pauls* Church in *London*; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion; intituled, Articles devised by the Kings Highness: in which Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments; namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest time.

Articles devised by the Kings Highness.

The two and twentieth of *July*, *Henry* Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, base Son of King *Henry* by *Elizabeth Blunt*, died at St *James*, and was buried at *Thetstone* in *Norfolk*.

The nine and twentieth of *June* the King held a great Justs and Triumph at *Westminster*, but a disastrous Sea-fight was on the water, where one *Gates* a Gentleman was drowned in his Harness, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were sore maimed: in *July* following *Thomas Cromwel*, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: and the nineteenth of *July* the Lord *Fitz-Warren* was created Earl of *Bath*, and the day after, the said *Cromwell* was made Lord *Cromwell*; and on the eighteenth of *July*, Vicar General under the King over the Spirituality; who sate divers times in the Convocation House, amongst the Bishops as head over them: and now was the state of Religion in *England* come to a strange pass: because always in passing, and had no consistence; for at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more; that the Fable of *Proteus* might no longer be a Fable, when the Religion in *England* might be his true Moral; and indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religions being not possible to be passed *per saltum*, but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story; for where at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in English, now it came to be permitted to pray in English; for now in *September* the Lord *Cromwell* set forth Injunctions, to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

Cromwell is made Lord Keeper.

The Lord *Fitz-Warren* is created Earl of *Bath*.

Cromwell is made Lord *Cromwell*; and Vicar General over the Spirituality.

Religion altered in *England* by degrees.

the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Parsons and Curates to their Parishioners; which Innovation so stirred up the People, that in *Lincolnshire* they assembled to the number of twenty thousand, against whom the King himself went in person, who winning by perswasion their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of *Suffolk*, with Sir *Francis Brian*, and Sir *John Russel*, to do the Work of Justice, who caused *Nicholas Melton*, and a Monk naming himself Captain *Cobler*, and thirteen other (Ringleaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commotion was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on one side of their Ensigns, they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ, and deliverance of the Holy Church now oppressed: but these were opposed by *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who having rais'd an Army without Commission, though to resist the Rebels, yet began to be much troubled, whether in so doing he had not committed Treason, and was never quiet till he had sent to the King for Pardon and Commission to proceed: at which time a rumour being raised amongst his Souldiers, that the Earl so well liked the Rebels Cause, that what shew soever he made, yet when it should come to the tryal, he would not stick to joyn with them, and take their Parts: to remove which opinion out of their minds, he caused all his Souldiers to come before him, and made his Chaplain give him an Oath; by which he swore in their hearing, to be true to the Crown, and never to be assisting to any Rebels: to his aid were sent the Duke of *Norfolk*, with the Marques of *Exeter*, the Earls of *Huntington* and *Rutland*; who with a mighty Army approaching the Rebels, beyond *Doncaster*, in the way towards *York*, attempted first to have pacified them without blood-shed; but when no perswasions would serve, it was resolved of both sides to come to Battel: but see here the great goodness of God; for the night before the day appointed for Battel, it happened that a little Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon a small rain grew to such a height, that it was not passible by either Foot or Horse; so as the Armies having time to consider, and considering perhaps this miracle as sent of God, they came to agreement, and upon pardon disbanded and returned to their houses; but in the mean time they had besieged the Castle of *Scarborough*, where the resolute carriage of Sir *Ralph Evers* is memorable, who held the Castle by only his own Servants and Tenants, and that, when for twenty days together, he had no other sustenance but Bread and Water. But all Commotions were not yet appeased; for at this very time, there was another great Army assembled out of *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the North-parts of *Lancashire*, marching Southwards; but by the diligence of the Earl of *Darby*, to whom also the Earl of *Sussex* was sent, they were suppressed, and their chief Leaders, as the Abbots of *Wally*, *Sauley*, and others, apprehended and hanged. But neither is there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *February*, *Nicholas Musgrave*, *Tho. Tilby*, with others to the number of twelve thousand, began a Rebellion, and besieged *Carlile*, but by the power of the City were first beaten back, and then were encountred by the Duke of *Norfolk*, who caused seventy four of them by Martial Law to be hanged on the Walls of *Carlile*. But neither was there yet an end of Commotions; for now in *Setrington*, *Pickering*, *Leigh*, and *Scarborough*, began a new Rebellion, by procurement of *Francis Bigot*; who had a great Power, and meant to have taken *Hull*, but by the industry of Sir *Ralph Ellarker*, and the Mayor of the Town, threescore of the Rebels were taken and hanged, and the rest put to flight, and glad to be quiet. But neither yet was there an end of Commotions; for in the latter end of this eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Hussey*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, and his Wife, Sir *Thomas Piercy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, *Nicholas Tempest* Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this as being but the fag end of the Commotion, was soon suppressed, the Lord *Darcy* was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord *Hussey* at *Lincoln*, Sir *Robert Constable* was hanged in chains at *Hull*, Sir *John Bulmers* Paramour was burnt in *Smithfield*, and most of the other were executed at *Tyburn*: *Tantæ molis erat*, so great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of Religion.

An Insurrection in *Lincolnshire* for Innovation of Religion. The King goes in person, and suppresseth it.

Another Insurrection in the North: for suppressing whereof the Earl of *Shrewsbury* raised an Army; and having done it without Commission, was glad to ask the King Pardon.

A miracle of the sudden swelling of the River *Dun*.

Sir *Ralph Evers* his valiant carriage.

Another Insurrection.

And yet another.

And yet another.

This year on Saint *Georges* Feast, the Lord *Cromwell* was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of *October*, which is Saint *Edwards* even, at *Hampton-Court*, the Queen was delivered of a Son; (but with so hard a labour that she was fain to be rip'd) the Child was named *Edward*, whose Godfathers at the Christning were the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Duke of *Norfolk*, his Godmother was his Sister the Lady *Mary*: At his Bishoping, his Godfather was the Duke of *Suffolk*: on the eighteenth of *October*, he was made Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwal* and Earl of *Chester*: but the Birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after she died, and was buried at *Windsor*, and so much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a Widower two years after.

Queen *Jane* is delivered of a child named *Edward*, but dieth.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befel the Family of the *Geraldines*, or *Fitz-Garrets* (Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland*) about this time; for *Gerald Fitz Garret*, who had been ten years Deputy in *Ireland*, upon the complaint of some fault, was sent for over into *England*, where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of not above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of under-

The miserable dissolution of the Family of the *Geraldines* or *Fitz-Garrets* in *Ireland*.

understanding, and fit for the place: This young Lord hearing that his Father was committed Prisoner to the Tower, and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death; in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: and having five Uncles in the Country (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwillingly) to take his part: Amongst other outrages he committed, the Archbishop of *Dublin* was slain in his presence: the Father in the Tower hearing hereof, with very grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the Kings sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into *England*, those of his Uncles, that against their wills had been drawn into the action had good hopes of their lives, till entring the Ship of passage, which was called the *Cow*, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophesie, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into *England* in the belly of a *Cow*, and never after return: and indeed it fell out true, for through the malice of their adversaries, (exasperating the King against them, and saying, there would never be quietness in *Ireland*, as long as any of the *Geraldines* were left alive) they were all put to death: one only Son of the Family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the Small pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight, fled first into *France*, and frighted from thence, afterward into *Flanders*, and driven from thence, at last into *Italy*, where protected by *Reginald Pool*, at that time made Cardinal by Pope *Julie* the third, he was afterward, by his means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

Edw. Seymour Vicount *Beauchamp* is made Earl of *Hertford*. Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Southampton*.

This year *Edward Seymour*, Vicount *Beauchamp*, the Queens Brother was created Earl of *Hartford*; and Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Admiral, was created Earl of *Southampton*, Master *Paulet* was made Vice Treasurer, Sir *John Russell* was made Controller of the Kings House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights.

In *February* divers Roods were taken down by the Kings commandment, as the Rood of *Boxeley*, called the Rood of Grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Rood called St. *Saviour* at *Bermondsey* Abbey in *Southwark*, and divers others. In *May* a Frier Observant, called Frier *Forrest*, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately perswaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church; was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gallows prepared for him, in *Smithfield*, he was hanged by the middle, & arm-holes, all quick, and under the Gallows was made a fire wherewith he was consumed: A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Gallows, fetched out of *Wales*, which the *Welch* men had in great reverence, called *Darvel Gatheran*, of which went a Prophesie, that this Image should set a whole Forest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Frier *Forrest* on fire, and consuming him to nothing.

Frier *Forrest* hang'd by the middle and withal burnt; by which a prophesie fulfilled.

In *September*, by the special motion of the L. *Cromwell*, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages & offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of *Walsingham*, *Ipswich*, *Worcester*, the Lady of *Wilsdon*, with many other; and forthwith by means of the said *Cromwell*, all the orders of the Friers and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shrines of counterfeit Saints; amongst others, the Shrine of *Tho. Becket* in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken out by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord *Cromwell*: and the one and twentieth of *October*, the Church of *Tho. Becket* in *London*, called the Hospital of St. *Thomas* of *Acres* was suppressed: the sixteenth of *Novem.* the *Black-fryers* in *London* were suppressed; the next day the *White-fryers*, the *Gray-fryers*, and the Monks of the *Charterhouse*, and so all the other immediately after: only three Abbots resisted, the Abbot of *Colchester*, the Abbot of *Reading*, and the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, who therefore were all taken & executed. The four and twentieth of *November* the Bishop of *Rochester* preached at *Pauls-Cross*, and there shewed the blood of *Hales*, affirming it to be no blood, but Honey clarified and coloured with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides fourscore and ten Colledges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chantries and free Chappels two thousand three hundred seventy four. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King instituted certain new Bishopricks, as at *Westminster*, *Oxford*, *Peterborough*, *Bristow*, *Chester*, and *Glocester*; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

All Orders of Friers and Nunneries suppressed by *Cromwell*.

The number of Monasteries suppressed.

In lieu of the suppressed Monasteries the King erects six new Bishopricks.

The third of *Novem.* *Henry Courtney* Marques of *Exeter*, and Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry Pool* Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Nicholas Carew* of *Bedington*, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Kings Horse, and Sir *Edward Nevill* brother to the L. *Aburgeiney*, were sent to the Tower, being accused by Sir *Geoffry Pool* the Lord *Montacutes* Brother of high Treason; they were indicted for devising to promote and advance one *Reinold Pool* to the Crown, and put down King *Henry*. This *Pool* was a near Kinsman of the Kings (being the Son of the Lady *Margaret* Countess of *Salisbury*, Daughter and Heir to *George* Duke of *Clarence*) he had been brought up by the King in learning, and made Dean of *Exeter*; but being sent after to learn experience by travel, he grew so great a friend of the Popes, that he became an enemy to King *Henry*, and for his enmity to the King, was by Pope *Julius* the third made Cardinal; for this mans cause the Lords aforesaid being condemned, were all executed; the Lord Marques, the Lord *Montacute*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, beheaded on the Tower-Hill, the ninth of *January*. Sir *Nicholas Carew*, the third of *March*; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at *Tiburn*; Sir *Geoffry Pool* though condemned also, yet had his pardon.

Divers Lords and Knights executed, and why.

Cardinal *Pool* his Parentage and Education.

About this time one *Nicholson*, *alias Lambert*, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him; whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Pa-

All Images put down.

lace

lace at *Weſtminſter*, for the King to ſit: and when the Biſhops had urged their Arguments & could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of converting an Heretick, when the Biſhops could not do it, and withal promiſed him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: *Nicholſon* remained obſtinate, the King miſt his Honour, the Delinquent miſt his pardon, and ſhortly after was drawn to *Smithfield*, and there burnt.

About this time King *Henry* being informed that the Pope, by inſtigation of Cardinal *Pool*, had earneſtly moved divers great Princes to invade *England*; he as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earneſtly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himſelf to the Sea-coaſts to ſee them fortified, and in needful places Bulwarks to be erected: He cauſed his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readineſs at any ſhort warning: He cauſed Muſters to be taken in all Shires; and liſts of all able men in every County, in *London* ſpecially; where Sir *William Forman* the then Major, certified the number of fifteen thouſand, not that there were no more, but that ſo many were ready prepared; and theſe on the eighth of *May*, the King himſelf ſaw Muſtered in St. *James* Park; where the Citizens ſtrove in ſuch ſort to exceed each other in bravery of arms, and forwardneſs of ſervice, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the Gown, but all profeſt Souldiers; which they performed to their great coſt, but greater commendation.

An. Reg. 31 1540.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King *Henries* reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age; when having continued a widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a ſuitor for a Wife, for he was ſued unto to take one. The Emperour ſolicited him to marry the Dutcheſs of *Milan*; but to marry her he muſt firſt obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King *Henry* was reſolved rather to have no Wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of *Cleve* made ſuit unto him, to marry the Lady *Anne* his Siſter, and he was a Proteſtant Prince; and ſo, though differing in points of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord *Cromwell* ſpecially; and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King ſhould take a Proteſtant Wife, ſeeing his actions had been ſuch, as none but a Proteſtant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen ſhould not like them, the King, though done by his leave would not like them long. Hereupon ſuch means was uſed, that Ambaſſadours came from the Duke of *Cleve* to conclude the Match; and then the 11 of *December* the Lady her ſelf in great ſtate was brought to *Callice*, and then over to *Dover*; and being come to *Rocheſter*, the King ſecretly came to ſee her, afterward ſhe was conducted to *London*, met by the way in ſeveral places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of *January* ſhe was received into *London* by Sir *William Hollys* Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all complements of State, the greateſt that ever had been ſeen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was ſolemnized: the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did the Office, the Earl of *Overſtein* a *German* Lord gave her. In *April* following the Lord *Cromwell*, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this match, was made Earl of *Eſſex*; for in *March* before, *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Eſſex*, and the antienteſt Earl of *England*, had broke his neck, by ſeeking to break a young Horſe, leaving only one Daughter, and ſhe dying without iſſue, the Earldom came to the Family of *Devereux*, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and then made, but not reſtored.

The King inclines to marry again.

And by the commendation of *Cromwell* marries the Lady *Anne* Siſter to the Duke of *Cleve*.

Sir *William Hollys* Knight, Lord Mayor of *London*.

The Lord *Cromwell* is made Earl of *Eſſex*.

How the Earldom of *Eſſex* came to the Family of *Devereux*.

The ninth of *March*, the King created Sir *William Paulet* Treaſurer of his Houſe, Lord *Saint-John*; Sir *John Ruſſel* Comptroller, Lord *Ruſſel*; and ſhortly after Sir *William Par* was created Lord *Par*. The eight and twentieth of *April* began a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*, in the which *Margaret* Counteſs of *Salisbury*, *Gertrude* Wife to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, *Reynold Pool* Cardinal, Brother to the Lord *Montacute*, Sir *Adrian Foskew*, *Thomas Dingley* Knight of Saint *Johns*, and divers others were attainted of high Treaſon; of whom *Foskew* and *Dingley* the tenth of *July* were beheaded, the Counteſs of *Salisbury* two years after; and in this Parliament the Act of the ſix Articles was eſtabliſhed, and Sir *Nicholas Hare* was reſtored to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

Earls created.

It was now five months after the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*; and though the King, at the firſt ſight of the Lady, did not like her Perſon; yet, whether as reſpecting the honour of Ladies, he would not diſgrace her at the firſt meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better liking; or indeed, that he would not give diſtaſte to the *German* Princes at that time, for ſome ends he had a working, he diſſembled the matter, and all things went on in a ſhew of contentment on all hands. But for all theſe ſhews, the crafty Biſhop of *London*, *Stephen Gardiner*, finding how the world went with the Kings affection towards his Queen; and for her ſake with *Cromwell*; to neither of whom he was greatly affected (not to the Queen, as miſliking her Religion; not to *Cromwell*, as envying his greatneſs;) he ſo wrought upon the Kings inclination, what by ſuggeſting, and what by aggravating, that the Lord *Cromwell*, the ninth of *July*, ſitting in the Council Chamber, was ſuddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the ſame month was attainted by Parliament, and never came to his Anſwer; by a Law, (which as ſome reported) he himſelf had cauſed to be made; and the eight and twentieth of *July* was beheaded on the Tower-hill; for crimes (as appears in Record) of Hereſie and Treaſon. This Lord *Cromwell* was born at *Putney*, a Village in *Surrey* near the Thames ſide, Son to a *Smith*, after whoſe deceaſe his Mother was married to a Sheerman; for the pregnancy of his Wit he was firſt entertained by Cardinal *Woolſey*, and by him imployed in many great Affairs: The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his ſervice; and finding his great abilities, firſt advanced him for his worth, and then for his pleaſure overthrew him. But the greateſt part of *Stephen Gardiners* practice had been done before;

The Lord *Cromwell* is committed to the Tower.

Is beheaded.

His Parentage and education.

fore; for at Midſummer before, the King cauſed the Queen to remove to *Richmond*, as for her health and pleaſure; and in the time of her abſence, on the ſixth of *July*, ſent certain Lords to the Lower Houſe of Parliament, who there declared certain cauſes, for which the Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, was not to be counted lawful; and ſo carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other; and ſo might ſhe. Being thus Divorced, it was further Enacted, ſhe ſhould no more be called Queen, but the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expreſly delivered; ſome ſay a precontract of the ſaid Lady with a Lord of *Germany* was pretended: but it ſeems to have been for ſome womaniſh defect in her body; as ſhe ſpared not to affirm, that ſhe had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their lying together: and as it is ſaid, when her Ladies one time ſaid unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; ſhe ſhould anſwer, they might look long enough, unleſs ſaying, How doeſt thou ſweet heart? Good morrow ſweet heart, and ſuch like words, could make a great belly; for (ſaid ſhe) more than this there never paſſed between the King and me. However it was, ſhe willingly ſubmitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in *England*, well reſpected of the King, and dying ſixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, was buried at *Weſtminſter*.

The Kings marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, is by Parliament judg'd unlawful.

About this time *Leonard Gray* Deputy of *Ireland*, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for ſuffering his nephew *Gerald Fitz-Garret* to eſcape, who had been declared an enemy unto the State; and then alſo was *Thomas Fines* Lord *Dacres*, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at *Tiburn*, for killing a mean perſon upon a ſudden affray; alſo the fourth of *Auguſt*, *Thomas Epſon* a Monk of *Weſtminſter*, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks Garment plucked from his back, the laſt that was ſeen in ſuch habit in *England* till Queen *Maries* days.

Leonard Gray beheaded, and why.

Thomas Fines Lord *Dacres* hanged at *Tiburn*, and why.

1541.

The ſixth of *July* in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King *Henry* had been divorced from the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and now the eighth of *Auguſt* following, the Lady *Katharine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Daughter to the Lord *Edward Howard*, was ſhewed openly as Queen at *Hampton-Court*.

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Howard*,

On the tenth of *June* the year following, Sir *Edmund Knevet* of *Norfolk*, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for ſtriking one Maſter *Cleer* of *Norfolk*, within the Tennis-court of the Kings Houſe; being found guilty, he had judgment to loſe his right hand, and to forfeit all his Lands and Goods; whereupon there was called to do execution, firſt the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Inſtruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Woodyard, with a mallet and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Maſter Cook with a knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to ſet the knife right on the joynt, then the Serjeant Ferrier with ſearing Irons to ſear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultrey with a Cock, which Cock ſhould have his head ſmitten off upon the ſame block, and with the ſame knife; then the Yeoman of the Chandry with Sear-cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to ſet their ſtuff on, then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Beer; then the Serjeant of the Ewry, with Baſon, Ewre, and Towels: all things being thus prepared, Sir *William Pickering* Knight Marſhal was commanded to bring in his priſoner, Sir *Edmund Knevet*, to whom the Chief Juſtice declared his offence, which the ſaid *Knevet* confeſſed, and humbly ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy; only he deſired, that the King would ſpare his right hand and take his left, becauſe (ſaid he) if my right hand be ſpared, I may live to do the King good ſervice: of whoſe ſubmiſſion, and reaſon of his ſuit, when the King was informed, he granted him to loſe neither of his hands, and pardoned him alſo of his Lands and Goods.

Sir *Edmund Knevet* is adjudged to loſe his right hand, and the ſolemn manner of doing it.

1542.

The Summer of his three and thirtieth year, King *Henry*, with his Queen *Katharine*, made a progreſs into the North parts, and returning at Alhollantide to *Hampton-Court*, he was there informed of the Queens diſſolute life, firſt before her marriage with one *Francis Deerham*, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, whom imployed afterward in *Ireland*, ſhe had lately again at *Pomfret* received into her Service; and now ſince her marriage with one *Thomas Colepepper*, of the Kings Privy-chamber; whereupon the thirteenth of *November*, Sir *Thomas Wriotheſley* Knight, Secretary to the King, was ſent to the Queen at *Hampton-Court*, to charge her with theſe Crimes, and diſcharging her houſhold, to cauſe her to be conveyed to *Sion*, there to remain, till the Kings pleaſure ſhould be further known: The Delinquents being examined, *Deerham* confeſſed, that before the Kings marriage with the Lady *Katharine*, there had been a pre-contract between himſelf and her; but when he once underſtood of the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her preferment: ſo the firſt of *December* theſe Gentlemen being arraigned at the *Guildhall*, they confeſſed the Indictment, and had Judgment to die, as in caſes of Treaſon: the tenth of *December*, they were drawn from the Tower to *Tiburn*, where *Colepepper* was beheaded, and *Deerham* was hanged and diſmembred: *Colepeppers* body was buried in *Sepulchres* Church in *London*, but both their heads were ſet on *London-bridge*: the two and twentieth of *December*, there were arraigned at the Kings-Bench, the Lord *William Howard* and the Lady *Margaret* his Wife, *Katharine Tilney*, and *Alice Wreſtwold* Gentlewoman, *Joan Bulmer*, Wife to *Anthony Bulmer* Gentleman, *Anne Howard* Wife to *Henry Howard* Eſquire, and Brother to the Queen, with divers others, who were all condemned for miſpriſion of Treaſon, for concealing the Queens miſdemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual priſon. The ſixteenth of *Jan.* the Parliament began at *Weſtminſter*, where the Lords and Commons Petitioned the King, that he would not vex himſelf with the Queens offence, and that both ſhe and the Lady *Rochford* might be attainted by Parliament; and

Is pardoned, and why.

King *Henry* is informed of the diſſolute life of Queen *Katharine* with *Deerham* and *Colepepper*.

Colepepper is beheaded, and *Deerham* hanged.

Queen *Katharine* is beheaded.

and that to avoid protracting of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also that *Deerham* and *Colepepper* having been attainted before by the Common Law, might be attainted likewise by Parliament: all which was assented to by the King; and after, on the thirtieth of *February*, the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* were beheaded on the Green within the *Tower*, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently: yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her souls salvation, that she died guiltless.

King *Henry* is proclaimed King of *Ireland.*

Before this, on the three and twentieth of *January*, King *Henry* was proclaimed King of *Ireland*, whereas before this time, the Kings of *England* were only entituled Lords of *Ireland*: and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in *Ireland*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

Arthur Plantagenet Vicount *Lisle* dieth of Joy.

About this time *Arthur Plantagenet* Vicount *Lisle*, base Son to King *Edward* the fourth, having been imprison'd upon suspicion of a practice, for betraying of *Callice* to the *French*, whilest he was the Kings Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the Fact: and thereupon the King to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a Ring, and a very gracious message, by Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* his Secretary; whereat the said Vicount took so great joy, that the night following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir *John Dudley*, his wives son, was created Vicount *Lisle*. This Sir *John Dudley* was Son to *Edmund Dudley*, beheaded in the first year of this Kings Reign, and was made Vicount *Lisle* in right of his Mother.

Sir *John Dudley*, Son to *Edmund Dudley* beheaded, is made Vicount *Lisle.*

Burgesses of the Parliament and their servants free from arrest.

During this Parliament, one *George Ferrers* Gentleman, servant to the King and Burgess for the Town of *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*, in going to the Parliament House, was arrested in *London* by a Process out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one *Welden*, at the suit of one *White*, which arrest being signified to Sir *Thomas Moyl* Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgesses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called *Saint-John*, should be sent to the Counter in *Bredstreet* (whither the said *Ferrers* was carried) and there demand to have him delivered: but the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray; at which time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; so as the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner; which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgesses; they took the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgess: and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir *Thomas Audeley* Lord Chancellour, and the Lords and Judges there assembled; who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Case, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of *London*, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellour offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it; being of a clear opinion, that all commandements from the neather House were to be executed by their Serjeant without Writ, only by shewing his Mace, which is his Warrant: but before the Serjeants return into *London*, the Sheriffs better advised became more mild, and upon the second demand, delivered the prisoner without any denial; but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Counter, to appear personally the next morning before the House of Commons: where appearing, they were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel: Sir *Roger Chomley* Recorder of *London* offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves: in conclusion, the Sheriffs and *White* who had caused the Arrest, were committed to the *Tower*; the Officer that did the Arrest, with four other Officers, to *Newgate*; but after two or three dayes, upon the humble suit of the Mayor, were set at liberty; and because the said *Ferrers* being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by priviledge of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into execution; and so the Creditor without remedy for his Debt, against him as his principal debtor, therefore after long debate, by the space of nine or ten dayes together, they at last resolved to make an Act of purpose, to revive the execution of the said debt, against *Welden* who was principal debtor, and to discharge *Ferrers* that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding, the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices: the King being advertised of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the priviledges of their House (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have priviledge for himself and all his Servants attending upon him; so as if the said *Ferrers* had been no Burgess, but only his servant; yet in that respect, he was to have the priviledge as well any other: for I understand (saith he) that you, not only for your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse-keepers, enjoy the same priviledge; insomuch, as my Lord Chancellour here present hath informed us, that whilest he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the *Temple* was arrested in *London*, and in execution upon a Statute of the Staple, and for so much, as the said Cook during

The Commands of the Parliament to be executed by their Serjeant without any Writ, by shewing only his Mace.

King *Henry* will maintain the Priviledges of Parliament.

all the Parliament ſerved the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by Priviledge of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court, (as our learned Council informeth us) is ſo great, that all Acts and Proceſſes coming out of any other Court, muſt for a time ceaſe and give place to it: and touching the party himſelf, though for his preſumption he was worthy to have loſt his debt, yet I commend your equity, that have reſtored him to his debt againſt him that was the principal: When the King had ſaid this, Sir *Edward Montacute* Lord Chief Juſtice, roſe up and confirmed by many reaſons, all that the King had ſaid, as likewiſe did all the other Lords, none ſpeaking any thing to the contrary.

1543. It was now the four and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when in *May* he took a loan of money of all ſuch as were valued at fifty pounds and upwards in the Subſidy Book; the Lord Privy-Seal, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Sir *Thomas Baker*, and Sir *Thomas Wriothſley* were Commiſſioners for the loan in *London*, who ſo handled the matter, that of ſome chief Citizens they obtained a thouſand marks impreſt to the Kings uſe: for which Privy-Seals were delivered to repay it again within two years.

At this time were many complaints made by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Scots*, partly for receiving and maintaining divers *Engliſh* Rebels, fled into *Scotland*, and partly for invading the *Engliſh* Borders: but ſtill when the King of *England* was preparing to oppoſe them, the *Scottiſh* King would ſend Ambaſſadours to treat of reconcilement, till at laſt, after many deluſory pranks of the *Scots*, the King of *England*, no longer enduring ſuch abuſes, ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* his Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hartford*, *Angus*, *Rutland*, the Lords of the North parts, Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Kings Horſe, and Sir *John Gage*, Comptroller of the Kings Houſe, with others to the number of twenty thouſand men; who on the one and twentieth of *October* entred *Scotland*, where ſtaying but eight days only, he burnt above eighteen Towns, Abbeys, and Caſtles, and then, without having Battel offered, for want of victuals returned to *Barwick*; as ſoon as he returned, comes abroad the King of *Scots*, raiſeth a power of fifteen thouſand men, and uſing great threatnings what he would do, invaded the Weſt Borders: but the edge of his threatning was ſoon taken off; for the Baſtard *Dacres*, with *Jack* of *Muſgrave*, ſetting upon them with only an hundred Light-Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Wharton* with three hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit, that the Duke of *Norfolk* with all his Army had been come into thoſe parts; where were taken priſoners of the *Scots*, the Earl of *Caſſil* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Maxwel* Admiral of *Scotland*, the Lord *Flemming*, the Lord *Somerwel*, the Lord *Oliphant*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Oliver Sincleer*, the Kings Minion, *John Roſs* Lord of *Gray*, *Roger Erskin* Son to the Lord *Erſkin*, *Car* Lord of *Gredon*, the Lord *Maxwels* two Brothers, *John Leſley* Baſtard Son to the Earl of *Rothus*, *George Hame* Lord of *Hemetton*, with divers other men of account, to the number of above two hundred, and more than eight hundred of meaner calling; ſo as ſome one *Engliſh* man, and ſome women alſo had three or four priſoners in their hands: at which overthrow, the King of *Scots* took ſuch grief, that he fell into a burning Ague, and thereof died, leaving behinde him one only Daughter: and here King *Henry* began to apprehend a greater matter than the Victory; for he and his Council conceived, that his Daughter would be a fit match for his Son Prince *Edward*, thereby to make a perpetual union of the two Kingdoms; and to this purpoſe they conferred with the Lords whom they had taken priſoners, who exceeding glad of the propoſition, and promiſing to further it by all the poſſible means they could, were thereupon ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to return home. Coming into *Scotland*, and acquainting the Earl of *Arrain* with the motion, who was choſen Governour of the young Queen, and of the Realm; the matter with great liking was entertained, and in Parliament of the three Eſtates in *Scotland*, the Marriage was confirmed, and a Peace between the two Realms for ten years was Proclaimed, and Ambaſſadours ſent into *England*, for ſealing the conditions. But *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews* being Cardinal, and at the Popes devotion, and therefore an utter enemy to King *Henry*, ſo croſſed the buſineſs, that it came to nothing, but ended in a War between the two Kingdoms; ſo as in *March* the year following, the Lord *Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, with an Army by Land, and Sir *John Dudley* Lord *Liſle*, with a Fleet by Sea, met at *New-Caſtle*, and there joyned together, for invading of *Scotland*; with the Earl of *Hartford*, were the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Clinton*, *Conyers*, *Stinton*, the Lord *William Howard*, with Knights and others, to the number of ten thouſand; with Sir *John Dudley* the Admiral, were two hundred ſail of Ships: on the fourth of *May*, the whole Army was landed two miles from the Town of *Leith*, at a place called *Granther Garg*, and there the Lord Lieutenant putting his men in order, marched towards the Town of *Lieth*, the Lord Admiral led the forward, the Lieutenant the Battel, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Rereward. Before they came to the Town of *Lieth*, the Cardinal with ſix hundred Horſe, beſides Foot, lay in the way to impeach the paſſage; but they were ſo aſſailed by the Harquebuſars, that they were glad to flie, and the firſt man that fled was the Cardinal himſelf, and then the Earls of *Huntley*, *Murrey*, and *Bothwel*; hereupon the *Engliſh* made forward to *Lieth*, and entred it without any great reſiſtance. The ſixth of *May* they marched towards *Edenburgh*, and as they approached the Town, the Provoſt with ſome of the Burgers, came and offered the Keyes of the Town to the Lord Lieutenant, upon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and the Town to be preſerved from fire; but the Lord Lieutenant told them, their falſhood had been ſuch, as deſerved no favour, and therefore unleſs they would deliver the Town abſolutely without any condition, he would proceed in his enterpriſe and burn the Town. Here we may ſee what it is to make men deſperate; for to this the Provoſt anſwered, They were better then to ſtand upon defence, and ſo indeed they did, and made the *Engliſh* glad to retire, for the

Caſtle

The *Scots* enter the *Engliſh* Borders: againſt whom the King ſends an Army and repells them.

The *Scots* frighted with a conceit.

The King of *Scots* with grief thereof dieth, leaving behinde him one only Daughter.

King *Henry* ſeeks to match his Son Prince *Edward* with this Daughter; and is embraced by all the States of *Scotland*.

Only *Beton* Archbiſhop of Saint *Andrews* and Cardinal, croſſeth it.

Whereupon a War between the two Kingdoms.

And the Earl of *Hartford* is ſent with an Army into *Scotland*.

Where he takes *Lieth* and many other Towns

No policy to make the Enemy deſperate.

Caſtle ſhot ſo fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to *Leith*; but whileſt they lay there, they ſo waſted the Countrey, that within ſeven miles every way of *Edenburgh*, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor houſe that was left unburnt; at *Leith* the eleventh day of *May*, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Conyers*, Sir *William Wroughton*, Sir *Thomas Holecraſt*, Sir *Edward Dorrel*, Sir *Francis Hotham*, and others, to the number of at leaſt threeſcore: in *Leith* Haven, they ſeiſed upon all the *Scottiſh* Ships, whereof two were of notable fairneſs, the one called the *Salamander*, given by the *French* King at the marriage of his Daughter into *Scotland*; the other called the *Unicorn*, made by the late *Scottiſh* King: the ballaſt of which two Ships was Canon-ſhot, whereof they found in the Town, to the number of fourſcore thouſand. On the fifteenth of *May*, their Army and their Fleet departed from *Leith*, both in one hour, having firſt ſet the Town on fire, and burned it to the ground: from *Leith* the Engliſh Army marched to *Seaton*, from thence to *Haddington*, from thence to *Dunbar*, from thence to *Ranton*, all which Towns and Caſtles, with divers others, they burnt and utterly defaced; and on the eighteenth of *May* came to *Barwick*, not having loſt in all the journey above fourteen men.

1544. In the mean time, in King *Henry*'s five and thirtieth year, on Trinity Sunday a new League was entred into and ſworn, between the King and the Emperour at *Hampton-Court*, to be both offenſive and defenſive.

Lords impriſoned for eating fleſh in Lent. In this year Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenſed to eat white meats in Lent; but ſtraightly forbidden the eating of fleſh; whereupon ſhortly after, the Earl of *Surrey* with divers other Lords and Knights were impriſoned for eating of fleſh contrary to the Proclamation.

Obrine is created Earl of *Thowmond*: whoſe poſterity enjoyeth the Honour to this day. The third of *June* this year, there came out of *Ireland* three Lords, of whom *Obrine* was here created Earl of *Thowmond*, (which honour his poſterity enjoyeth to this day) *Mack William a Bary*, was created Earl of *Clanrick-ford*, and *Mack Gilparick*, was made Baron of *Ebrankie*.

King *Henry* had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and no good luck with any of them, he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of *June*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign he took to Wife the Lady *Katharine Par*, Widow of the Lord *Latimer* late deceaſed, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky would this match have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, ſeeing in a ſhort time of three years they lived together, it was no ſmall danger ſhe eſcaped: which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfitly be ſpoken of in this place, that ſo her ſtory may come together; this Queen as being an earneſt Proteſtant had many great adverſaries, by whom ſhe was accuſed to the King, to have Heretical Books found in her cloſet; and this was ſo much aggravated againſt her, that they prevailed with the King, to ſign a Warrant to commit her to the *Tower*, with a purpoſe to have her burnt for Hereſie; this Warrant was delivered to *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen; who having read it, went ſoon after to viſit the King, at that time keeping his Chamber, by reaſon of a ſore Leg; being come to the King, he preſently fell into talk with her, about ſome points of Religion, demanding her reſolution therein; but ſhe knowing that his nature was not to be croſt, ſpecially conſidering the caſe ſhe was in, made him anſwer, that ſhe was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majeſty was wiſe and judicious, of whom ſhe muſt learn as of her Lord and Head: Not ſo by Saint *Mary* (ſaid the King) for you are a Doctor *Kate* to inſtruct us, and not to be inſtructed by us, as often we have ſeen heretofore: Indeed Sir (ſaid ſhe) if your Majeſty have ſo conceived, I have been miſtaken; for if heretofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majeſty ſome point, whereof I ſtood in doubt, and ſometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your preſent infirmity: And is it even ſo ſweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and ſo kiſſing her, gave her leave to depart. But ſoon after, was the day appointed by the Kings Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King diſpoſed to walk in the Garden, had the Queen with him, when ſuddenly the Lord Chancellour with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden with a purpoſe to apprehend her: whom as ſoon as the King ſaw, he ſtept to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him avant out of his preſence: the Queen ſeeing him ſo angry with him, began to intreat for him, to whom the King ſaid: Ah poor ſoul, thou little knoweſt what it is he came about; of my word ſweet-heart he hath been to thee a very knave. And thus by Gods Providence was this Queen preſerved, who elſe had taſted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former Wives had done.

And by what means ſhe avoids the danger.

About this time King *Henry* and the Emperour ſent *Garter* and *Toyſon d'or*, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the *French* King: which if he denyed, they were then commanded to defie him: but the *French* King would not ſuffer them to come within his land, and ſo they returned: whereupon King *Henry* cauſed the ſaid demands to be declared to the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Weſtminſter*; and in *July* ſent over ſix thouſand men, under the leading of Sir *John Walloppe* accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen; Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Marſhal of the Army, Sir *Robert Bowes* Treaſurer, Sir *Richard Cornwal* Captain of the Horſe, and Sir *George Carew* his Lieutenant. There were likewiſe Sir *Tho. Palmer*, Sir *John Rainsford*, Sir *John Saint-John*, and Sir *John Gaſcoigne* Knights, that were Captains of the Foot. Their Commiſſion was to joyn with the Emperour, and together to make War upon *France*. The third of *Auguſt* open War was proclaimed in *London*, between the Emperour and the King of *England* on the one part, and the *French* King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both; and to all other Chriſtian Princes beſides, as he that had confederated

King *Henry* marries the Lady *Katharine Par* widow of the Lord *Latimer*.

She is accuſed to the King of Hereſie.

King *Henry* ſends over an Army to aid the Emperour againſt the King of *France*.

himself with the *Turk*. Sir *John Walloppe* marching forth of *Callice* with his Army, joyned with the Emperours Forces, who together went and besieged *Landersey*, a Town lately fortified by the *French*, lying within the Borders of the Emperours Dominions: to raise this siege the *French* King had raised a mighty Army; with which he came on as if he meant to give the Emperour Battel; and thereupon the Emperour raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the *French* King took the opportunity to put men and victuals into the Town, which was the thing he intended; and having done this, the night following departed with his Army; and then the Emperour seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplyed, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

Lords made. This year the Sunday before Christmas, the Lord *William Parre*, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of *Henry Bourchier* Earl of *Essex*, was at *Hampton-Court* created Earl of *Essex*; and Sir *William Parre* Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord *Parre* of *Horton*, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the Kings Secretary, was made Lord *Wriothsley* of *Tichfield*.

King *James* his Parentage. In *June* this year, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* fled out of *Scotland*, and came into *England*, whom King *Henry* received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had *Henry*, Father of our late King *James* of blessed memory.

Thomas Audeley Lord Chancellour, being lately dead, *Thomas* Lord *Wriothsley* succeeded him in the place; and now was an Army levied to go for *France*: the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of *Surrey* the Dukes Son, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and his Son Sir *Robert Devereux*, Sir *Thomas Cheiney* Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Bryan*, Sir *Thomas Poynings* Captain of *Guysnes*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitsuntide passed over to *Callice*, and marched toward *Muttrel*, joyned with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the *Count de Baron*; which two Armies laid siege to *Muttrel*, whereof Mounsieur *de Bies*, one of the Marshals of *France* was Captain, but being then at *Bulloigne*, and hearing of the siege of *Muttrel*, he left *Bulloigne*, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from *Bulloigne*; and thereupon was the Duke of *Suffolk* appointed to pass over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of *Arundel* Marshal of the Field, the Lord *Saint-John*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Gage* Comptroller of the Kings House, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Kings Horse, with divers others, who the nineteenth of *July* came and encamped before *Bulloigne*; the four and twentieth of *July* the King in person, accompanied with divers of the Nobility, came to *Callice*; and the six and twentieth encamped before *Bulloigne* on the North-side, many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yielded, and the Duke of *Suffolk* entred and took possession, suffered six thousand *French*, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eighth of *September* King *Henry* entred the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord *Lisle* Lord Admiral his Deputy there, he returned into *England*, landing at *Dover* the first of *October*. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dauphin of *France* and by Mounsieur *de Bies* for recovery of *Bulloigne*, but they were still repulsed, and the *English* kept the Town in spight of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelve thousand Launce Knights, twelve thousand *French* Footmen, six thousand *Italians*, four thousand of Legionary Souldiers of *France*, a thousand men of Arms, besides eight thousand light Horse; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

King *Henry* layes siege to *Bulloigne*.

He takes the Town and returns.

Whilest these things were doing about *Bulloigne*, the Ships of the West Countrey and other places wafted abroad on the Seas, and took above three hundred *French* Ships; so that the *Gray-fryers* Church in *London* was laid full of Wine, the *Austin-fryers*, and *Black-fryers* full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into *France*.

Three hundred *French* Ships taken, laden with Wine and Herrings.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjects, towards his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and other of the Kings Council sate at *Baynards*-Castle, where they first called before them the Mayor and Aldermen: and because *Richard Read* Alderman, would not agree to pay as they set him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in *Scotland*, which the obstinate man rather chose to do, than he would pay the rate he was required; but being there, he was taken prisoner by the *Scots*, to his far greater damage, than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: for at this time Sir *Ralph Evers* Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into *Scotland*, assembled four thousand men, and entring *Scotland* now again, was encountred by the Earl of *Arraine*, by whom he and the Lord *Oagle*, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman *Read* was one.

King *Henry* demands a Benevolence towards his Wars in *France*.

Richard Read Alderman, refusing to pay his Assessment, is sent a Souldier into *Scotland*, and there taken prisoner.

1546.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King *Henry*'s Reign, when on Saint *Georges* day Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: also *Trinity* Term was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tenths were open.

Sir *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour is made Knight of the Garter.

At this time the *English* Fleet went before *New-haven*, but being there encountred by a far greater Fleet of *French*, they returned; with whose retreat, the *French* Admiral, emboldened, came upon the Coast of *Sussex*, where he landed Souldiers; but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back, after which he landed two thousand men in the *Isle of Wight*, but was there repelled, though reported to have in his Ships threescore thousand men.

In *August* this year, died the valiant Captain the Lord *Poynings*, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of *Bulloigne*; and the same month also

died

Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk dieth.

died at *Guilford*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, *Charles Brandon*, Lord great Master of the Kings House, whose body was honourably buried at *Windsor*, at the Kings cost.

About this time the *Scots*, having received aid out of *France*, approached the *English* Borders, but durst attempt nothing; whereupon the Earl of *Hartford*, Lieutenant of the North parts, raising an Army of twelve thousand men, *English* and Strangers, entred *Scotland*, and burnt a great part of *Mers* and *Tividale*, as *Kelsey* Abbey, and the Town, the Abbeys of *Medross*, *Driborne*, and *Tedworth*, with a hundred Towns and Villages more; when on the sixteenth of *September*, an Army of *Scots* and *French* attempted to enter into *England* on the East Borders, but in a straight were set upon by the *English*, who slew and took of them to the number of sevenscore, amongst whom was the Lord *Humes* Son, and a principal *French* Captain; in another Road, which they made into the West Borders, the Lord *Maxwels* Son, and divers other were taken: but then at another time (such is the chance of War) five hundred *English* entring the West Borders of *Scotland* were discomfited, and the greatest part of them either taken or slain.

And now to revenge the presumptuous attempts of the *French* upon the *Isle of Wight*, the Lord Admiral with his Fleet approached the Coasts of *Normandy*, landed six thousand men at *Treport*, burnt the Suburbs of that Town with the Abbey, destroyed thirty Ships there in the Haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole Voyage.

A Peace is concluded between the two Kings of England and France.

At this time the Earl of *Hartford* lying at *Bulloigne*, had in his Army above fourscore thousand men, and many skirmishes passed between him and the *French*; till at last, by mediation of the Emperour and divers other Princes, a meeting was appointed to treat of a Peace between the two Kings of *England* and *France*; hereupon there came to *Guysnes* for the King of *England*, the Earl of *Hartford*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, Sir *John Dudley*, Vicount *Lisle* Baron of *Manpas* and high Admiral of *England*, Sir *William Paget* the Kings Secretary, and Doctor *Nicholas Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*: For the *French* King there came to *Ard*, *Claude Daneboldt* Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Eureux*, Mounsieur *Raymond* chief President of *Roan*, and the Secretary *Bouchetel*. Divers times they met betwixt *Ard* and *Guisnes*, and after long debating of matters, and divers breakings off; at length, the seventh of *June*, a Peace was concluded, and proclaimed in the City of *London*, on Whitsunday the thirtieth of *June*, by sound of Trumpet; and the same day in like manner at *Paris* and *Roan*; the chief Article of which Peace was this, that the *French* King paying to the King of *England* eight hundred thousand Crowns, within the term of eight years, should have *Bulloigne* again restored to him, which in the mean time should remain in possession of the King of *England*, as a pledge for assurance of the said money; and now for a full establishment of this Peace, the Vicount *Lisle* Lord Admiral, with the Bishop of *Duresme*, and divers other Lords were sent into *France*, to take Oath of the *French* King, and of the Dauphin; as likewise at the same time divers Lords came from the *French* King to take Oath of King *Henry*; who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at *Hampton-Court*.

Bulloigne is restored to the French upon payment of eight hundred thousand Crowns.

In his seven and thirtieth year, the three and twentieth of *November*, a Parliament began at *Westminster*, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spiritualty and Temporalty, and all Colledges, Chantries, and Hospitals were given to him to dispose of: the four and twentieth of *December* the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament House, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellour was used to answer, but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them; then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colledges and Chantries, which he promised to be bestowed to the glory of God and good of the Realm: lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? and what concord when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist; and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporalty, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; some to be stiffe in their old *Mumpsimus*, and others so curious in their new *Sumpsimus*, that few or none Preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God: now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in charity amongst your selves, to the which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: and this said, the Acts were openly read, to some he gave his Royal assent, and to divers assented not.

All Colledges and Chantries are given to the King by Parliament.

The King answers the Speakers speech himself, and the effect of his Speech.

Whilst the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, *Bulloigne* remaining still in King *Henry's* possession, Mounsieur *de Chatillon* Captain of *Mont-pleasier* began to make a new Bastillion at the very mouth of the Haven of *Bulloigne*, naming it *Chatillons* Garden: hereof the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* as then Deputy of *Bulloigne* advertised the King by Sir *Thomas Palmour*, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raze it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand; the King asked advice of his Council, who all agree, that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the Bastilion stand; whereupon the King caused his Secretary the Lord *Paget*, to write a Letter to the Lord *Gray*, to that purpose, but then called Sir *Thomas Palmour* secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord *Gray*, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible, he should raze the Fortification to the ground; Sir *Thomas Palmour* replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; Well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice; upon the coming back of

Sir

Sir *Tho. Palmour*, the Lord *Gray* called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letter, and withal Sir *Thomas Palmour's* Message, and then asked their advice, what in this case he should do? who all agreed without any question that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Message: to which the Lord *Gray* himself said nothing, but caused the Massage to be written *Verbatim* from Sir *Thomas Palmour's* mouth, and those of the Council to set their hands to it: this done; the night following he issued forth with a company of armed men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortification to the ground, and then sent Sir *Thomas Palmour* with Letters to the King, who as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir *Thomas Palmour* delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; but then the King half angry, Nay tell me (saith he) will he do it or no? being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lords and said, What say you my Lords to this, *Chatillons* Garden is razed to the floor? Whereto one presently answered, he that had done it was worthy to lose his head; to which the King straightly replyed, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, than one such servant as had done it: and therewith commanded the Lord *Gray's* Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward; the cause why the King took this course was this, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in his Letter, it might have come to the *French* mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented; and this may be taken as a scantling of King *Henry's* great capacity.

The Lord *Gray* obeyeth a message from the King before the Kings Letter.

1547. The Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son the Earl of *Surrey* committed to the Tower, and why.

It is now the eight and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about *Michaelmas*, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Henry* Earl of *Surrey* his Son and Heir, upon certain surmises of Treason, were committed to the *Tower* of *London*: and the thirteenth of *January*, the King then lying at the point of death, the said Earl was arraigned in the *Guild-hall*, before the Lord Mayor, the Lord Chancellour, and other Lords there in Commission; the special matter wherewith he was charged, was the bearing of certain Arms that were said to belong to the King and to the Prince; though the Earl justified the bearing of them as belonging to divers of his Ancestours; affirming withal, that he had the opinion of Heraulds therein: But this notwithstanding, being no Lord of the Parliament, he was tryed by a common Jury, by them was found guilty, and thereupon had judgment of death; and the nineteenth of *January* was beheaded on the *Tower-hill*. The Duke was attainted by Parliament, and kept in prison, till in the first year of Queen *Mary* the Attainder was reversed. The death of this Earl might lay an imputation of cruelty upon King *Henry*, if a just jealousie growing from the many circumstances of the Earls greatness, in the tender age of his own Son, did not excuse him.

The Earl is beheaded.

King *Henry* dieth.

Soon after the death of this Earl, the King himself died; having made his last Will, in which he took order, that his Son *Edward* should succeed him in the Crown, and he dying without issue, his Daughter *Mary*, and she dying without issue, his Daughter *Elizabeth*; although another order of succession had passed before by Act of Parliament. The Executors of his last Will were these sixteen; *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Wriothsley* Lord Chancellour, Sir *William Pawlet* Lord *Saint-John* and great Master of the Houshold, Sir *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford* and high Chamberlain of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy Seal, Sir *John Dudley* Vicount *Lisley* Lord Admiral, *Cutbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, Sir *Anthony Brown* Master of the Horse, Sir *Edmund Montacute* Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *Thomas Bromley* one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir *Edward North* Chancellour of the Augmentation, Sir *William Paget* Knight of the Order, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Edward Wootton* Treasurer of *Callice*, and *Nicholas Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. To whom were adjoyned as assistants these twelve, *Henry Fitz-Allen* Earl of *Arundel*, *William Par* Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir *John Gage* Comptrollor, Sir *Anthony Wingfield* Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *William Peter* Principal Secretary, Sir *Richard Rich*, Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, Chancellour of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Richard Southwel*, and Sir *Edward Peckham*. And it was not without need to leave a full Council Table, considering in what terms he left the Kingdom when he died. Abroad, in league with the Emperour, at Peace with the King of *France*; but whether these were not personal only, and no longer binding than King *Henry* lived, might be doubted; with the *Scots* at deadly feud; with the Pope at utter defiance; from both which Coasts there could be expected but little fair weather: at home the frame of Religion extremely disjoynted; and the Clergy that should set it in frame, out of frame themselves; the mindes of the people extremely distracted; and the Nobility that should cement them, scarce holding themselves together: And in this state was the Kingdom when King *Henry* the eighth died, in the year 1547. the fifty sixth of his life, and of his Reign the eight and thirtieth.

His Executors who.

Assistants to his Executors.

Of his Taxations.

IN his fourth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, was granted to the King, two Fifteenths of the Tmporalty, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pound, a Baron four pound, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods, to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in *France*: in his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all mens substance might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what they were worth, and

Every man sworn what he is worth, and to give the Tenth part to the King.

and required a tenth part thereof, towards the Kings charges in the preſent Wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part; this the *Londoners* thought very hard, and thereupon were excuſed for taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honeſties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporalty two ſhillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards, and from forty ſhillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty ſhillings twelve pence; and under forty ſhillings, of every head of ſixteen years, and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his ſixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commiſſion, to draw the people to pay the ſixth part of every mans ſubſtance in Plate or Money; but this was generally oppoſed, and the people in many Countreys riſe upon it, ſo as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly diſavowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, in a Parliament then holden, a fifteenth was granted to the King, towards his charges of making fortifications againſt *Scotland*. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subſidy of two ſhillings in the pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four fifteens were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year a Subſidy was granted to be paid in three years, every *Engliſh* man being worth in goods twenty ſhillings and upwards to five pounds, to pay four pence of every pound, and from five pounds to ten pounds, eight pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, ſix pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two ſhillings: Strangers as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double; and for Lands, every *Engliſh* man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty ſhillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds ſixteen pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds two ſhillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three ſhillings, ſtrangers double; the Clergy ſix ſhillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Prieſt having no Benefice, but an Annual ſtipend, ſix ſhillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

IN a Parliament holden his ſixth year, divers Laws were made, but two moſt ſpoken of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelfth year, he cauſed the Statutes againſt Incloſures to be revived, and commanded that decayed houſes ſhould be built up again, and that Incloſed grounds ſhould be laid open; which though it did ſome good, yet not ſo much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own benefit had not procured liberty for great men, to keep up their Incloſures, to the oppreſſion of poor men. In his ſeventeenth year, the King lying at *Eltham*, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the Kings Houſe, and were long after called the Statutes of *Eltham*. In his eigteenth year, in the month of *May*, Proclamation was made againſt all unlawful Games, ſo that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls were taken and burnt; but this order continued not long, for young men being reſtrained from theſe Games, fell ſome to drinking, ſome to ſtealing of Conies and Deer, and ſuch other miſdemeanours: Alſo in this year, was an inhancing of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at a higher rate; ſo that the angel that went before but for ſeven ſhillings, ſhould now go for ſeven and ſix pence, and every ounce of Gold ſhould be five and forty ſhillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir *James Spencer* being Mayor of *London*, the Watch uſed on Midſummer night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then holden, an Act was made, that whoſoever ſhould poyſon any perſon ſhould be boiled to death, by which Statute, one *Richard Rooſe*, who had poyſoned divers perſons in the Biſhop of *Rocheſters* place, was boiled to death in *Smithfield*, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Teſtaments, another for Mortuaries, the third againſt plurality of Benefices, Non-reſidence, buying and taking of Farms by ſpiritual perſons. In his thirtieth year it was ordained by *Cromwel* the Kings Vicar General, that in all Churches a Regiſter ſhould be kept of every Wedding, Chriſtning, and Burial within the ſame Pariſh for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King firſt inſtituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Penſioners, to wait upon his perſon, aſſigning to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themſelves and two Horſes. In his ſix and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhancing of Gold to eight and forty ſhillings, and Silver to four ſhillings the ounce; alſo he cauſed to be coined baſe money, mingling it with Braſs, which was ſince that time called down the fifth year of *Edward* the ſixth, and called in the ſecond year of Queen *Elizabeth*. In his ſeven and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houſes called the Stews on the *Bank-ſide* in *Southwark*, were put down by the Kings Commandement, and it was done by Proclamation and ſound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Butchers ſhould ſell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-penny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: alſo at this time foreign Butchers were permitted to ſell their fleſh in *Leaden-hall Market*, which before was not allowed; In his time alſo the Government of the Preſident in the North was firſt inſtituted, and the firſt Preſident there, was *Tunſtal* Biſhop of *Durham*.

Dice and Cards forbidden.

Coin inhanced.

A Regiſter of all Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Burials, when firſt kept.

The Gentlemen Penſioners when firſt ordained.

The Stews put down.

Butchers appointed to ſell their meat by weight.

The Preſident of the North when firſt ordained.

Incloſures commanded to be laid open.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

IN the year 1517. the eighth year of this Kings Reign, *Martin Luther* of *Wittenberg* in *Germany*, a Frier of the Order of the *Hermites*, taking occaſion from the abuſe of Indulgences, began to Preach againſt the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion; for repreſſing of whom, the Council of

Luther being in a reformation of Religion.

of *Trent* was called by Pope *Paul* the third, in the year 1542. which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of *France*; which Council, by decreeing many things to be points of faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction amongst Papists themselves: against his *Luther*, King *Henry* wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with *Luther*, there arose also in the same Countrey other Reformers of Religion, as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Melanchon*, who differing from *Luther* in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of *Lutherans* and Protestants, so called at first at *Auspurg*, for making a Protestation in defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendom over. King *Henry* in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm; but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeys and Priories kept their station, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed; for aspersions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than truth) of Adulteries and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament in his eight and twentieth year, at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, all the rest; and lastly, in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges, Chantries, and Hospitals, so as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Countrey. In this Kings time the City of *Rome* was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to flie to his Castle Saint *Angelo*, and there kept a Prisoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adversaries propounded. In the two and twentieth year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamation was set forth, that no person should purchase any thing from the Court of *Rome*; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in *England*. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a Præmunire, were the first that called him Supreme Head of the Church. In his four and twentieth year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates or money for their Bulls to the Pope, and another that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of *Rome*, but from the Commissary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in *July*, *John Frith* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and with him at the same stake one *Andrew Hewet* a Tailor, both for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament; and in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorised the Kings Highness, to be Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished, and then also was given to the King the first Fruits and Tenths of all Spiritual Livings: and this year were many put to death, Papists for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what number for these two causes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth year, the Lord *Cromwel* was made Vicar General under the King, over the Spirituality, and sate divers times in the Convocation House amongst the Bishops as head over them; and in *September* this year, he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parsons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave*, and Creed, with the ten Commandements and the Articles of the Christian Faith in the *English* tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops the Book of the six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. *That the Body of Christ was not Really present in the Sacrament after Consecration.*
2. *That the Sacrament might not truly be administred under one kind.*
3. *That Priests entred into Holy Orders might marry.*
4. *That vows of Chastity entred into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.*
5. *That private Masses were not to be used.*
6. *That Auricular Confession was not necessary in the Church.*

This year also the Religion of Saint *Johns* in *England*, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was dissolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir *William Weston* Knight, Prior of Saint *Johns* departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the dissolution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands: In his six and thirtieth year, the Letany or Procession was set forth in *English*, with commandement by the King, to be generally used in Parish Churches.

The difference between *Lutherans* and Protestants.

The six Articles set forth by the Bishops.

The Order of Saint *Johns* dissolved.

The King when first called Supreme head of the Church.

No more Annates to be paid to *Rome*: nor Appeals to be made to the Pope.

The first fruits and tenths given to the King.

Works of Piety done by him or others in his time.

UPon the suppression of Abbeys, King *Henry* instituted six new Bishopricks and six Cathedral Churches, endowing them with convenient maintenance; he also gave competent Pensions during their lives, to such Religious persons as were turned out of their Cloysters; he also instituted in both the Universities Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil-Law, and Physick, allowing to each of them forty pound a year: he also founded a Colledge at *Cambridge*; he gave at his death a thousand Marks to the poor; and to twelve poor Knights of *Windsor*, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of white Cloth: but his greatest work of Piety was his putting down the Stews in *Southwark*: *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colledges at *Cambridge*, *Christs-Church* and Saint *Johns*. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign *George Monox* Mayor of

Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues first instituted in both the Universities.

of *London*, re-edified the decayed Steeple of the Church of *Waltham-ſtow* in *Eſſex*, adding thereunto a ſide Iſle with a Chappel where he lieth buried; on the North ſide of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Almshouſe, for a Prieſt and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance; he alſo for the commodity of Travellers made a Cawſey of Timber over the Marſhes, from *Waltham-ſtow* to *Lock-bridge* towards *London*. In this Kings eighth year *Richard Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* founded *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, minding to have made it an houſe for Monks; but *Hugh Oldham* Biſhop of *Exeter*, perſwaded him to make it rather a Colledge for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great ſums of Money towards it, contenting himſelf only with the name of a Benefactor. In his ſeventh year King *Henry* builded the Tower of *Greenwich*. In this Kings time Cardinal *Woolſey* founded two Colledges, one at *Oxford*, another at *Ipſwich*; to his Colledge at *Oxford* he had given four thouſand pounds Land a year, but his Lands being all confiſcate to the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave to the Colledge a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows; which Colledge is now called *Chriſt-Church*, and accounts King *Henry* for their Founder. His Colledge at *Ipſwich* was demoliſhed. This Cardinal alſo built *Hampton Court*, the chiefeſt at this day of all the Kings Houſes; and built or inlarged *White-hall* called then *York-Place*. King *Henry* in his four and twentieth year, built alſo his Mantion Houſe of Saint *James*, where alſo he made a fair Park. This place before had been an Hoſpital of Siſters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Penſions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, *Nicholas Gibſon* Grocer, then Sheriff of *London*, builded a Free-School at *Ratcliffe* near *London*, with maintenance for a Maſter and an Uſher; he alſo builded an Alms-houſe there for fourteen poor and aged people. In his one and thirtieth year, *Thomas Huntlow*, the then Sheriff of *London*, gave certain Tenements to Haberdaſhers, for finding of ten Almſmen of the ſame Company. In his ſix and thirtieth year, Sir *John Allen* who had been twice Maior of *London*, and of the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of *London*, a rich Coller of Gold, to be worn by the Maior: which Coller was firſt worn by Sir *William Laxton* on Saint *Edwards* day, at the election of the new Maior, who gave to every Ward in *London* twenty pounds, to be diſtributed amongſt poor Houſholders; beſides to ſixſcore perſons, whereof threeſcore men, to every one a Gown of broad-cloth, and a black Cap; and threeſcore women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kerchief. In the eight and thirtieth year, King *Henry* gave to the City of *London*, for relief of poor people in St. *Bartholomews* Spittle, the Church of the *Gray fryers*, and two Pariſh Churches, the one at St. *Nicholas* in the Shambles, the other St. *Ewins* in *Newgate-market*, all to be made one Pariſh Church of the *Gray-friers*; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the ſame five hundred Marks a year for ever: and this Church to be named *Chriſt-Church*, founded by King *Henry* the eighth. The Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* (the Widow of Sir *William Hollys* Knight, late Lord Maior of the City of *London*) by her Laſt Will and Teſtament, dated the 17 of *February* 1543. and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King *Henry* the eighth, and proved at *London* in the Prerogative Court of *Canterbury* the 28 of *March* 1544. did will her Executors, her Couſin Mr. *Andrew Jud* Alderman (afterwards Knight and Lord Maior of *London*) and her Brother *Thomas Scopham*, that they ſhould provide a place or plot of ground, whereon ſhould be erected ſix Almshouſes for ſix aged folks, men or women, or elſe both, to inhabit and dwell in, for the maintenance of which, ſhe willed that her ſaid Executors ſhould purchaſe as much Land or Tenements within the City of *London*, or Liberties of the ſame, as would amount *de claro* above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound ſterling, to be diſtributed in this manner: that is to ſay, to every of the ſaid ſix Alms-people ſeven pence by the Week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly, and the remainder of the ſaid yearly ten pound to be diſtributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter ſeaſon, to and amongſt the ſaid ſix Alms-people, and this to continue for ever whiles the World ſhall endure, as by the ſaid Will may appear, which was afterwards accordingly effected by her ſaid Executors; which ſaid Lady *Elizabeth Hollys* and Sir *William Hollys*, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto *John Hollys* Knight, Earl of *Clare*, &c. deceaſed.

Corpus Chriſti Colledge in *Oxford*, when, and by whom founded.

Chriſt-Church in *Oxford* founded.

Hampton-Court by whom built.

St. *James* when firſt built.

Chriſt-Church Hoſpital in the Shambles founded.

Caſualties in his time.

IN his ninth year happened a Sweating-ſickneſs, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of *England* died, eſpecially in *London*; and was ſo violent, that in three, and ſometimes two hours, it took away mens lives, and ſpared neither rich nor poor; for in the Kings Court the Lord *Clinton*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, and many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers died of it. It began in *July*, and continued to the midſt of *December*. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in *London*, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worſhip died; amongſt others; Doctor *Fitz-James* Biſhop of *London*, in whoſe place Doctor *Tunſtall* ſucceeded. In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds there followed ſo ſore a Froſt, that many died for cold; and ſome loſt Fingers, ſome Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in ſeed-time, there followed a great dearth of Corn, which would have cauſed great calamity, but that it was relieved in *London* by Merchants of the *Steel-yard* out of *Germany*, and a thouſand quarters ſupplied out of the Kings own proviſion. In his twentieth year, in the end of *May*, began in *London* another Sweating-ſickneſs, which afterwards infected all places of the Realm; by reaſon whereof the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Aſſiſes alſo; many died in the Court, as Sir *Francis Poynes*, Sir *William Compton* Knights, and

A ſweating ſickneſs of which many great men died.

Another ſweating ſickneſs.

William Carew Esquire of the Kings Privy Chamber; the King himself for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to *Titting-hanger*, a place of the Abbot of St. *Albanes*, where he with the Queen and a small number remained, till the sickness was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of water under ground, without using of Soder, was first invented by *Robert Brocke* Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable Invention; for by this, two men and a boy will do more in one day, than could have been done before by many men in many days: *Robert Cooper* Goldsmith, was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North, in this Kings time, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was sent with an Army against the the Rebels, and that day of Battel between them was appointed, it happened, that the night before a small Brook called *Dun*, running between the two Armies, upon the fall of a small rain, swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a great rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his three and thirtieth year, was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Agues and Fluxes; and withal so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Cattel died for lack of water, and the *Thames* was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above *London*-Bridge, till the rain had encreased the fresh-waters. In his five and thirtieth year, the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in *England*, were made at *Buckstead* in *Sussex* by *Ralph Hage* and *Peter Bawde*. In his six and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, so as *Michaelmas* Term was adjourned to Saint *Albanes*, and there kept. In his seven and thirtieth year, on *Tuesday* in *Easter-week*, *William Foxley* Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of *London*, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching, or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen daies; and when he awaked, was found in all points, as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into *England*, whereupon this Rhyme was made:

Casting Pipes of Lead, without soder, when, and by whom first invented.

A miraculous sudden rising of the River *Dun*.

The first cast Pieces of Iron made.

One that slept fourteen days together without waking.

Divers things newly brought into *England*.

Turkeys, Carps, Hoppes, Piccarel, and Beer,
Came into ENGLAND *all in one year.*

Of his Wives and Children.

KIng *Henry* had six Wives; his first was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, the Relict of his Brother *Arthur*, she lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of *Katherine Dowager*, she deceased at *Kimbolton* in the County of *Huntingdon*, the eighth of *January* in the year 1535. and lieth interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*, under a Hearse of black Say, having a white Cross in the midst. His second Wife was *Anne* second Daughter of Sir *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Ormond*; she was married to him the five and twentieth day of *January*, in the year 1533. lived his Wife three years, three months, and five and twenty days, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Choir of the Chappel in the Tower. His third Wife was *Jane*, Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, and Sister to the Lord *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, and Duke of *Somerset*, she was married to him the next day after the beheading of Queen *Anne*, lived his Wife one year, five months, and four and twenty days, and then died in Child-bed; and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Castle of *Windsor*. His fourth Wife was *Anne*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, she lived his Wife six months, and then was divorced; she remained in *England* long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady *Elizabeth* through *London*, at the solemnizing of Queen *Maries* Coronation. His fifth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of *Edmund*, and Neece of *Thomas Howard* his Brother Duke of *Norfolk*; she was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign; lived his Wife one year, six months, and four days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of *London*, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappel by Queen *Anne Bullen*. His sixth Wife was *Katherine*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Parre* of *Kendall*, and Sister to the Lord *William Parre*, Marques of *Northampton*; she was first married to *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*, and after his decease to the King at *Hampton-Court*, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign: she was his Wife three years, six months, and five days; and then surviving him, was again married to *Thomas Seymour* Lord Admiral of *England*, unto whom she bore a daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen *Katherine*, *Henry* born at *Richmond*, who lived not full two months, and was buried at *Westminster*; also another Son, whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither: then a Daughter named *Mary*, born at *Greenwich*, in the eighth year of his Reign, and came afterward to be Queen of *England*. By his second Wife, Queen *Anne Bullen*, he had a Daughter named *Elizabeth*, born at *Greenwich*, in the five and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister *Mary* in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen *Jane*, he had a Son named *Edward*, born at *Hampton-Court* in the nine and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a base Son, named *Henry Fitz-Roy*, begotten of the Lady *Talboyse*, called *Elizabeth Blunt*, born at *Blackamore* in *Essex*, in the tenth year of his Reign; who was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*; married *Mary* Daughter of *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*; with whom he lived not long, but died at St. *James* by *Westminster*, and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolk*.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

HE was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong; fair of complexion, in his latter days corpulent and burly: concerning his conditions,

ditions, he was a Prince of so many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His cruelty to his Wives may not only be excused, but defended; for if they were incontinent, he did but Justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfie his conscience, that he thought he had cause to think them so; and if the marriage Bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacred. In suppressing of Abbeys he shewed not little Piety, but great Providence; for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilent, being abused; and then may the use be justly suppressed, when the abuse scarce possibly can be restrained. To think he suppressed Abbeys out of covetousness and desire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we shall find him certainly a great loser by the bargain. He was so far from pride, that he was rather too humble, at least he conversed with his Subjects in a more familiar manner than was usual with Princes. So valiant, that his whole life almost, was nothing but exercises of valour; and though performed amongst his friends in jest, yet they prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and they that durst be his Enemies found it. It may be said, the complexion of his Government for the first twenty years was sanguine and jovial; for the rest, cholerick and bloody: and it may be doubted, whether in the former, he were more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; so in any distemper of his people, he had no other Physick, but to open a vein: but we shall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood shed in his time, was of his shedding; they were the Bishops that were the *Draco* to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the *Phalaris*, to put them in execution: the King oftentimes scarce knowing what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord put a Gentlewoman the second time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for such extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it so great a beginning, that we may truly say of that he did, *Dimidium plus toto.* They who charge him with the vice of lust, let them shew such another example of continence as was seen in him, to lie six months by a young Lady, and not to touch her; for so did he with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*: but this is to make Nosegayes; I like better to leave every flower growing upon its stalk, that it be gathered fresh; which will be done by reading the story of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

IT is recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew so fat and slothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down; but howsoever in the six and fiftieth year of his age, whether by a Dropsie, or by reason of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languishing Fever, which brought him into such extremity, that his Physicians utterly despaired of his life, whereof yet none durst speak a word to him, till Master *Denny* one of his Privy Chamber took the boldness to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withal putting him in mind to think of his souls health; to which he answered, that he confessed his sins to be exceeding great, yet had such confidence in the mercy of God through Christ, that he doubted not of forgiveness though they had been much greater; and being then asked by Master *Denny*, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer, he answered he would willingly have the Archbishop *Cranmer*, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little rest: whereupon the Archbishop being then at *Croydon*; was presently sent for; but before he could come, the King was grown speechless, only seeming to retain a little memory, so as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop desiring him to shew some sign of his faith in Christ, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghost, the eight and twentieth of *January*, in the year 1547. the six and fiftieth of his age, and of his reign the eight and thirtieth: his Body with great solemnity was buried at *Windsor* under a most costly and stately Tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but never finished.

King Henry's Religious carriage at his death.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN famous for the Sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial, unless we shall prefer Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling; and then will the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* hold worthily the place first, and next to them the young Earl of *Surrey*, who had been more fortunate if he had been less valiant. Of men of Letters in his time, there were whole Armies in forein parts; the most famous were *Budæus*, *Ludovicus Vives*, *John Reuchlin*, *Erasmus Roterodamus*, *Ursinus*, *Cornarius*, *Sadolet*, *Martin Bucer*: In *England* were *John Collet* Dean of *Pauls*, and Founder of the Shool there. *William Lilly* born at *Odiham* in *Hampshire*, first School-Master of *Pauls* School, *Thomas Linaker* a learned Physician, *John Skelton* a pleasant Poet, *William Horman* Vice-Provost of *Eaton*, who wrote divers works, Sir *Thomas More*, *William Tindal*, *John Rastal* a Citizen and Stationer of *London*, *Christopher Saint-Germane* an excellent Lawyer, Sir *Thomas Elyot*, *John Leland* a diligent searcher of Antiquities, Sir *John Bourchier* Knight, Lord *Berners*, who translated the Chronicles of *Froyssard* out of *French* into *English*, *Henry Standish* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, who wrote a Book against *Erasmus* translation of the New Testament: *Arnold* of *London*, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters, *Thomas Lupset* a *Londoner*, who wrote sundry vertuous Treatises, *Henry Bradshaw* a black Monk, who wrote the life of Saint *Werborough*, and also a certain Chronicle; *John Palsgrave* a *Londoner*, who wrote instructions for the perfect understanding of the *French* tongue, *John Skuish* a *Cornish* man, who wrote certain abbreviations

John Collet Dean of Pauls.

John Skelton the pleasant Poet.

of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of *Troy*, *Anthony Fitz-Herbert* a Judge, who wrote an Abridgement of the Law, *Wilfride Holme* who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in *Lincolnshire*, *Thomas Lanquet* who wrote an Epitomy of Chronicles, and also of the winning of *Bulloigne*, *Thomas Soulman* of *Gernsey*, who wrote divers notes of History, *Cuthbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham*, *Robert Whittington*, who wrote divers Treatises for the instruction of Grammarians, *John Russel*, who wrote a Treatise entituled, *Super Jure Cæsaris & Papæ*, also Commentaries in *Cantica*; *Simon Fish* a *Kentish* man, who wrote a Book called the Supplication of Beggars, *George Bullen* Lord *Rochford* Brother to Queen *Anne*, who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets, *Francis Bigod* Knight born in *Yorkshire*, who wrote a Book against the Clergy, intituled *De Impropriationibus*, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, who wrote divers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as the Life of Sectaries, and certain Rhymes: *William Boteville alias Thynne*, who restored the Works of *Chaucer*, *Richard Turpin*, who serving in the Garrison of *Callice*, wrote a Chronicle of his time, and died in the year 1541. Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight, who wrote divers matters in *English* Metre, and translated the seven Penitential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was going Ambassadour to the Emperour, in the year 1541. *Henry Howard* Earl of *Surrey*, who wrote divers Treatises in *English* Metre; *John Field* a *Londoner*, who wrote a Treatise of mans Free-will, *De Servo hominis Arbitrio*, and Collections of the Common Laws of *England*, *Robert Shingleton* born in *Lancashire*, who wrote a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain Prophesies; *William Parry* a *Welsh* man, who wrote a Book entituled *Speculum Juvenum*.

Anthony Fitz-Herbert, who wrote an Abridgement of the Law.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* Knight.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings time.*

In his first year,
Thomas Bradbury was Mayor for part of the year, Sir *William Capel* for the rest.
George Monox, *John Duget*, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir *Henry Kebble* was Mayor.
John Milborne, *John Reft*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Roger Acheley* was Mayor.
Nicholas Shelton, *Thomas Merfine*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *William Copinger* was Mayor for part of the year, Sir *Richard Haddon* for the rest.
Rob. Holdernes or *Alderns*, *Rob. Fenrother*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *William Brown* was Mayor.
John Dawes, *John Bruges*, *Roger Bosford* Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir *George Monox* was Mayor.
James Yarford, *John Mundy*, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir *William Butler* was Mayor.
Henry Warley, *Rich. Gray*, *William Baily*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *John Reft* was Mayor.
Thomas Seymour, *John* or *Rich. Thurston*, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *Thomas Exmewe* was Mayor.
Tho. Baldrie, *Ralph*, or *Richard Simons*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Merfine* was Mayor.
John Allen, *James Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *James Yarford* was Mayor.
John Wilkinson, *Nicholas Patrich*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *John Brug* was Mayor.
John Skevington, *John Kyme*, alias *Keble*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Milborn* was Mayor.
John Breton, or *Britain*, *Tho. Pargitor*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Mundy* was Mayor.
John Rudstone, *John Champneis*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Baldrie* was Mayor.
Michael English, *Nicholas Jennings*, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir *William Bailey* was Mayor.
Ralph Dodmere, *William Roche*, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.
John Caunton, or *Calton*, *Christ. Askew*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Seymour* was Mayor.
Stephen Peacock, *Nicholas Lambert*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *James Spencer* was Mayor.
John Hardy, *William Hollis*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *John Rudstone* was Mayor.
Ralph Warren, *John Long*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,
Sir *Ralph Dodmer* was Mayor.
Michael Dormer, *Walter Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir *Thomas Pargitor* was Mayor.
Will. Danteſey, or *Dancy*, *Rich. Champion*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year,
Sir *Nicholas Lambert* was Mayor.
Richard Gresham, *Edward Altham*, Sheriffs.

In

In his twenty fourth year.
Sir *Stephen Peacock* was Mayor.
Richard Reynolds, John Martin, Nicholas Pinchon, John Prieſt, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year,
Sir *Chriſtopher Askew* was Mayor.
William Forman, Thomas Kitſon, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſixth year,
Sir *John Champneis* was Mayor.
Nicholas Leveſon, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ſeventh year,
Sir *John Allen* was Mayor.
Humfrey Monmouth, John Cotes, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Sir *Ralph Warren* was Mayor.
Robert or *Rich. Paget, William Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir *Richard Greſham* was Mayor.
John Greſham, Thomas Lewin, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
Sir *William Forman* was Mayor.
VVilliam Wilkinſon, Nicholas Gibſon, Sheriffs

In his thirty firſt year,
Sir *VVilliam Hollys* was Mayor.
Thomas Ferrer, Thomas Huntlow, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſecond year,
Sir *VVilliam Roche* was Mayor.
VVilliam Laxſtone, Martin Bows, , Sheriffs.

In histhirty third year,
Sir *Michael Dormer* was Mayor.
Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir *John Cotes* was Mayor.
Henry Hobberthorn, Henry Amcoats, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
Sir *VVilliam Bowyer* was Mayor.
John Tholouſe, Richard Dobbes, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſixth year,
Sir *VVilliam Laxton* was Mayor.
John VVilford, Andrew Jud, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ſeventh year,
Sir *Martin Bows* was Mayor.
George Barne, Ralph Allen, or *Alley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Sir *Henry Hobberthorne* was Mayor.
Richard Jarveis, Thomas Curteis, Sheriffs.

THE

The REIGN of KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Anno. Dom. 1547.

IT was now in the year 1547. when on the eight and twentieth of *January* King *Henry* dying, Prince *Edward* his Son, by his third Wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and the only Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his laſt Will, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom; to whom as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had aſſigned eight and twenty Counſellours; a fit number, if agreeing amongſt themſelves; too many if at variance: and at variance they would ſoon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord; the firſt work therefore neceſſary to be done in this new world, was to make choice of ſuch a man as might be to the Counſellours a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority, to the Kingdom. To this place by common conſent of the King and Council: *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hartford*, the Kings Uncle was choſen to hold the place, until the King ſhould accompliſh the age of eigteen years. In which Office the firſt thing he did, was to make the young King Knight, who preſently thereupon, made *Henry Hibblethorn* Mayor of *London* Knight; and then King *Henry*'s Obſequies being ſolemnly performed, on the ſeventeenth of *February*, were raiſed in honour the Earl of *Hartford* Protector, to be Duke of *Somerſet*, *William Par* Earl of *Eſſex*, to be Marqueſs of *Northampton*, *Dudley* Vicount *Liſle*, to be Earl of *Warwick*, *Wriothſley* Lord Chancellour, to be Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Seymour* the Protectors Brother was made Lord *Sudeley*, and Admiral of *England*, Sir *Richard Rich* was made Lord *Rich*, Sir *William Willoughby* was made Lord *Willoughby*, and Sir *Edmund Sheffield* was made Lord *Sheffield* of *Butterwick*: On the nineteenth of *February* the King in great ſtate rode from the *Tower* to the Palace of *Weſtminſter*, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all rites accuſtomed, in great ſolemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, ſix only excepted, namely the Duke of *Norfolk*, Cardinal *Pool*, *Edward Courtney*, eldeſt Son to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, Maſter *Forteſcue*, Maſter *Throgmorton*, and Doctor *Pates* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who was fled to *Rome*, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy, all which ſix continued unpardoned, till the firſt year of Queen *Mary*, and then were reſtored. A few dayes after the Earl of *Southhampton* Lord Chancellour, for being contumacious to the reſt of the Lords in matters of counſel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellour, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered Sir *William Pawlet*, Lord *Saint-John*, and Lord great Maſter of the Kings Houſhold.

This Earl of *Hartford* choſen Protector.

Advancement of divers in honour.

King *Edward* is Crowned.

Within two months after the death of King *Henry*, died *Francis* King of *France* alſo, for whom ſolemn Obſequies were kept in *Pauls* Church, as he likewiſe had kept before at *Paris* for King *Henry*: theſe two Kings were of ſo conſenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealouſie of ſtate had not made them oftentimes not to be themſelves.

Francis King of *France* dieth.

King *Henry* before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means poſſible, to procure a proceeding in the marriage with the young Queen of *Scots*; and now in diſcharge thereof the Lord Protector himſelf, with an Army of twelve thouſand Foot, and ſix thouſand Horſe, beſides Labourers and Pioneers thirteen hundred, entred *Scotland* the third of *September*: at which time alſo *Edward* Lord *Clinton* with a Fleet of threeſcore Sail aſſiſted by Sea; but before he would do any hoſtile Act, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms; which if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner. and the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into *England*, and there to be brought up, the Protector was content, ſhe ſhould remain in *Scotland* till years of conſent: this demand, the more moderate ſort of the *Scots* accounted very reaſonable, but thoſe of the *French* and Papal Faction, who were the greateſt perſons, and the greateſt number, ſtrongly oppoſed; whereupon the Lord Protector preſently put his Army into Array; the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Francis Brian*, with eight hundred Light-Horſe, were ſent before to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertiſement of the enemies approaches; then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thouſand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and ſix hundred Light-horſe, led by the Earl of *Warwick*; then followed the main Battel, conſiſting of above ſix thouſand Foot, ſix hundred

The Protector enters *Scotland* with an Army, and why.

How he marſhalled his Army.

dred men at Arms, and one thousand Light-horse led by the Protector himself; lastly followed the Arrear, wherein were between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-horse, under the conduct of the Lord *Dacres*; upon one Wing the Artillery was drawn, being sixteen Pieces of great Ordnance; the other Wing was made by men at Arms and Demilances; for the Avant-guard and half the battel, riding about two flight shoot from their side, the other half of the battel, and the whole flank of the Arrear was closed by the Carriages, being nine hundred Carts besides Waggons; the rest of the men at Arms, and the Demilances marched behind. In this order they marched two daies, taking in three Castles as they went, with little resistance: where it is memorable, what a sudden device the Defendants of one of them used to save themselves; for finding they were no longer able to defend themselves, and that their obstinacy had excluded all hope of pardon; they made suit, that they might not presently be slain, but have some time to commend their souls to God, and afterwards be hanged: which respite being obtained, their Pardon afterward did more easily ensue. So much doth the winning of time oftentimes prevail, more than any other policy. The Governour of *Scotland*, hearing of the Protectors approach, and having no sufficient Army ready to resist him, sent his Heralds abroad, into all parts of the Realm, and commanded the Fire-crosses to be carried (an ancient custom in cases of importance) which was two firebrands set in fashion of a Cross, and pitched upon the point of a Spear, and therewith Proclamation to be made, that all above sixteen years of age, and under sixty, should resort forthwith to *Musselborough*, and bring convenient provision of victuals with them. By this means, having gotten a sufficient Army, he set forward towards the *English*, who were now come to the River called *Linne*: and here the Earl of *Warwick*, being too venturous, was like to have been entrapped, but by his valour came off bravely; and now the *Scottish* Horsemen began to hover about the *English* Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the *English* from their strength; but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march till he came to *Salt-Preston* by the *Frith*, where he incamped within two miles of the *Scottish* Army: and here the *Scots* having gotten the advantage of a Hill came upon the *English* with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill; at which time the Lord *Gray* and *Francis Brian*, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them, and so as they came scattered upon the spur, within a stones cast of the *English*, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord *Gray* with some Troops of Light-horse-men, charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms; yet the *Scots* resolutely maintained the fight three hours and more, but in the end, overlaid with number, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefest force of the *Scottish* Horse-men was defeated, the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and six Gentlemen were taken prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain: the next day, the Protector and the Earl of *Warwick* rode towards the place where the *Scottish* Army lay, to view the manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the *Scots* overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord *Huntley* his Master, to spare effusion of Christian bloud, would fight upon the whole quarrel, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself: the Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargain; and as for himself, that being in Publick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of Private Conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept: here the Earl of *Warwick* intreated the Lord General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter (saith he) bring me word, that thy Master will perform the Combate with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains; nay, rather (saith the Lord General) bring me word, that thy Master will abide and give us battel, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains: and thereupon, when no other agreement could be made, a general battel was resolved on; in the Army of the *Scots* were five or six and thirty thousand men; in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of *Angus*, about fifteen thousand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord Governour, about ten thousand; and the Arrear as many, led by the valiant *Gourdon*, Earl of *Huntley*. *Hackbutters* they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horsemen (Prickers as they term them) the rest were all on foot, well furnished with Jacks and Scull, Pikes, Daggers, Bucklers made of boord, and slicing swords broad and thin; every man had a long Kerchiffe, folded twice or thrice about his neck, and many of them had chains of Lattin, drawn three or four times along their hoses or doublet sleeves: they had also, to affright the Enemies Horses, great rattles covered with Parchment or Paper, and small stones within put upon staves three ells long. And now both Armies joyned in Battel, where after a long fight, and much variety of fortune on both sides, at length the victory fell to the *English*: in this fight, divers of the Nobility of *Scotland* were slain,; of the inferiour sort about ten, or, as some say, fourteen thousand; of the *English* were slain one and fifty Horsemen, and one Footman, but many hurt; the Lord *Gray* was dangerously thrust with a Pike in the mouth, which struck two inches into his neck: the *Scottish* Prisoners, accounted by the Marshals Book, were about fifteen hundred, the chief whereof were, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord *Yester*, *Hobley*, and *Hamilton*, the Master of *Sanc-Poole* and the Lord of *Wimmes*; The Earl of *Huntley* being asked, whilst he was a Prisoner, how

The profit of winning time.

The Fire-crosses erected in *Scotland*, and what it was.

The Battel of *Musselborough* Field.

The Lord *Huntley* challengeth the Protector to a single Combat: and the Protectors Answer.

How the *Scots* Army was Marshalled.

The great number of *Scots* slain, and the small number of the *English*.

how he ſtood affected to the Marriage? Made this anſwer, That he liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of woing. This Victory of *Muſkleborough* againſt the *Scots*, was on the tenth of *December*, the very ſame day on which thirty years before a Victory had been had againſt them at *Flodden* field; ſo as it ſeems this day was fatal to the *Scots*, and confirms the opinion of Aſtrologers, that there are days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known. This victory ſtruck ſuch a terror into many of the *Scots*, that the Earl of *Bothwel* & divers chief Gentlemen of *Tividale* and *Meers* ſubmitted themſelves to the King of *England*, and were received by the Protector into his protection: After this, the *Engliſh* Army took many Towns and Caſtles, and then for want of Proviſion, returned into *England*, having not ſtayed above five and twenty days in *Scotland*, and not loſt above threeſcore men. After the taking of *Muſkelborough*, the Duke of *Somerſet* made many Knights, but three eſpecially; namely, Sir *Ralph Sadler* Treaſurer, Sir *Francis Brian* Captain of the Light Horſe, and Sir *Ralph Vane* Lieutenant of all the Horſemen: he made Bannerets, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron; and theſe were the laſt that from that time to this, did ever receive this dignity. But notwithſtanding this great overthrow at *Muſkelborough*, the Governour of *Scotland* would not yet be quiet; but aſſembling the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any event of war.

Days to ſome men fortunate, and unfortunate to others.

In this time many diſtractions and troubles happened in *England*; partly, in matters of Religion, and partly about Incloſures: and firſt for Incloſures, the Lord Protector cauſed Proclamation to be ſet forth, commanding that they who had incloſed any Lands accuſtomed to lie open, ſhould upon a certain pain, before a day aſſigned, lay them open again: And then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were ſet forth, for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were ſent with Inſtructions to diſſwade the people from praying to Saints, or for the dead; from uſe of Beads, Aſhes and Proceſſions; from Maſſes, Dirges, praying in any unknown Tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publickly to be read in Churches: and many for offering to maintain theſe Ceremonies, were either puniſhed, or forced to recant. *Edmund Bonner*, Biſhop of *London*, was committed to the Fleet, for refuſing to receive theſe Injunctions; *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Winchester*, was likewiſe committed firſt to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached, It were well theſe changes in Religion ſhould be ſtayed untill the King were of years to govern by himſelf: for the like cauſes *Tunſtall*, Biſhop of *Durham*, *Heath*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Day*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, were in like manner committed to priſon, and all of them diſpoſſeſſed of their Biſhopricks; and that which was worſe, the Biſhopricks themſelves were diſpoſſeſſed of their Revenues, in ſuch ſort, that a very ſmall part remained to the Biſhops that came after.

Incloſures commanded to be laid open.

Injunctions ſet forth in matters of Religion.

Divers Biſhops committed to Priſon.

And now a Parliament was held, in the firſt year of the King, and by Prorogation in the ſecond; wherein divers Chantries, Colledges, free Chappels, Fraternities and Guildes, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King; which being ſold at a low rate, enriched many, and ennobled ſome, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the change: alſo it was then ordered, that no man ſhould ſpeak againſt receiving the Euchariſt in both kinds, and that Biſhops ſhould be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Patents, without any election preceding, or confirmation enſuing; and that all Proceſſes Eccleſiaſtical ſhould be made in the Kings name, as in Writs at the Common Law; and that all perſons exerciſing Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, ſhould have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Office: and further, the Statute of the ſix Articles and other Statutes concerning puniſhment of Lollards were repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the Church of *England* was confirmed.

A Parliament, in which many things ordered concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

All this while the Wars in *Scotland* continued, and were managed by the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* with variable ſucceſs; and now about this time was ſent to him in aid, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* with fifteen thouſand men; againſt him, in aid of the *Scots*, was ſent the *Rhinegrave* with ten thouſand *French*; who entring into conſultation, how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the *Engliſh*, provided a Fleet, and ſailing round about *Scotland*, notwithſtanding the *Engliſh* Fleet lay in wait to impeach their paſſage, yet conveyed her ſafely into *France*, being then but ſix years old, accompanied in the journey with *James* her baſe Brother, *John Erskin*, and *William Leviſton*; and in *April* following was married to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

The young Queen of *Scots* is conveyed into *France*.

She is married at ſix years old to *Francis* the Dauphin of *France*.

1548.

You heard before the alterations in Religion: now hear the troubles; for when the Injunctions were ſent abroad into the Country, and Commiſſioners appointed to ſee them executed: one Maſter *Bodye* a Commiſſioner, as he was pulling down Images in *Cornwall*, was ſuddenly by a Prieſt ſtabbed into the body with a Knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outragss; and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in *Smithfield*, and many of his Complices executed in divers parts of the Realm, and withal a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that ſeverity, nor this lenity reſtrain them from their inſolencies; but in divers Countries, as *Suſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Kent*, *Gloſterſhire*, *Warwickshire*, *Woſterſhire*, but ſpecially in *Somerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire*, great Aſſemblies of people gathered to a head; whoſe chief Leaders were *Humfrey Arundel*, and about ſix others of inferiour note, but many Prieſts. Some of theſe (we may ſay) were Common-wealth mutineers; and ſome mutined for Religion: they who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing; ſome would have no Juſtices, ſome no Gentlemen, ſome no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Juſtice; but above all, Incloſures muſt down; but whether all, or which, or how to be imployed, none could tell. The religious Mutineers were not altogether ſo various in their voices, as having

The troubles that enſued upon the alteration of Religion.

ſome

some few amongst them by whom they were guided: these in the name of the people hammered up these Articles following; upon granting of which, they professed that both their bodies and goods should be at the Kings devotion.

1. *That Curates should administer Baptism at all times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.*
2. *That their children might be confirmed by the Bishop.*
3. *That the Mass might be celebrated, no man communicating with the Priest.*
4. *That they might have reservation of the Lords body in their Churches.*
5. *That they might have holy Bread and holy Water in remembrance of Christs precious Body and Blood.*
6. *That Priests might live unmarried.*
7. *That the six Articles, set forth by King* Henry *the Eighth, might be continued, at least till the King should come to full age.*

1549. Upon these demands, the King, although he knew that Reasons would little prevail with unreasonable men: yet to discharge the place he held, he sent them in writing Answers to them all, and withal a general Pardon, if they would desist and lay down Arms. But the seditious growing the more outragious, the fairer they were intreated; and finding themselves unable to subsist with their own estates, began to think upon the spoil of Cities; and first they came to *Exeter*, and demanded entrance, which the Citizens refusing, they fell to set fire on the Gates; but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in wood and maintaining the fire, till they had cast up a half Moon within; upon which when the Seditious attempted to enter, they were presently hewn and cut in pieces. And after this they mined the walls, laid Powder, and rammed the mouth; but the Citizens prevented this also, by making a countermine, whereinto they poured such plenty of water, that the wet powder could not be fired. All this while, the Lord *Russel*, Lord Privy Seal, who had been sent down to suppress the Commotion, lay at *Huntington*, expecting more Forces; whilst the Citizens of *Exeter* for twelve daies together endured so great famine, that they were fain to eat Horses, and make bread of course Bran moulded in cloaths, for that otherwise it would not cleave together. At last the Lord *Gray* came to the Lord *Russel* with supply of Forces; who after many conflicts with the Rebels, forced them to raise their siege at *Exeter*; and thereby freed the City from many miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the Mannor of *Evyland*, in reward for their loyalty. After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, were again set upon by the Kings Army, and the greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many were taken and executed by Marshal Law; the chief Leaders were sent to *London*, and there executed. The sedition being thus suppressed, it is memorable what sport Sir *William Kingston* the Provost Marshal made, by vertue of his Office, upon men in misery. One *Boyer*, Maior of *Bodwin* in *Cornwall*, had been amongst the Rebels, not willingly, but enforced; to him the Provost sent word he would come and dine with him; for whom the Maior made great provision; a little before Dinner, the Provost took the Maior aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the Town, and therefore required to have a pair of Gallows set up against dinner should be done; the Maior failed not of his charge; presently after dinner the Provost taking the Maior by the hand, intreated him to lead him to the place where the Gallows was, which when he beheld, he asked the Maior if he thought them to be strong enough; yes (said the Maior) doubtless they are; Well then, said the Provost, get you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I hope (answered the Maior) you mean not as you speak: In faith (said the Provost) there is no remedy, for you have been a busie Rebel; and so without respit or defence he was hanged to death; a most uncourteous part, for a guest to offer his host. Near the said place dwelt a Miller, who had been a busie actor in that Rebellion; who, fearing the approach of the Marshal, told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occasion to go from home, and therefore bid him, that if any man came to enquire after the Miller, he should not speak of him, but say that himself was the Miller, and had been so for three years before. So the Provost came and called for the Miller, when out comes the servant, and saith, he was the man. The Provost demanded how long he had kept the Mill? *These three years*, answered the Servant. Then the Provost commanded his men to lay hold on him, and hang him on the next Tree. At this the Fellow cried out, that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man: *Nay Sir* (said the Provost) *I will take you at your word: and if thou beest the Miller, thou art a busie knave; if thou beest not, thou art a false lying knave: and howsoever, thou canst never do thy Master better service than to hang for him*: and so without more ado he was dispatched.

Exeter endured a siege of the Rebels to extreme famine.

For which loyalty the King gave them the Mannor of *Evyland*.

Sir *William Kingstons* merry cruelty.

An Insurrection in *Norfolk* about Inclosures, by *Ket* a Tanner.

When this Sedition in *Devonshire* was appeased, there arose another in *Norfolk*, and that specially upon a grievance for Inclosures; The Rebels had got one *Robert Ket*, a Tanner of *Wimondham*, to be their Leader, and were grown to a Body of twenty thousand, seating themselves at *Monshold* near *Mount-Surrey*, where they carried a face as it were of Justice and Religion; for they had one *Conyers* an idle fellow to be their Chaplain, who morning and evening read solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often; and as for Justice, they had a Bench under a Tree, where *Ket* usually sate, and with him two of every Hundred whence their Companies had been raised, to hear complaints, & to give Judgment (and from hence were Warrants sent in the Kings name, to bring in Powder, shot, Victuals, and all things necessary: Which Tree hath ever since been called the *Tree of Reformation*. And now being grown to a height, they presented certain Complaints to the King, requiring, he would send a Herald to them, to give them satisfaction. The King, though he took it for a great indignity to have such base Fellows to capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the time, he returned this answer; That in *October* following he would call a *Parliament*, wherein their Complaints should be heard, and all their Grievances should be redressed, requiring them in the mean time, to lay down Arms, and return to their houses, and thereupon granting them a

Their shews of Religion.

general Pardon. But this was so far from satisfying the Seditious, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of *Norwich*, took it, and made the Mayor attend them as their Servant, and then returned again to their station at *Monshold*. Not long after, *William Parre*, Marques of *Northampton*, with the Lord *Sheffield*, the Lord *Wentworth*, divers Knights and fifteen hundred horse, with a small Band of *Italians*, was sent against them; whom the Seditious so stoutly opposed, that much mischief was done on both sides; the Lord *Sheffield*, falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner, and as he pulled off his Helmet to shew who he was, he was by a Butcher strucken down with a Club and slain: So as the Marques with his Forces not prevailing, there was afterward sent the Earl of *Warwick* with Six thousand Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords *Willoughby*, *Powis*, & *Bray*, his two Sons *Ambrose* and *Robert*, and many Knights and Gentlemen of name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditious, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings Pardon, if they would desist; but they were so far from accepting it, that a lewd Boy turned up his naked breech towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this, many Skirmishes passed between the Earl and them, with loss sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another; at last they came to a Battel, where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand. and now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist; but for all their losses, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon, in case he should come in Person and assure them of it: This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would imbrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and causing their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, wishing all joy and prosperity to the King: Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the *Tree of Reformation*; *Ket* himself flying away was taken and hanged in Chains upon *Norwich* Castle. The day of this defeat of the Seditious was a long time after observed for a Festival day by the Inhabitants of *Norwich*. And thus ended the Sedition in *Norfolk*; When at the same time another arose in *York shire*, whereof the chief movers were *William Ombler* a Gentleman, *Thomas Dale* a Parish Clerk, and *Stephenson* a Post, to whom were assembled four or five thousand, who took their encouragement from a certain Prophesie, which did foretel, That the time should come, when there should be no King; when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Realm should be ruled by four Governours elected by the Commons, holding a *Parliament* in commotion, which should begin at the *South* and *North* Seas of *England*: and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of *Devonshire*, *Norfolk*, and *Yorkshire*, should draw together to accomplish this *Prophesie*. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of *Devonshire* and *Norfolk* were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the *Prophesie*; and thereupon presently, upon the Kings Pardon, they fell off and dispersed, their chief Leaders, *Ombler*, *Dale*, and four others were executed at *York*; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

They assault the Town of *Norwich*.

They encounter the Kings Forces.

They refuse Pardon offered them.

At last they imbrace Pardon, if the Earl of *Warwick* will bring it to them himself.

Ket is taken and hanged.

Another Insurrection at the same time in *York shire*, upon the conceit of a Prophesie.

But these also upon the Kings Pardon lay down their Arms.

But the King of *France* taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty before of Peace with *England*, yet now he brake off the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassadour to the King: hereupon all *Frenchmen* in *England*, not Denizens, were taken prisoners, and all their Goods seized for the King; which the *French* King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize *Gernsey* and *Jersey*, but was repelled with the loss of a thousand men. After this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in Person against *Bulloign*, defended by the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold*; but being weary of the Work, he left his Lieutenant *Chatillon* to pursue the Siege, who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last assaults, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals; and to this end, charged a Galley with gravel & stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven, but the *English* took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence; after this they made faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Rosin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to fire the Ships in the Haven, but that enterprise was defeated by the *Bulloigners*, and the faggots taken from the *French*; and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

The *French* King taking advantage of these Seditions in *England*, goes with an Army against *Bulloigne* which the valiant Sir *Nicholas Arnold* defended.

But in *England*, in the mean time, an unfortunate accident hapned, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; wherof, though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the pride of a Woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly most tender, Precedency of place: the Protector had married *Anne Stanhope*, a Woman of a haughty stomack, and the Lord Admiral, his Brother, the Queen *Dowager*, a Lady of great mildness: the neerness of the Husbands, gave occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchess would inwardly murmur, why she being the Wife of the elder Brother, & the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man; this envy of hers towards the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife; and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-bed, yet the malice of the Dutchess towards the Admiral lived still (so hard a thing it is for malice, once settled in a Womans heart, to be removed;) out of this malice, she puts divers surmises into her Husband the Protectors head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end, he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as milliking his Government being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist: In this case causes of jealousie against the Admiral were obvious enough, for it was known

Contention for place between the Queen *Dowager*, Wife of the Lord Admiral, and the Lady *Anne Stanhope*, Wife of the Protector.

She makes variance between the two Brothers their Husbands.

known that in King *Henries* time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* King *Henries* second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen *Dowager* being dead (and not without suspicion of poyson) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not be thought to tend but to some very high aspiring end: The Protector a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight into practices, whether too importunately provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest mind, not willing to patronize faults, though in a Brother, gave way to Accusations brought against him, so as in a Parliament then holden, he was accused for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King, and Government of the Realm, for endeavouring to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* the Kings Sister, for perswading the King in his tender years to take upon him the rule and ordering of himself; upon which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned; and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head; wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block; for whilest these Brothers lived and held together, they were as a strong Fortress one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals stoutness; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine. Besides, there was at this time, amongst the Nobility, a kind of faction; Protestants who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other of the Papal inclination, who favoured him for his Brothers sake; but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother; and perhaps more than all this, the Earl of *Warwick*, at this time, was the most powerful man both in Courage and counsel amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and durst, or durst and was able to stand against him: however it was, not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with sundry Accusations, wherein the Earl of *Warwick* made not always the greatest show, but yet had always the greatest hand; one thing the Protector had done, which though a private act, yet gave a publick distaste.

The Admiral in Parliament is accused of divers Crimes.

He is beheaded.

After his death the Protector is accused.

Somerset-house builded by the Protector with Sacriledge.

To make him a Mansion house in the *Strand* (the same which is now called *Somerset-house*) he pulled down a Church, and two Bishops Houses by the *Strand Bridge*; in digging the foundation wherof, the bones of many who had been there buried, were cast out and carried into the fields; and because the Stones of those Houses and the Church sufficed not for his work, the Steeple, and most part of the Church of St. *Johns* of *Jerusalem* near *Smithfield*, was mined & overthrown with Powder, and the stones applied to this spatious Building; and more than this, the Cloyster of *Pauls* on the North side of the Church, in a place called *Pardon* Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chappel that stood in the midst of the Church-yard; also the *Charnel* House, that stood on the South side of *Pauls* (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chappel, Timber, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into *Finsbury fields*, and the Stones converted into this Building. This Act of the Protectors did something alienate the peoples minds from him; which the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving, thought it now a fit time to be falling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Council to joyn with him, who withdrawing themselves from the Court, held secret consultations together, and walked in the City with many Servants weaponed, and in new Liveries; whereof when the *Protector* heard, he sent Secretary *Peter* to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to resort to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends; but in the mean time, he armed five hundred men, and removed the King by night from *Hampton-Court* to *Windsor*: On the other side, the Lords at *London*, having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, to the Earl of *Warwicks* Lodging at *Ely-house* in *Holborn*; to whom the Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor, made a long Oration, wherin he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many mischiefs that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and thereupon requiring them to joyn with the Lords there assembled to remove him; and presently that day, a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Counsellors that subscribed their names were these: The Lord *Rich* Chancellor, the Lord *Saint-John* Lord great Master, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Warwick* Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Arundell* Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Thomas Cheyney* Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir *John Gage* Constable of the Tower, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, Sir *Edward North* Knight, Sir *Edward Montague* chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir *John Baker* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Edward Wootton*, Sir *Richard Southwell* Knights: and Doctor *Wootton* Dean of *Canterbury*. In the afternoon of the same day, the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in the *Guild-hall*, where two Letters arrived almost in one instant, from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be armed for defence of the Kings Person; another from the Lords at *London*, for two thousand men to aide them in defence of the Kings Person also; both pretending alike, and therefore hard how to please them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector, in such sort, that he made many inclinable to favour that side, but one named *George Stadlow* better advised, stept up, and in a long Speech shewed what mischiefs had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aide to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened unto,

The Earl of *Warwick* draws many of the Lords to joyn against the Protector.

and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemen, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City; and to the Letters returned submissive, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir *Ed. Winkfield*, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to *Windsor*; who so well perswaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was contented to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two days after to be carried to the Tower: In whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the Kings Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council: soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower, certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with expres condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings Affairs, but by assent of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Command; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

The Protector is sent to the Tower.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by contesting; or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent (for indeed in so great a place, who can bear himself with such sincerity but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgment with his own hand; humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and desiring their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feasted by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Counsellor, but no more Protector: At which time, between him and the Lords, a shew at least of perfect amity was made; and to make it the more firm, the Dukes Daughter was afterward married to the Lord *Lisle*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Warwick*; at which marriage the King was present; and perhaps to honour their reconcilement and this Marriage, The Earl of *Warwick* was made Lord Admiral of *England*, Sir *John Russel* Lord Privy Seal was created Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Saint-John* was created Earl of *Wiltshire*, and soon after made Lord Treasurer, Sir *William Paget*, Controllour of the Kings House, was made Lord *Paget*, Sir *Anthony Winkfield*, Captain of the Guard, was made Controllour, and Sir *Thomas Darcye* was made Captain of the Guard. But of the other side the Earl of *Arundell*, the Earl of *Southampton*, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of *Southampton* died shortly after at *Lincoln Place* in *Holborn*, and was buried in St. *Andrews* Church there.

Upon his submission he is released, but no more Protector.

Divers Lords made.

1550.

About this time a Parliament was held at *Westminster*, wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophesies; another against unlawful Assemblies: but for fear of new tumults, the Parliament was untimely dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also, *Trinity* Term did not hold.

About this time also, Pope *Paul* the third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope; the Imperial part, which was the greatest gave their Voices for Cardinal *Poole*; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to choose one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the Church: upon this stop, some that were no friends to *Poole*, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of *Lutheranism*, as having been very conversant with *Immanuel Tremellius*, and *Anthonius Flaminius*, great *Lutherans*; and not altogether without blemish of incontinency, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations *Poole* so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place than he was before: and thereupon one night the Cardinals came unto him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him (which is one special kind of electing the Pope;) but he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, That this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the *Italian* Cardinals, attributing this putting off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in *Poole*, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal *Montanus* Pope, who was afterward named *Julius* the Third.

Cardinal *Poole* is chosen Pope, but making excuses, is rejected.

And now the King of *France*, upon many just Considerations, was grown desirous to have a Peace with *England*; and thereupon sent one *Guidolti* a *Florentine* into *England*, to make some overure of his desire to the Lords of the Council; who addressing himself to the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadours should be sent from the King of *England* into *France*, and four from the *French* King, to Treat with them. The Commissioners for the *English* were *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *William* Lord *Paget*; Sir *William Peter*, and Sir *John Mason*, Secretaries of State. For the *French*, were *Monsieur Rochpot*, *Monsieur Chatillon*, *Guyllart de Martier*, and *Rochetelle de Dassie*. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the *English*, to satisfie the *French*, were contented it should be before *Bulloigne*, where were many Meetings, and many differences about Conditions: but in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, that *Bulloigne* and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the *French* within six Weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the *French* should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns, within three days after delivery of the Town; and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of *August* following: Hostages were on both sides given for performance, and

A Peace between *England* and *France*, upon payment of four hundred thousand Crowns

to

to those Articles the *French* King was sworn at *Amyens*, and the King of *England* in *London*: The Lord *Clinton*, who had been Deputy of *Bulloigne*, was made Lord Admiral of *England*.

Presently after this Agreement, the Duke of *Brunswick* sent to the King of *England*, to offer his Service in the Kings Wars, with Ten thousand men, and to intreat a Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, the Kings eldest Sister. To his offer of Aide, answer was made, That the Kings Wars were ended: And touching the Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, That the King was in speech for her Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Embassadour demanded of the King, That the Lady *Mary* might have free exercise of the Mass; which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken, That no man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preach before him: And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also an Embassadour came from *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, to enter League with the King for entercourse of Merchants; and charge was then also given, that the Laws of *England* should be administred in *Ireland*.

The Laws of *England* first administred in *Ireland*.

1551.

About this time the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, going from *France* to her Country, passed through *England*, having first obtained a safe Conduct, she arrived at *Portsmouth*, and was there met by divers of the *English* Nobility; conducted to *London*, she was lodged in the *Bishops-Palace*: After four days staying, having been Feasted by the King at *White-Hall*, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of *Scotland*. And now was one *Steward* a *Scot* apprehended in *England*, and imprisoned in the *Tower*, for intending to poyson the young Queen of *Scots*, whom the King delivered to the *French* King upon the frontiers of *Callice*, to be by him Justiced at his pleasure.

The Emperour seeks to get the Lady *Mary* by stealth out of *England*.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperour, to Transport the Lady *Mary* either by violence or by stealth out of *England* to *Antwerp*; whereupon Sir *John Gates* was sent with Forces into *Essex*, where the Lady lay: and besides, the Duke of *Somerset* was sent with two hundred men, the Lord Privie Seal with other two hundred, and Master *Sentleger* with four hundred more, to several Coasts upon the Sea; and the Lord Chancellour and Secretary *Peter* were sent to the Lady *Mary*, who, after some Conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellour's House at *Lyee* in *Essex*, and from thence to the King at *Westminster*. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Mass, and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit, unless she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, That her Soul was Gods: and touching her Faith, as she could not change, so she would not dissemble it. Reply was made, That the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward profession of it, in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like enterchange of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Embassadour from the Emperour, with a threatning Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady *Mary* should be denied the free exercise of the Mass: Hereupon the King presently advised with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and with the Bishop of *London* and *Rochester*, who gave their Opinion, That to give Licence to sin, was sin; but to connive at sin, might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation: Then Answer was given to the Embassadour, That the King would send to the Emperour within a month or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fit.

The Lady *Mary* is constant to her Religion.

To connive is less than to give Licence.

And now the King being uncertain of the faith, both of his Subjects and of his Confederates, intended by alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one *Bartwick*, to the King of *Denmark* with private Instructions, to Treat of a Marriage between the Lady *Elizabeth*, the King's youngest Sister, and the King of *Denmark*'s eldest Son: but when it came to the point, this Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any.

The Lady *Elizabeth* cannot be induced to marry.

After this the Marques of *Northampton* was sent Embassadour to the *French* King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to Treat with him of other secret Affairs: With him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Philip Hobbie*, Sir *William Pickering*, Sir *John Mason*, and Master *Smith* Secretary of State; also the Earl of *Worcester*, *Rutland*, and *Ormond* were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords *Lisles*, *Fitz-Water*, *Bray*, *Abergavenny*, and *Evers*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of Six and twenty: And for avoiding of an immoderate Train, Order was given, That every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of *France*, they were forthwith brought to the King, being then in his Bed-Chamber: To whom the Marques presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested. Then the Bishop of *Ely* in a short Speech, declared how the King of *England*, out of his love and desire of Amity, had sent this Order to his Majesty; desiring withal, That some persons might be authorized to Treat with them about some other matters of Importance; whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Chastillion* the Constable, the Duke of *Guysne*, and others. At first, the *English* demanded, That the young Queen of *Scots* might be sent into *England* for perfecting of Marriage between King *Edward* and her. But to this the French answered, That conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of *France*. Then the *English* proposed a Marriage between King *Edward* and the Lady *Elizabeth* the *French* King's eldest Daughter. To this the *French* did cheerfully incline; but when they came to talk

Embassadors are sent into *France*.

To Treat of a Marriage between King *Edward* and the *French* Kings eldest Daughter, which is at last concluded.

talk of Portion, the *English* demanded at first Fifteen hundred thousand Crowns, then fell to fourteen, and at last to eight hundred thousand: The *French* offered at first, one hundred thousand Crowns, then rose to two hundred thousand, and higher they would not be drawn; saying, It was more than ever had been given with a Daughter of *France*. Shortly after, *Monsieur* the Marshal and other Commissioners were sent by the *French* King to deliver to the King of *England* the Order of St. *Michael*; and then was further Treaty about the Marriage: and because the *French* could be screwed no higher than two hundred thousand Crowns, it was at last accepted, and the Agreement was reduced into Writing, and delivered under Seal on both sides.

And now King *Edward* supposing his state to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure; in testimony both of his Joy and Love, advanced many to new Titles of Honour; The Lord Marques *Dorset*, who had married the eldest Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, was created Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Warwick* Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Wiltshire* was created Marques of *Winchester*, Sir *William Herbert* Lord of *Cardiffe*, and Master of the Horse, was created Earl of *Pembrook*: Also *William Cecill* the Kings Secretary, *John Cheek* one of his Schoolmasters, *Henry Dudley*, and *Henry Nevil* were made Knights; and (that which perhaps it had been happy if it had never been) Sir *Robert Dudley*, one of the Duke of *Northumberlands* Sons, (the same who was afterward the great Earl of *Leicester*) was sworn one of the Six ordinary Gentlemen of the King's Chamber; for after his coming into a place so near about him, the King enjoyed his health but a while.

Dukes and Earls made.

The Lord *Robert Dudley* is made one of the Kings Bed-Chamber.

The aspiring thoughts of the Duke of *Northumberland* were now grown to be put in execution: He was advanced in title of Honour equal with the highest; in authority and power above the highest: he had placed his Politick Son near about the Kings Person. The next thing was to remove the Duke of *Somerset* out of the Way: And for this also, he had prepared Instruments; Sir *Thomas Palmer*, *Crane*, *Hammon*, *Cecill*, and others, who brought several Accusations against the Duke; some trenching upon the King and Kingdom, but one specially against the Duke of *Northumberland's* Person; whose practices when the Duke of *Somerset* found, and had cause to fear, he went one day into the Duke of *Northumberland's* Chamber, with a purpose to kill him; but finding him in his Bed, and being received with much kind Complement by him, his heart relented, and thereupon came away without any thing done. At his coming out, one of his Company asked him if he had done the deed? Who answered, No. Then, said he, You are your self undone. And indeed it so fell out; for when all other Accusations were refelled, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied; And so on the first of *December* he was Arraigned at *Westminster*; where the Lord *William Paulet* Marques of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer, sate as High Steward of *England*, and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty: The Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Northumberland*, the Marques of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Derby*, *Bedford*, *Huntington*, *Rutland*, *Bathe*, *Sussex*, *Worcester*, *Pembrook*, and *Hereford*: The Barons, *Abergavenny*, *Audley*, *Wharton*, *Evers*, *Latimer*, *Borough*, *Zouch*, *Stafford*, *Wentworth*, *Darcye*, *Sturton*, *Winson*, *Cromwell*, *Cobham*, and *Bray*. The Lords being set, the Indictments were read, in number five, containing a Charge, for raising Men in the North parts of the Realm: And at his House, for assembling men to kill the Duke of *Northumberland*: For resisting his Attachment, for raising *London*, for assaulting the Lords, and devising of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfactory Answer to every Point, though the Kings Learned Council pressed them hard against him. This done, the Lords went together, where Exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, That the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Marques of *Northampton*, and the Earl of *Pembrook* should be of the Jury; seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charged with practices against them: But to this the Lawyers made answer, That a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was acquit of Treason, but by most Voices found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, That if any should attempt to kill a Privie Counsellour, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being acquit of Treason, the Axe of the Tower was presently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who thereupon for Joy gave so great a Shout, that it was heard as far as Charing-Cross: But the Duke was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony; and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought, that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two months after his Condemnation, (much against the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to execution; where being ascended the Scaffold, he entred into a Speech, wherein though he justified himself, for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom; yet he confessed, he was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God, that had given him so large a time of repentance, especially that he had opened his eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel: And going on in his Speech, a sudden noise arose, of some crying, *Away*, *away*; which made some think a Pardon had been come, but was indeed the voice of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late: But the Tumult being appeased, the Duke went on with his Speech, and at last commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear, or perturbation, only his cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Axe, had it stricken off.

A Peer of the Realm not to be challenged in a Jury.

The Duke of *Northumberland* seeks Accusations against the Duke of *Somerset*.

Who being arraigned, is acquitted of Treason, but found guilty of Felony.

1552.

The Duke of *Somerset* is beheaded, and his patient suffering it.

The

The Death of this Duke made the Duke of *Northumberland* more odious to the people than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkercheifs in his bloud, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of *Northumberland* withall, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Patridge* were hanged at the Tower-Hill, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, and Sir *Thomas Arundell* were there beheaded.

George Ferrers Lord of Misrule at Christmas.

After the Dukes condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for averting the Kings mind from taking thought; and to that end, one *George Ferrers*, a Gentleman of *Lincolns-Inne*, was appointed, in the Christmas time, to be Lord of Mis-rule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and some to the King, but not in proportion to his heavines.

A call of Serjeants.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at *Grays-Inn*; of whom, Master *Robert Brook*, Recorder of *London*, was the first; and the next Master *Dyer*, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

The Lord *Paget* hath the Garter taken from him, and why.

About this time also, the Lord *Paget* was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garter was taken from him by Garter King at Arms, upon this pretence, that he was said to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garter was then bestowed on the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Northumberlands* Eldest Son; and the Lord *Rich*, Lord Chancellour, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor *Thomas Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*.

Sebastian Gabato sent to discover a Passage to the *East-Indies*.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the Kings charge, for discovery of a Passage to the *East-Indies* by the North Seas; the chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one *Sebastian Gabato* an *Englishman*, born at *Bristol*, but the Son of a *Genoway*: these Ships at the last arrived in the Country of *Moscovia*, but not without loss of their Captain Sir *Hugh Willoughby*, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

Sir *Hugh Willoughby* frozen to death.

At this time also the Duke of *Suffolk's* three Daughters, which he had by *Frances*, Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, and *Mary* Queen of *France*, were married at *Durham* House: The eldest, *Jane*, to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, fourth Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*: The second, *Katherine*, to *Henry*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Pembrook*: The youngest, *Mary*, being somewhat deformed, to *Martyn Keyes*, the Kings Gentleman Porter. And then also *Katherine*, the Duke of *Northumberlands* youngest Daughter, to the Lord *Hastings*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Huntington*. And now had the Duke of *Northumberland* gone a great way in his design; it remained to perswade King *Edward* to exclude his two Sisters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady *Jane*, would come to have a right: For as for pretenders out of *Scotland*, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this perswasion, (being in a languishing sickness, not far from death) he inculcates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preserved in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death; which would not be, if his Sister the Lady *Mary* should succeed, and she could not be put by, unless her other Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another; but if he pleased to appoint the Lady *Jane*, the Duke of *Suffolk's* eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sisters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that the true Religion should be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religious Providence. This was to strike upon the right string of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was so dear as preservation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawn (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice *Mountague*, and Secretary *Cecil*:) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sisters from the Succession, and all other, but the Duke of *Suffolk's* Daughters; and then causing it to be read before his Council, he required them all to assent unto it, and to subscribe their hands; which they all, both Nobility, and Bishops, and Judges did; Only the Archbishop *Cranmer* refused at first, Sir *James Hales* a Judge of the Common-Pleas to the last, and with them also Sir *John Baker* Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of *Northumberlands* purpose, but that the King should die: which soon after he did at *Greenwich*, the sixth of *July*, in the year 1553. One point of the Duke's policy must not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady *Mary* might raise after the Kings decease, if she should be at liberty; he therefore, seeing the King drawing on, used all means possible to get her within his power; to which end Letters are directed to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comfort to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his Person: Whereupon, the Lady suspecting nothing, addressed her self with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the Way, she was advertised of the Dukes design; and then she returned to her House at *Hoveseden*, and so escaped the snare: by whose escape, the whole Design of the Duke of *Northumberland* was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

His Will drawn to that purpose

King *Edward* dies. 1553.

The Duke of *Northumberland* seeks to get the Lady *Mary* into his hands.

The Duke of *Northumberland* perswades King *Edward* to exclude his two Sisters succession in the Crown: and by what reasons.

Of his Taxations.

IN no Kings Reign was ever more *Parliaments* for the time, nor fewer Subsidies; the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidy, with two Fifteens and Tenths, granted by the Temporalty, and a Subsidy by the Clergy. And indeed to shew how loath this King was to lay Impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument; That though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Fouket in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the interest of fourteen pounds for a hundred, for a year. But his ways for raising of money, were by selling

selling of Chauntry Lands and Houses, given him by *Parliament*; and by inquiring after all Church Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish-Churches, or embezelled away, as Jewels, Gold and Silver Chalices, ready money, Copes, and other Vestments; reserving to every Church one Chalice, and one covering for the Communion Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of Officers in great places; in which enquiry one *Beaumont* Master of the Rolls, being convinced of many Crimes, surrendred all his Offices, Lands, and Goods into the Kings hands: Also one *Whalley*, Receiver of *Yorkshire*, being found a Delinquent, surrendred his Office, and paid a great Fine besides: Also the Lord *Paget*, Chancellour of the Dutchie, convinced that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-Woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use, for these and other offences, surrendred his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in his time for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much baser, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Delinquent Officers fined.

Bullion made baser to raise money.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

IN his third year a *Parliament* was holden; wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophesies; another against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a *Parliament* was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate: and Usury for loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year it was ordained, That the Laws of *England* should be admitted in *Ireland*; and a King at Arms named *Ulster*, was newly instituted for *Ireland*; whose Province was all *Ireland*; and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for *Ireland*. Also in his fifth year, base moneys formerly coined, were cried down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly after but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Priests Children made legitimate. Usury forbidden.

Ulster King at Arms ordained for *Ireland*.

Base Moneys cried down.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

IN the first year of this Kings Reign, Injunctions were set forth, for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certain Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction: And at Easter this year, it was ordered, That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be ministred to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy men; Auricular Confession and Prayer for the dead were forbidden: And it is observable, That the very same day that Images were pulled down at *London*, the great overthrow was given to the *Scots* at *Muskleborough*. Also at this time, by the Archbishop *Cranmers* means, divers learned Protestants came over into *England*, and had here entertainment, as *Peter Martyr*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*; of whom *Peter Martyr* was sent to read a divinity Lecture in *Oxford*; *Bucer* and *Fagius* in *Cambridge*. In this Kings fourth year, all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year, the Book of Common Prayer was established.

The Book of Common-Prayer established.

Casualties happening in his time.

IN his Second year, St. *Annes* Church within *Aldersgate* was burnt. In his fifth year, a Sweating sickness infested first *Shrewsbury*, and then the North parts, and afterwards grew most extream in *London*, so as the first Week there died eight hundred persons, and was so violent, that it took men away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in less: Amongst other of Account that died of this Sickness, were the two Sons of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Dukes. This disease was proper to the *English* Nation, for it followed the *English* wheresoever they were in Forain Parts, but seized upon none of any other Country. In this year one Mr *Arden* of *Kent*, by procurement of his Wife, was murthered in his own house; being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground, in a Close hard by: where this is Memorable, That for two years after, the ground where his body lay, bore no grass, but represented still as it were a picture of his body, only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grass; but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this Miraculous Accident was not so much for the Murther, as for the Curses of a Widow Woman, out of whose hands the said Master *Arden* had uncharitably bought the said Close, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftentimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In his sixth year, the third of *August* at *Middleton-stony*, eleven miles from *Oxford* a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joyned, and had but one issue for the Excrements of them both: they lived eighteen daies, and were Women Children. This Year also were taken at *Quinborow* three *Dolphins*, and at *Black-Wall* six more, the least of which was bigger than any Horse.

A sweating Sickness, proper only to the *English* Nation.

A miraculous Effect of a murther

A monstrous Birth.

Dolphins taken at Black-wall.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his Time.

THis King gave three Houses to the Relief of the Poor: First, for the Fatherless and Beggars Children, he gave the late *Gray-Fryers* in *London*, which is now called *Christs Hospital*. Then for lame and diseased persons, he gave the *Hospital* of St. *Thomas* in *Southwark*, and St. *Bartholomews* in *West-Smithfield*. Thirdly, for riotous and idle persons, he gave his House of *Bridewell*; and for their Maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year land from the House of the *Savoy*, (which had been long abused) and bestowed it upon these Houses; to which

Christs Hospital, St. *Thomas Hospital*, St. *Bartholomews*, and *Bridewell* given by this King to Charitable Uses.

which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his Example, Sir *William Chester* Alderman of *London*, and *John Calthroppe* Draper, at their own Costs made the Brick-walls and way on the backside that leadeth to the Hospital of St. *Bartholomews*, and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noysome. In the second year of this King, Sir *John Gresham*, then Mayor of *London*, founded a Free-School at *Host* in *Norfolk*: Also at his decease he gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds, to be distributed amongst the Poor, and to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. In his third year, Sir *Rowland Hill*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, caused to be made a Cawsey commonly called *Overlane* Pavement, in the High-way from *Stone* to *Nantwich*, in length four miles, for the ease of Horse and Man. He caused also a Cawsey to be made from *Dunchurch* to *Branson* in *Warwick-shire*, more than two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of *Roitton* Bridge three miles from *Coventry*. He made likewise the high-way to *Kilburne* near to *London*. Also four Bridges, two of them of Stone, containing eighteen Arches in them both; the one over the River of *Severn*, called *Acham* Bridge, the other *Terne* Bridge; and two other of Timber at *Stoke*, where he built also a good part of the Church. A Free School likewise he built at *Drayton* in *Shropshire*, with Master and Usher, and gave sufficient stipends to them both. Also he purchased a free Fair to the said Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen daies a free Market for Cattel. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of *Christ-Church* in *London* in his life-time five hundred pounds, and at his death a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, Sir *Andrew Jud*, Mayor of *London*, founded a notable Free School at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*; and gave threescore pounds land a year to the Skinners of *London*, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School-Master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his Free School at *Tunbridge* yearly for ever. In his sixth year, Sir *George Barnes*, who was Mayor of *London*, gave a Wind-Mill in *Finsbury-Field* to the Haberdashers of *London*, the profits thereof to be distributed to the poor of that Company: also to St. *Bartholomews* the Little certain Tenements to the like use.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

CONcerning his Personage, it is said, he was in Body beautiful, of a sweet aspect, and specially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry livelinesse and lustre in them. Concerning his Conditions, in matter of Fact, there is not much to be said; but in matter of Disposition and Inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was come to the forwardnesse to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms: For proof of his Merciful Disposition, this one example may be sufficient; When one *Joan Butcher* was to be burned for Blasphemy and Heresie, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbishop *Cranmer*, with much importunity, perswaded him, and then he did it, but not without weeping. For his pregnancy of Wit, and knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what *Cardan* (who coming into *England*, had often Conference with him) reporteth of him, That he was extraordinarily skilful in Languages, and in the Politicks; well seen in Philosophy, and in Divinity, and generally indeed a very Miracle of Art & Nature. He would answer Embassadours sometimes upon the sudden, either in *French* or *Latine*: He knew the state of Foreign Princes perfectly, and his own more: He could call all Gentlemen of account through his Kingdom by their names. And all this when he had scarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and died before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, It is a sign of no long life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe so early.

His pregnancy of Wit, and Learning.

King Edward's pitiful Disposition.

Of his Death and Burial.

IN the Sixth Year of his Reign, which was the year before he died, he fell sick of the Measels, and being well recovered of them, he fell soon after into the small Pox, and of them also was so well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progress, with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before; having in his Train no fewer than four thousand Horse. In *January* following (whether procured by sinister practice, or growing upon him by natural infirmity) he fell into an indisposition of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by some, That a Nosegay had been given him at New-Years-tide, which brought him into this slow, but deadly Consumption: By others, That it was done by a Clyster. However it was, he was brought at last to so great extremity, that his Physicians despaired of his life; and when Physicians could do him no good, a Gentlewoman (thought to be prepared for the purpose) took him in hand, and did him hurt: for with her applications his Legs swelled, his Pulse failed, his Skin changed colour, and many other symptomes of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was over-heard to pray thus by himself, *O Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life; O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy Chosens sake, if it be thy will, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee: O Lord God, save thy chosen people of* England, *and defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jesus Christs sake.* So turning his face, and seeing some by him, he said, *I thought you had not been so nigh*: Yes, said Doctor *Owen*, we heard you speak to your self. Then said the King, *I was praying to God: O I am faint, Lord have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit*, and in so saying, gave up the Ghost, the sixth day of *July*, in the year 1553. and the Sixteenth year of his age, when he had Reigned six years, five months, and nine daies. It is noted by some, that he died the same month, and the same day of the month, that his Father King *Henry* the Eighth had put Sir

Suspected to be poysoned.

His Prayer at the time of his death.

Thomas More to death. His Body was buried upon the ninth of *Auguſt*, in the Chappel of St. *Peters* Church in *Weſtminſter*, and laid near to the Body of King *Henry* the Seventh his Grandfather. At his Funeral, which was on the tenth of *Auguſt* following, his Siſter Queen *Mary* ſhewed this reſpect to him, that though Doctor *Day*, a Popiſh Biſhop, Preached, yet all the Service with a Communion was in *Engliſh*.

Men of Note in his Time.

THis Kings Reign being ſhort, and having but ſmall Wars, had not many Sword-men famous for any Acts they did; Gown-men there were ſome, as *Edward Hall* a Counſellour in the Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the Union of the Two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; *William Hugh*, a *York-ſhire* man, who wrote a notable Treatiſe, called, *The Troubled Man's Medicine*; *Thomas Sternhold*, born in *Southampton*, who turned into *Engliſh* Meeter ſeven and thirty of *David's* Pſalms.

The Interregnum *between the Death of King* Edward, *and the Proclaiming at* London *of Queen* Mary.

1553. KIng *Edward* being dead, the Duke of *Northumberland* took upon him to ſit at the Stern, and ordered all things at his pleaſure: ſo two days after, he, with others of the Council, ſent to the Lord Mayor, that he, with ſix Aldermen, and twelve principal Commons, ſhould repair preſently to the Court; to whom when they came, it was ſignified that King *Edward* was dead; and that by his laſt Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges had given aſſent, he had appointed the Lady *Jane*, Daughter to the Duke of *Suffolk*, to ſucceed him; his Letters Patents whereof were ſhewed them, and thereupon they were required to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the Lady *Jane*, and to ſecure the City in her behalf; which whether diſſemblingly, or ſincerely, whether for love, or fear, yet they did, and departed. The next day, the Lady *Jane* in great State was brought to the Tower of *London*, and there declared Queen; and by Edict with the ſound of Trumpet proclaimed ſo through *London*: at which time, for ſome words ſeeming to be ſpoken againſt it, one *Gilbert Pot*, a Vintners ſervant, was ſet in the Pillory, and loſt both his Ears. Before this time, the Lady *Mary* having heard of her Brothers death, and of the Duke of *Northumberlands* deſigns, removed from *Hoveſdon* to her Mannour of *Keninghall* in *Norfolk*, and under pretence of fearing infection, (having lately loſt one of her Houſhold-Servants of the Plague) in one day ſhe rode forty miles, and from thence afterward to her Caſtle of *Framingham* in *Suffolk*, where taking upon her the name of *Queen*, there reſorted to her the moſt part of all the Gentlemen both of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, offering their Aſſiſtance; but upon condition, ſhe would make no alteration in Religion, to which ſhe condeſcended; and thereupon, ſoon after came to her the Earls of *Oxford*, *Bath*, and *Suſſex*, the Lord *Wentworth*, *Thomas Wharton*, and *John Mordant*, Barons eldeſt Sons; and of Knights, *Cornwallis*, *Drury*, *Walgrave*, *Shelton*, *Beningfield*, *Jerningham*, *Suliard*, *Freſton*, and many others. The Lady *Mary* being thus aſſiſted, wrote her Letter, ſigned the 9th of *July*, to the Lords of the Council; wherein ſhe claimed the Crown, as of right belonging to her; and required them to proclaim her *Queen* of *England* in the City of *London*, as they tendred her diſpleaſure.

The Duke of *Northumberland* bears all the ſway.

He cauſes the Mayor and Aldermen to ſwear allegiance to the Lady *Jane*.

Who is proclaimed Queen.

The Lady *Mary* retires her ſelf to *Norfolk*.

Takes upon her the name of *Queen*, and is aſſiſted by the *Norfolk* men, upon her promiſe not alter Religion.

She writes to the Lords, and claimeth the Crown.

To this Letter of hers the Lords anſwered, That for what they did they had good Warrant, not only by King *Edwards* laſt Will, but by the Laws of the Land, conſidering her Mothers divorce, and her own illegitimation; and therefore required her to ſubmit her ſelf to *Queen Jane*, being now her Sovereign. This Letter was written from the Tower of *London*, under the hands of theſe that follow, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Ely* Chancellour, *William* Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, *John* Earl of *Bedford*, *Henry* Duke of *Suffolk*, *Francis* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Thomas* Lord *Darcey* Lord Chamberlain, *Cobham*, *Rich*, *Huntington*, *Cheyney*, *John Gates*, *William Peter*, *William Cecill*, *John Clerk*, *Maſon*, *Edward North*, and *Robert Bowes*. The quarrel on both ſides being thus begun by Letters, is proſecuted by Arms; and the Lords for their General made choice of the Duke of *Suffolk*, as a man moſt likely to be firm and ſure in the employment; but the *Queen* his Daughter cannot miſs his preſence, and beſides, is not willing to hazard his perſon; and thereupon, ſhe by intreaties, and the Lords by perſwaſions, prevail with the Duke of *Northumberland* to undertake the charge; who before his going, having conference with the Lords, let them know how ſenſible he was of the double danger he underwent in this enterprize, both in reſpect of the Lady againſt whom he went, and in reſpect of them whom he left behind him; for if they in his abſence ſhould by any accident be drawn to waver in their reſolution, they might work their own ſafety with his deſtruction, and make themſelves ſeem innocent in his guiltineſs. To which one of the Lords replied and ſaid, Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can waſh his hands clean of this buſineſs? And therefore it behoves us to be as reſolute as your ſelf, and the Earl of *Arundel*,

The Lords Anſwer.

Againſt whom the Duke of *Northumberland* is ſent with an Army.

Arundel, to teſtifie his reſolution in the matter, ſaid, He was ſorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whoſe feet he could find in his heart to ſpend his bloud. So the Duke, with the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord *Gray*, and divers other of account, on the fourteenth of *July*, ſet forward on the Journey with eight thouſand Foot, and two thouſand horſe; and paſſing through *Shoreditch*, the Duke ſaid to the Lord *Gray*, See how the people preſs to ſee us, but not one of them ſaith, God ſpeed you. The Duke had every days march how far he ſhould go, appointed him by Commiſſion: which being very ſlow, whether it were done of purpoſe by ſome that favoured the Lady *Maries* ſide, was certainly a great help to her proceedings; for by this means ſhe had the longer time to make her preparations, and indeed in this time two accidents happened of great benefit to her; one, that *Edward Haſtings*, the Earl of *Huntingtons* Brother, having an Army of four thouſand Foot committed to him by the Earl of *Northumberland*, he now left his Party, and went to the Lady *Mary*: The other, that ſix great Ships which lay before *Yarmouth*, to intercept the Lady *Mary*, if ſhe ſhould attempt to fly, now at the perſwaſion of Maiter *Ferningham*, came to her aid: Which two revolts ſo terrified the *Londoners*, that though Doctor *Ridley*, Biſhop of *London*, on the ſixteenth of *July*, at *Pauls* Croſs, preached a Sermon, wherin he invited the people to ſtand firm to Queen *Jane*, whoſe cauſe he affirmed to be moſt juſt, yet few or none were perſwaded by him; ſo as the Lords themſelves fell off from the ſide, who aſſembling at *Baynards Caſtle*, firſt the Earl of *Arundel*, then the Earl of *Pembroke* fell to Invectives againſt the Earl of *Northumberland*; and then all the Lords joyning in Opinion with them, they called for the Mayor, and in *London* Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queen; as likewiſe the Lord *Windſor*, Sir *Edmund Peckham*, Sir *Robert Drurie*, and Sir *Edward Haſtings* did in *Buckinghamſhire*,; Sir *John Williams* of *Tame*, and Sir *Leonard Chamberlain* in *Oxfordſhire*, and Sir *Thomas Treſham* in the County of *Northampton*. All this came ſoon to the knowledge of the Duke of *Northumberland*, being then at *Bury*; who thereby ſeeing how the World went, thought it his beſt courſe to turn with the ſtream, and thereupon returning to *Cambridge*, he took the Mayor of the Town with him into the Market-place, and there himſelf, for want of a Herald, Proclaimed the Lady *Mary* Queen, and in ſign of joy threw up his Cap; which yet ſerved not his turn: for the next morning, *Henry Fitz-Allen*, Earl of *Arundel*, came into *Cambridge* from Queen *Mary*, who entring his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell on his knees; deſiring him for Gods love to conſider his caſe, that had done nothing but by the Warrant of him and the Council: My Lord (ſaith the Earl) I am ſent hither by the Queen to arreſt you: And I (ſaid the Duke) obey your Arreſt; yet I beſeech your Lordſhip to uſe mercy towards him whoſe acts have been no other than were enjoyned by Commiſſion. You ſhould have thought of that ſooner (ſaid the Earl:) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Dukes deſigns in his own deſtruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to ſpend his bloud at his feet, was now contented to be made an inſtrument of his fall: So ſudden are the turns of mens affections, and ſo unſtable is the building upon their aſſeverations; at leaſt no man muſt look to have his caſe be of any weight againſt him, who hath his own caſe put in the Balance. Together with the Duke his three Sons, *John*, *Amlroſe*, and *Henry*, the Earl of *Huntington*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, the two *Gates*, *John* and *Henry*, Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Doctor *Sands* were conveyed towards *London*, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Lord *Robert Dudley*, and Sir *Robert Corbet*. Before which time, the Duke of *Suffolk*, entring his Daughters the Lady *Janes* Chamber, told her, She muſt now put off her Royal Robes, and be contented with a private life. To which ſhe anſwered, She would much more willingly put them off, than ſhe had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mother. And this was the end of the Lady *Janes* Ten days Reign.

But ſoon after the Lords that ſent him, fell off from the ſide: and proclaim Queen *Mary*.

Which the Duke of *Northumberland* hearing, he alſo at *Cambridge* proclaimed Queen *Mary*.

Yet is arreſted by the Earl of *Arundel*.

And with him divers more.

The Lady *Jane* hearing hereof, was nothing troubled with it. And thus ended her ten days Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in this Kings Reign.*

In his firſt Year,
Sir *John Greſham* was Mayor.
Thomas White, *Robert Chertſey*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Henry Amcoats was Mayor.
William Lock, Sir *John Ayleph*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Rowland Hill* was Mayor.
John Yorke, *Richard Turk*, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *Andrew Jud* was Mayor.
Auguſtine Hinde, *John Lion*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Richard Dobbes* was Mayor,
John Lambert, *John Comper*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.
William Garret, or *Gerard*, *John Mainard*, Sheriffs.

The REIGN of QUEEN MARY,

1553. The Lady *Mary* having been Proclaimed Queen, comes to *London*, and so to the Tower.

THE Lady *Mary* having been Proclaimed Queen in *London*, and other parts of the Realm; removed from her Caſtle of *Framingham* towards *London*; and being come to *Wanſtead* in *Eſſex*, on the thirtieth of *July*, the Lady *Elizabeth* her Siſter, with a Train of a Thouſand Horſe, rode from her Place in the Strand to meet her: On the third of *Auguſt* the Queen rode through *London* to the *Tower*, where at her Entrance were preſented to her *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Edward* Lord *Courtney*, *Stephen Gardiner*, late Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*; who all kneeling down, ſhe kiſſed them, and ſaid, *Theſe be my Priſoners*, and then cauſed them preſently to be ſet at liberty: The next day ſhe reſtored the Lord *Courtney* to the Marquiſate of *Exeter*; and the ſame day alſo ſhe not only reſtored *Stephen Gardiner* to his Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, but a few daies after made him Chancellour of *England*: Yet this was the Man that had ſubſcribed to her Mothers Divorce, and had written Books againſt the lawfulneſs of her Marriage. The fifth of *Auguſt*, *Edmund Bonner*, late Biſhop of *London*, Priſoner in the *Marſhalſey*, an *Cutbert Tunſtal*, the old Biſhop of *Durham*, Priſoner in the Kings-Bench, had their Pardons, and were reſtored to their Sees. Shortly, after, all the Biſhops, which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, were reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and the new removed, as *Ridley* was removed from *London*, and *Bonner* placed; *Skory* from *Chicheſter*, and *Day* placed; *Miles Coverdale* from *Exeter*, and *Weſt* placed; *John Hooper* from *Worceſter*, and *Heath* placed. Alſo all Beneficed men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their roome.

Where ſhe ſets divers Lords at Liberty.

And reſtores the Biſhops who had been deprived.

On the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, one Maſter *Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls*, Preaching at *Pauls* Croſs, not only prayed for the dead, but alſo declared, that Doctor *Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, (late reſtored, and there in preſence) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the ſame place, and upon the ſame Text, had unjuſtly been caſt into the vile Priſon of the *Marſhalſey*; which Speech ſo offended ſome of the Auditory, that they cried, *Pull him down, Pull him down*; and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was thrown at him) if Maſter *Bradford*, a Proteſtant Preacher, had not ſtept into his place and appeaſed the Tumult, and Maſter *Rogers* another Proteſtant Miniſter (who were both afterward burnt for Religion) had not ſhifted away *Bourne* into *Paul's* School.

Hitherto Queen *Maries* Reign had been without bloud, but now the Cataracts of ſeverity will be opened, that will make it rain bloud: for now on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, *John Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland*, *William Parre* Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and *John* Earl of *Warwick*, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraigned at *Weſtminſter-Hall* before *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* as High-Steward of *England*; where the Duke of *Northumberland*, after his Indictment read, required the Opinion of the Court in two Points; Firſt, Whether a man doing any Act by authority of the Princes Council, and by warrant of the Great Seal of *England*, might for any ſuch Act be charged with Treaſon? Secondly, Whether any ſuch perſons as were equally culpable, and by whoſe Commandments he was directed, might be his Judges, and paſs upon his Trial? Whereunto was anſwered, That concerning the firſt, the Great Seal, which he alledged for his Warrant, was not the Seal of the lawful Queen of the Realm, but of an Uſurper, and therefore could be no warrant for him. And as to the ſecond, It was reſolved, That if any were as deeply to be touched in the Caſe as himſelf, yet ſo long as no attainder were of record againſt them, they were perſons able in Law to paſs upon his Trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleaſure. After which Anſwers, the Duke uſed few words, but confeſſed the Indictment, and accordingly had Judgment to die. By whoſe example, the other Priſoners arraigned with him, confeſſed the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of *Auguſt*, Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *John*, and Sir *Henry Gates*, Brethren, and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, Knights, were Arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, who confeſſing their Indictments, had Judgment, which was pronounced by the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord High Treaſurer, ſitting that day as Chief Juſtice. After theſe Condemnations followed the Executions; for on the two and twentieth of *Auguſt*, *John* Duke of *Northumberland* was brought to the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded: being upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green coloured damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgiveneſs,

The Duke of *Northumberland* is arraigned.

And beheaded.

neſs, whom he acknowledged to have grievouſly offended; and then making profeſſion of his Faith, that he died a true Catholick (meaning a Papiſt) he ſaid the Pſalms of *Miſerere* & *De Profundis*, the *Pater Noſter*, and ſix of the firſt verſ. of the Pſalm *In te Domine ſperavi*, ending with this ver. *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*: And this ſaid, he looked about him, as looking for a Pardon; but none coming, he laid his head down upon the Block, and at one blow had it ſtricken off: his body with the head was buried in the Tower, by the body of *Edward* late Duke of *Somerſet*, (mortal enemies while they lived, but now lying together as good friends) ſo as there lieth before the high Altar in St. *Peters* Church, two Dukes between two Queens, namely, the Duke of *Somerſet*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, between Queen *Anne*, and Queen *Katharine*, all four beheaded. Of what Religion this Duke was, may well be doubted, ſeeing at his death he profeſſed himſelf a Papiſt, when lately before he had importuned King *Edward* to make the Lady *Jane* his Succeſſour, leſt the Papal Religion ſhould be reſtored: It ſeems he was not greatly of either but for other ends; a Proteſtant then, when it was to make his Daughter-in Law Queen; now a Papiſt, when it was to ſave his life (for it was thought he had a Pardon promiſed, if he would recant.) At the ſame time and place were beheaded Sir *John Gates* and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, who were no ſuch Temporizers, but perſiſted and died in the Proteſtant Religion, which they had always profeſſed.

After this, a ſprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for on the third of *September*, the Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, the two Chief Juſtices, Sir *Roger Cholmley*, and *Mountague*, Sir *John Cheek*, and others were delivered out of the Tower, whither they had been committed: but a ſhower of ſeverity followed ſoon after, for on the fifteenth of *September*, Maſter *Latimer*, and Doctor *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were ſent to the Tower; and on the third of *November* following, the ſaid Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, the Lady *Jane* (late Queen) and the Lord *Guilford* her Husband, with the Lords *Ambroſe* and *Henry*, Sons to the late Duke of *Northumberland*, were all arraigned at the *Guild-hall*, found guilty, & had Judgment to die.

Latimer and *Cranmer* ſent to the Tower.

Cranmer and the late Queen *Jane*, with the Sons of the Duke of *Northumberland*, arraigned and condemned.

All this while Queen *Mary* had contented herſelf to be Queen by Proclamation; but now that things were ſomething ſettled, ſhe proceeds to her Coronation: for on the laſt of *September* ſhe rode in her Chariot through *London* towards *Weſtminſter* in this order: Firſt rode a number of Gentlemen and Knights, then Doctors, then Judges, then Biſhops, then Lords, then the Council, after whom followed the Knights of the *Bath*, thirteen in number in their Robes, then the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* Lord Chancellour, and the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* Lord High Treaſurer: Next came the Duke of *Norfolk*, and after him the Earl of *Oxford*, who bore the Sword, then the Mayor of *London* in a Gown of Crimſon Velvet, who bore the Scepter of Gold: After came the Queens Chariot, and then followed another Chariot, wherein ſate the Lady *Elizabeth* her Siſter, and the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, and then came Ladies and Gentlewomen riding on Horſes, trapped with red Velvet, *&c.* In this order they came through *London* to *Weſtminſter*, where in many places by the way were Pageants and ſtately Shews, and many rich Preſents given to the Queen. The next day ſhe went by Water to the old Palace, and remained there till eleven of the clock, and then went on foot upon blew cloth, being railed on either ſide to St. *Peters* Church, where ſhe was Crowned and Anointed by the Biſh. of *Wincheſter*, the two Archbiſhops being then in the *Tower*, with all Rites and Ceremonies of old accuſtomed.

Queen *Mary* is Crowned, and in what order.

After her Coronation, a general Pardon was publiſhed in her name, but interlaced with ſo many exceptions of matters and perſons, that very few took benefit by it; for after the Pardon publiſhed, there were Commiſſioners aſſigned, to compound with ſuch perſons as were excepted; from ſome of whom they took away their Fees and Offices, ſome they fined, and ſome they deprived of their Eſtates & Livings.

A Pardon granted, but full of Exceptions.

About this time, Sir *James Hales*, one of the Juſtices of the Common Pleas, who in the time of King *Edward* had refuſed to ſign a Writing for diſinheriting the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* (a fact worthy at leaſt of a kind of remembrance from the Lady *Mary* now Queen) yet now, for that at a Quarter Seſſions in *Kent*, he gave charge upon the Statutes of King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth, in derogation of the Primacy of the Church of *Rome*; he was firſt committed to the *Kings-Bench*, then to the *Counter*, and laſtly, to the *Fleet*; where he grew ſo troubled in mind, that he attempted with a Pen-knife to kill himſelf; and being afterward recovered of that hurt, and brought to the Queens preſence, who gave him very comfortable words, yet could never come to be quiet in his mind; but in the end, drowned himſelf in a River not half a mile from his houſe, the River being ſo ſhallow, that he was fain to lie groveling before he could diſpatch himſelf of life.

Sir *James Hales*, Juſtice of the Common Pleas, drowns himſelf; and why.

And now another ſprinkling of Mercy came from the Queen; for the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, and Sir *Henry Gates*, lately before condemned to die, were now pardoned and ſet at liberty. The Lady *Jane* alſo was allowed the liberty of the Tower, not without hope of life and liberty altogether, if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not the ſecond time been cauſe of her deſtruction.

The Lady *Jane*, though condemned, is allowed the liberty of the Tower.

About this time alſo a Synod was aſſembled, for conſulting about matters of Religion; and the point ſpecially of the Real preſence in the Sacrament. The Prolocutor was Doctor *Weſton*; and of the Proteſtant ſide, were *John Ailmer* and *Richard Cheney*, both Biſhops afterward in Queen *Elizabeths* time, alſo *John Philpot*, afterward burnt, *James Haddon* and others. After long Diſputation, where reaſons were not ſo much weighed, as voices numbred; the Papal ſide, as having moſt voices, carried it: and thereupon was that Religion again reſtored, and the Maſs commanded in all Churches to be celebrated, after the ancient manner.

Upon a Conference about Religion, the Maſs is again reſtored.

It was now the year 1553. when Queen *Mary* was come to the age of ſeven and thirty years, and therefore high time now to think of marriage,

marriage, at leaſt if ſhe meant to have Iſſue of her body; but a hard matter it was to find a Husband in all points fitting for her: Yet three at this time (in common fame at leaſt) were taken into conſideration: One was the Lord *Courtney*, Marqueſs of *Exeter*, a goodly Gentleman, and of Royal blood; but there was an exception againſt him, becauſe inclining (as was thought) to *Lutheraniſm*: Another was Cardinal *Poole*, of a dignity not much inferiour to Kings, and by his Mother deſcended from Kings; but there was exception againſt him alſo, becauſe four and fifty years old, (as old a Batchelour as Queen *Mary* was a Maid) and ſo the leſs hope of Iſſue between them: But the third (if he might be had) was without exception, and this was *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, the Emperour *Charles* his eldeſt Son, with whom being a *Spaniard*, ſhe was the fitter matched, as being by the Mother a *Spaniard* her ſelf. And now very opportunely came in the beginning of *January* Embaſſadours into *England* about it; amongſt others, the Count of *Egmond*, Admiral of the *Low-Countries*, and *John* of *Memorancy* Lord of *Curryers*; whoſe Meſſage was ſo kindly entertained, that the Marriage in ſhort time was abſolutely concluded, though it ſeemed ſomething ſtrange to many, that ſhe ſhould now be the Wife to the Son, who thirty years before ſhould have been Wife to the Father. But ſo it is, Queens are never old ſo long as they are within years of bearing Children. And indeed the Match was concluded with Conditions of far more advantage to Queen *Mary*, than they were to King *Philip*, as on the fourteenth of *January*, *Stephen Gardiner*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Lord Chancellour of *England*, openly in the Preſence Chamber at *Weſtminſter*, declared to all the Lords and Gentlemen there preſent: For it was agreed, That after the marriage, King *Philip* ſhould have the Title of all the Queens Dominions, and be aſſumed into fellowſhip of the Government; but yet with reſervation to the Queen, of all Priviledges and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, and free diſpoſition of all Offices and Honours: As likewiſe the Queen would be aſſumed into the fellowſhip of all the King's Dominions, and ſurviving him, ſhould have a Joynture of two hundred thouſand pounds a year. Then for the Iſſue between them, if ſhe had a Son, that he ſhould inherit the *Low-Countries* and *Burgundy*; and King *Philip's* Son *Charles*, which he had by a former Wife, ſhould inherit all his Dominions in *Italy* and *Spain*; but if his Son *Charles* ſhould fail without Iſſue, then the Son he ſhould have by Queen *Mary* ſhould inherit his Kingdom of *Italy* and *Spain* alſo. And the like good proviſion was alſo made for Daughters. But notwithſtanding theſe great advantages of the Match, yet ſuch was the precipitant raſhneſs of ſome, that thinking themſelves wiſer than the Queen and the Council, they ſought by all means to oppoſe the Match; giving out, That it tended to bring *England* under the yoke of *Spain*, and to make the Country a ſlave to ſtrangers. This was the general murmuring of people; but the firſt that ſhewed himſelf in Arms, was Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of *Suffolk* the Lady *Janes* Father, with *Peter Caroe* a Knight of *Devonſhire*, and divers others, intended only to make ſecret proviſion, but not to ſtir till Prince *Philip* ſhould be come, that ſo their cauſe of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fifteenth of *January*, *Robert Dudley*, Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was arraigned at the *Guild-Hall* of high Treaſon, who confeſſed the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of *Suſſex*, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

But now in Counſels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counſel kept, and Sir *Peter Caroe* finding that their Plot was diſcovered, fled privily into *France*, where lurking for a time, he was afterward taken at *Bruxells*, and brought Captive into *England*; as likewiſe at the ſame time and place Sir *John Cheek* King *Edward's* School-Maſter was taken, who being drawn by terrours to embrace the Papal Religion, with very grief afterward of his errour pined away and died; Sir *Peter Caroe* lived many years after, and died in *Ireland*; though it be falſely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion, in *June* this year *Wyat* hearing of Sir *Peter Caroe's* flight, and that all their purpoſe was diſcovered, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the Cauſe, that it was not to attempt any thing againſt the Queen, but only to remove ill Counſellours, and chiefly to repell Prince *Philip*, leſt by his Marriage the Kingdom ſhould come in ſubjection to the *Spaniard*. With *Wyat* were joyned Sir *Henry Iſley*, Sir *George Harper*, *Anthony* and *William Knevet*, and divers other Gentlemen of the County: Againſt him were the Lord *Abergaveney*, Sir *Thomas Cheney* Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir *Robert Southwell* Sheriff of *Kent*, Sir *Warram Sentleger*, Sir *Thomas Kemp*, Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Sir *Thomas Finch*, with divers other; yet all theſe great men had ſuch doubt of the people, that they durſt not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of *January*, news came to *London* of *Wyats* riſing; againſt whom was preſently ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* with Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray*, Sir *John Fogge*, *John Covert*, *Roger Appleton* Eſquires, and five hundred Souldiers out of *London* appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain *Bret*. And now ſee in times of Sedition, how uncertain a thing it is to truſt to the people; for before *Bret* could overtake the Duke, Sir *George Harper* was ſecretly got to him, who ſo perſwaded him, that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to *Wyat*; which made the Duke and thoſe with him preſently to flie, and put ſuch boldneſs into *Wyat*, that now he marched with great confidence towards *London*, with ſo great terrour to all ſorts of people, that at *Weſtminſter-Hall* the Serjeants and other Lawyers pleaded in harneſs.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Suffolk* was perceived in *Warwick ſhire*, to be raiſing of Forces in aſſiſtance of *Wyat*; againſt whom was preſently ſent the Earl of *Huntington*, and the Duke finding himſelf unable to make reſiſtance,

Matches propounded for Queen *Mary*.

The Match is concluded with *Philip* Prince of *Spain*.

With greater Conditions of advantage to her than to him.

Yet is oppoſed by divers, eſpecially Sir *Thomas Wyat* of *Kent*.

The Lord *Robert Dudley* is arraigned and condemned.

Wyat with his Army marcheth towards *London*.

The Duke of *Suffolk* raiſeth Forces to aſſiſt *Wyat*.

stance, having with all his industry gotten together but only fifty men; he betook himself to a Tenant of his, one *Underwood*, with whom he hoped, and had promise, to remain undiscovered, till he might have opportunity to escape, as some say; as others, to a Keeper of his Park, called *Nicholas Lawrence*, who kept him in a hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three days: but whether *Underwood* or *Lawrence*, either out of fear, or out of hope of reward, he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was taken, and under a strong Guard carried to the Tower. Upon this, Queen *Mary* her self came into *London*, where calling the Mayor and chief of the City together, she made an Oration, wherein she shewed the insolency of *Wyat*; who though he pretended but only the crossing of the Marriage, yet was now grown to such presumption, that he required to have the Custody of her Person; and to have Counsellors retained or removed at his pleasure. And as for her Marriage, she there affirmed she had done nothing in it but by the advice of her Council; and for her self, that that she was not so longing for a Husband, but that if it were not more for the good of the Kingdom, than for her own Satisfaction, she would never once think of entertaining it. Having by her Speech confirmed the Minds of the Citizens; Forces were presently raised, and placed about the Bridge, and other fit places of the City. The third of *February*, *Wyat* with an Army of Three or four thousand came to *London*, hoping of present entrance, but finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers placed to resist him, after two days stay in *Southwark*, he removed to *Kingstone*, where he found likewise the Bridge broken, yet with great industry suddenly repairing it, he passed over his Men, and meant with all speed to get to the Court, before the Queen should have notice of his coming; and had done so indeed, if a mischance, and an errour upon that mischance had not hindred him. For being come within six miles of *London*, the Carriage of one of his great Ordnance brake, in mending whereof so much time was spent (and *Wyat* by no perswasions would go forward without it) that the time was past, in which his Friends at *London* expected his coming: which disappointment made many in those parts to fall off, and being perceived by those about him, many of them also; so as one half of his Army was suddenly gone and left him; amongst other, Sir *George Harper*, the most intimate of all his Council, went to the *Queen* and discovered all his purposes: whereupon the Earl of *Pembroke*, with a Company levied upon the sudden, was sent against him, which made *Wyat* slack his pace, so as it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of the City, and then placing his Ordnance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns marched towards *Ludgate*, and being encountred at *Charing-Cross* by the Lord Chamberlain and Sir *John Gage*, after a small fight put them to flight in such sort, that word was carried to the *Queen*, how near *Wyat* approached, and how wonderfully he prevailed all the way he came: with which nothing dismayed, Well then (said she) I will go in person against him my self; and was preparing to do so indeed (so much was her Father's Valour running in her veins) but it needed not; for by this time Sir *Henry Jerningham* Captain of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordnance, and Sir *Philip Paris* had given him Battel, and slain many of his men: and that which was more, coming to *Ludgate*, he was denied entrance; and then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of *Pembroke* with his Forces was behind at *Charing Cross*; so as neither able to go forward, nor yet backward, he was at a stand and in amazement, and then leaning a while upon a Stall by the *Bell-Savage*, after a little musing, he returned towards *Temple-Gate*: where *Clarentius* the Herald meeting him, fell to perswade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of bloud, nor by persisting in obstinacy to exclude all hopes of the *Queens* mercy. The Soldiers of *Wyat* were earnest with him to have stood it out; but *Wyat* as sillily ending, as he had unadvisedly begun, yielded himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and getting up upon his horse behind him, in that manner rode to the Court, where he had not the entertainment he expected, for without more ado he was presently sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken, the rest made no resistance, few fled, and of the other many were taken and laid in Prison; and this was done the sixth of *February*. And now consultation was held what Delinquents should be punished; where the first that was thought on was the Lady *Jane*, in whom was verified, *The Fathers have eaten sower Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are set on edge*: The innocent Lady must suffer for her Fathers fault; for if her Father the Duke of *Suffolk* had not this second time made shipwrack of his Loyalty, his Daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt-waters of the Queens displeasure: but now as a Rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed; and thereupon is Doctor *Feckenam* sent to acquaint her, That she must prepare her self to die the next day: Which Message was so little unpleasing to her, that she seemed rather to rejoyce at it, as whereby she should at last be set at liberty: And the Doctor being earnest with her to leave her new Religion, and to embrace the old; she answered, She had now no time to think of any thing but of preparing her self to God by Prayer. *Feckenam* thinking she had spoken this, to the end she might have some longer time of life, obtained of the Queen three days longer, and then came and told so much to the Lady *Jane*: Whereat she smiling said, You are much deceived, if you think I had any desire of longer life; for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death; and since it is the Queens pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it. Before she was brought to Execution, her Husband, the Lord *Guilford*, had made suit, and obtained to see her, and have some conference with her; but she refused it, saying, These were rather augmenters of grief, than comforts of death; she made no doubt, but they should shortly meet in a better place, and in a better condition of society: So on the twelfth of

February

But is taken, and carried to the Tower.

Queen *Mary* protests her Marriage to be for the good of the Kingdom.

Wyat being denied Entrance at *Ludgate* retires, and at last yields himself to Sir *Maurice Berkley*, and is sent to the Tower.

The Lady *Jane* is the word sent her to prepare her self to die.

Whereat she seemed to rejoyce.

She is beheaded.

February her Husband the Lord *Guilford* first, and then she, an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowleged her self to have deserved death, not for seeking the Crown, but for not refusing it, being offered: and after Prayers to God, unclothing her self, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, she laid her head down upon the Block, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders than to her self. This end had the Lady *Jane Gray*, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not past seventeen years of age, she understood perfectly the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, and was so ready in Points of Divinity, as if she knew them by inspiration rather than by instruction; no less a Miracle in this kind than King *Edward*; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdom, who in the endowments of Mind was so like unto him, that whilest she reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only the Sex. It may not be forgotten, that Judge *Morgan*, who at her Arraignment gave the sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving, cried continually to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and so ended his life.

Her Piety and Learning.

Judge *Morgan*, who had given Sentence upon her, falls mad.

Two days after the Execution of the Lady *Jane*, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth of *February*, twenty pair of Gallows were set up in divers places of the City, whereon were hanged fifty of *Wyat*'s Faction; on the eighteenth of *February Bret* was hanged at *Rochester* in Chains, Sir *Henry Isle*, who had been taken in an old freez Coat and an old pair of Hose, with his Brother *Thomas Isle*, and *Walter Mantell* were hanged at *Maidstone*, *Anthony Knevet*, and his Brother *William*, with another of the *Mantells*, were executed at *Sevenock*: but then on the twentieth of *February*, a sprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of *Wyat*'s followers, being brought before the Queen with halters about their necks, were all pardoned and set at liberty. But then severity soon after began again, for on the three and twentieth of *February*, the Lord *Henry Gray*, Duke of *Suffolk*, and Father to the Lady *Jane*, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-Hill beheaded; and on the eleventh of *April* in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this mischief) *Wyat* himself, whose quarters were set up in divers places of the City, his head upon the Gallows at *Hay hill*, besides Hide-Park. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord *Courtney*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Queens Sister, to be privy to his Conspiracy, yet at his death he cleared them, and protested openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter so urged against them by *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester* and Lord Chancellour, that both of them in *March* before had been committed to the Tower, though in *May* following they were both again released; but yet confined, the Lady *Elizabeth* to *Woodstock*, under the custody of Sir *Henry Bedingfield* of *Oxenborough* in the County of *Norfolk*; the Lord *Courtney* to *Foderingham*, under the custody of Sir *Thomas Tresham*, who after some time was set at liberty, and going into *Italy* there died. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop *Gardiner* bore to the Lady *Elizabeth*, by whose only procurement, not only she was kept in most hard durance, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Counsellours hands, to put her to death; and had been done, but that Mr. *Bridges* Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her case, went to the Queen to know her pleasure, who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preserved. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, how they cut off boughs and branches, but as long as they let the root remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembring what trains were laid to ensnare her. The common Net at that time for catching of Protestants, was the Real Presence, and this Net was used to catch her; for being asked one time, What she thought of the words of Christ, *This is my Body*; whether she thought it the true Body of Christ that was in the Sacrament? It is said, that after some pausing, she thus answered:

The Duke of *Suffolk* is beheaded.

Wiat is beheaded.

Stephen Gardiner practises against the Lady *Elizabeth*.

He procures a Warrant to put her to death.

And how she was preserved.

> *Christ was the Word that spake it:*
> *He took the Bread, and brake it:*
> *And what the Word did make it,*
> *That I believe, and take it.*

Which though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than at first sight appears; at least it served her turn at that time to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done.

On the seventeenth of *February*, *Thomas* Lord *Gray* the Duke of *Suffolks* Brother was beheaded, the last, and indeed the least in Delinquency, that suffered for having any hand in *Wyat's* Conspiracy. There remained yet a fagge end, and was indeed but a fagge end, as nothing worth; for on the same day Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, being accused to have been a party in *Wyat*'s Conspiracy, was at the *Guild-Hall* arraigned before Sir *Thomas White* Lord Mayor, the Earls of *Shrewsbury* and *Derby*, Sir *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chief Justice of *England*, Sir *Nicholas Hare* Master of the Rolls, Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, Sir *Richard Southwell* and Sir *Edward Walgrave* Privy Counsellours, Sir *Roger Chomely*, Sir *William Portman* one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir *Edward Sanders*, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Mr. *Stamford* and Mr. *Dyer* Serjeants at Law, Mr. *Edward Gryffin* Atturney General, Mr. *Sendall* and *Peter Tichborne* Clerks of the Crown, where the said Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* so fully and discreetly answered all Objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury, Not guilty; and was clearly acquitted: But the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent Prisoners, some of them to the *Tower*, and some to the *Fleet*, and afterward fined to pay a thousand Marks apiece at least, and some two thousand pounds; though these Sums were afterward something mitigated.

Thomas Lord *Gray*, the Duke of *Suffolks* brother beheaded.

Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* arraigned, and by the Jury acquitted.

More

Divers of *Wyats* Complices pardoned.

More of *Wyat's* Complices had been taken, arraigned, and adjudged to die, but in Judgment the Queen remembred Mercy, and gave them their Pardons, of which Number were Maſter *Rudſton* of *Kent*, Sir *James a Crofts*, the Lord *John Gray* Brother to the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome others.

Divers Lords created.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in honour, the Lord *William Howard*, Lord Admiral of *England*, was created Baron *Howard* of *Effingham*, Sir *John Williams* was created Baron of *Tame*, Sir *Edward North* was created Baron of *Chartleigh*, Sir *John Bridges* was created Baron *Chandowes* of *Sudely*. *Gerard Fitz Garret* Earl of *Kildare* and Baron of *Ophelley*, and not long after Sir *Anthony Brown* Maſter of the Horſe, was created Viſcount *Mountague*.

The Impoſture of *Elizabeth Croft*, called the Spirit in the Wall.

It is ſcarce worth remembring, That in the end of this firſt year of the Queens Reign, one *Elizabeth Croft*, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Wall, and thereupon called, *The Spirit in the Wall*, who with a Whiſtle made for the purpoſe, whiſtled out many ſeditious words againſt the *Queen*, the Prince of *Spain*, the Maſs, Confeſſion, and ſuch other Points; for which ſhe did Penance, ſtanding upon a Scaffold at *Paul's* Croſs all the Sermon time, where ſhe made open confeſſion of her fault.

Cranmer, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to die.

There had been good ſtore of Lay-mens bloud ſhed already, and now the time is coming to have Clergy-mens ſhed; and for a preparative to it, on the tenth of *April*, *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* late Biſhop of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, are conveyed from the Tower to *Oxford*, there to diſpute with *Oxford* and *Cambridge* men in Points of Religion, but eſpecially of the Euchariſt; the *Oxford* men were *Cole*, *Chadſey*, *Pye*, *Harpſield*, *Smith*, and Doctor *Weſton* Prolocutor: the *Cambridge* men, *Young*, *Seaton*, *Watſon*, *Atkinſon*, *Fecknam*, and *Sedgewick*. The Diſputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went againſt the Priſoners, on the twentieth of *April* they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, Whether they would perſiſt in their Opinion, or elſe recant? And affirming they would perſiſt, they were all three adjudged Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire; but their Execution we muſt not look for till a year or two hence; but in the mean time we have *John Rogers* the firſt Martyr of theſe Times, burnt at *London* the fourth of *February*; after whom the ninth of *February*, *John Hooper*, late Biſhop of *Worceſter*, burnt at *Glouceſter*; after him, *Robert Ferrar* Biſhop of *Man*, burnt at *Carmarden*; after him *John Bradford*, with many others; & then the two famous men *Ridley* and *Latimer*, no leſs famous for their conſtant deaths than their Religious lives, both burnt at *Oxford* the ſixteenth of *October*.

The firſt that ſuffered for Religion in Queen *Maries* time.

This Riſing of *Wyat* had been a *Remora* to the Queens Marriage, and now to avoid all ſuch obſtacles hereafter, the Queen in *April* called a Parliament; wherein were propounded two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage; the other for reſtoration of the Popes Primacy: This latter was not aſſented to but with great difficulty; for the ſix years Reign of King *Edward* had ſpread a plantation of the Proteſtant Religion in the hearts of many: but the Propoſition for the Marriage was aſſented to readily, but yet with the adding of ſome conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles: 1. That King *Philip* ſhould admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives. 2. That he ſhould innovate nothing in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Kingdom. 3. That he ſhould not carry the *Queen* out of the Realm, without her conſent, nor any of her Children without conſent of the Council. 4. That ſurviving the *Queen*, he ſhould challenge no right in the Kingdom, but ſuffer it to deſcend to the next Heir. 5. That he ſhould carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor ſuffer any Ships or Ordnance to be removed out of the Realm: And laſtly, That neither directly nor indirectly, he ſhould cauſe the Realm of *England* to be intangled with the War between *Spain* and *France*.

The Conditions of the Queens marriage with Prince *Philip*.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of *Bedford* Lord Privy Seal, the Lord *Fitz-waters*, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are ſent into *Spain* to fetch over Prince *Philip*, who arrived at *Southampton* the twentieth of *July*, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to *Winchеſter*, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth, the Marriage between them there was openly ſolemnized: (the diſparity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but ſeven and twenty years of age, ſhe eight and thirty) at which time the Emperours Embaſſadours being preſent, openly declared, That in conſideration of that Marriage, the Emperour had given to Prince *Philip* his Son, the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Hieruſalem*; and thereupon (the ſolemnity of Marriage being ended) *Garter* King of Heralds openly in the Church, in the preſence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of *England* and *Spain*, ſolemnly proclaimed the Title and Style of theſe two Princes, as followeth; *Philip* and *Mary* by the Grace of God King and Queen of *England*, *France*, *Naples*, *Hieruſalem*, and *Ireland*, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of *Spain*, and *Sicily*, Arch-Dukes of *Auſtria*; Dukes of *Millain*, *Burgundy*, and *Brabant*, Counts of *Hapſpurge*, *Flanders*, and *Tyroll*. After this, the King and Queen by eaſie Journeys came to *Windſor* Caſtle, where the King was inſtalled Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of *Suſſex* with him: The eleventh of *Auguſt* they removed to *Richmond*, the ſeven and twentieth to *Suffolk-Place* in *Southwark*, and the next day to *London* (where the ſtately Shews that were made, may well enough be conceived without relating) from hence after four days they removed again to *Richmond*, where all the Lords had leave to depart into their Countries; and indeed ſo many departed, that there remained not an *Engliſh* Lord at the Court but the Biſhop of *Winchеſter*: From *Richmond* they removed to *Hampton-Court*, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept ſhut, ſo as no man might enter unleſs his errand were firſt known, which might perhaps be the faſhion of *Spain*, but to *Engliſhmen* ſeemed very ſtrange.

1554.

The Earl of *Bedford* is ſent into *Spain*, to fetch over Prince *Philip*.

The Marriage between him and the Queen is ſolemnized.

Their Style

A bare and cloſe Court.

About this time Cardinal *Poole*, ſent for by

Cardinal *Pool* is sent for by the King and Queen to come into *England*.

the King and Queen, came over into *England*; and had come sooner, but that the Emperour, fearing he might prove a Corrival with his Son *Philip*, had used means to stop his passage; but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him pass; who though he came from *Rome* with the great authority of a Legate *a Latere*, yet he would not but come privately into *London*, because his Attaindour was yet upon Record; an Act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in bloud; for passing of which Act, the King and *Queen* in Person came to the Parliament House; whither a few days after, the Cardinal came himself, which was then kept in the great Chamber of *White-Hall*, because the Queen, by reason of sickness, was not well able to go abroad: and here the King and Queen sitting under the Cloth of Estate, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being present, the Bishop of *Winchester* Lord Chancellour, made a short Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal, and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate *a Latere*, to do a Work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (saith he) you may the better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal rose up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhorting them to return into the bosome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compell, but to call and require: and for their first work of Reconcilement, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been made in derogation of the Catholick Religion. After which Speech, the *Parliament*, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two days after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardoned of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosome of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of *Rome*. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words; [We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope *Julius* the Third (Christs Vicegerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Heresie and Schism, and from all Judgments, Censures, and pains for that cause incurred; And also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the holy Church.] The report hereof coming to *Rome*, was cause that a solemn Procession was made for joy of the Conversion of *England* to the Church of *Rome*. And now the *Queen* had a great desire to have King *Philip* Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

Being come, he makes a solemn speech to the Parliament, exhorting them to return to the bosome of the Church.

The Parliament desires Pardon of their former Errors.

And thereupon the Cardinal gives the whole Realm Absolution.

The Parliament will not yield that King *Philip* should be crowned.

1555. In *October* this second year of her Reign a rumour was spread of the Queens being with child, and so forward, that she was quick; and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it self was so credulous of it, that they entred into consideration of the Education of the Child; and made an Act, desiring the King (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child: But after all this, in *June* following, it came to be known, that it was but a Tympany, or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected, in *January* this year, divers of the Council, as the Lord Chancellour, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Controllor of the Queens House, Secretary *Bourne*, and Sir *Richard Southwell* Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of *Northumberland*'s Sons, *Ambrose*, *Robert*, and *Henry*, also Sir *Andrew Dudley*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Sir *John Rogers*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *George Harper*, Sir *Edward Warner*, Sir *William Sentlow*, Sir *Gowen Carow*, *William Gybbs* Esquire, *Cuthert Vaughan*, and some others.

The Queen is preached in Churches to be with child: and prayers made for her safe delivery; but proved no such thing.

Divers that were in the Tower condemned are set at liberty.

About this time one *William Fetherstone*, a Millers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named and bruited himself to be King *Edward* the Sixth; for which being apprehended and examined, he answered as one Lunatick, and thereupon was whipped at the Carts tayl, and banished into the *North*: but the year after, spreading abroad again, that King *Edward* was alive, and that he had talked with him, he was arraigned and condemned of Treason, and at *Tyburn* hanged and quartered.

One *Fetherstone* a Millers Son takes upon him to be King *Edward* the Sixth.

Is taken and hanged at *Tyburne*.

In the month of *March*, the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Council, namely, *William* Marques of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Robert Rochester* Controllor, Sir *William Peter* Secretary, and Sir *Francis Englefield* Master of the Wards, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Possessions as well of Monasteries and Abbeys, as of other Churches, and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed, as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquaint the Cardinal with her purpose. And shortly after in performance hereof, *John Fecknam*, late Dean of *Pauls*, was made Abbot of *Westminster*, and had possession delivered him, and with him fourteen Monks received the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of *November*, Sir *Thomas* was instituted Lord of St. *Johns* of *Hierusalem*, and was put in possession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was told her, That this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, She more valued the salvation of her soul than a thousand Crowns. A most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to shew her to be a most Pious Prince.

The Queen delivers up all the Lands of Monasteries that were in her hands.

The

King *Philip* goes into *Flanders*, where he ſtayes eighteen months

The fourth of *September* this year, Ring *Philip* waited on with the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Steward, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Huntington*, and others, went over to *Callice*, and from thence to *Bruſſells* in *Brabant*, to viſit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him poſſeſſion of the *Low-Countries*, in *March* following he returned into *England*; but on the ſixth of *July* following, by reaſon of Wars with *France*, he paſſed again over to *Callice*, and ſo into *Flanders*, from whence he returned not till eighteen months after; which made great muttering amongſt the Common people, as though he took any little occaſion to be abſent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

1556. In the third year of the Queen died *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at his houſe in *Southwark*; of whoſe death it is memorable, That the ſame day in which Biſhop *Ridley* and Mr. *Latimer* ſuffered at *Oxford*, he would not go to dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of *Norfolk* was come to dine with him: the reaſon was, becauſe he would firſt hear of their being burnt; and as ſoon as word of that was brought him, he preſently ſaid, Now let us go to Dinner; where ſitting down, and eating merrily, upon a ſudden he fell into ſuch extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table, and carried to his bed, where he continued fifteen days, without voiding any thing either by Urine or otherwiſe, which cauſed his tongue to ſwell in his mouth, and ſo he died; after whoſe death, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York* was made Lord Chancellour.

Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of *Wincheſter* dies a ſtrange death.

Biſhop *Cranmer* upon hope of life recants.

And now comes the time of Archbiſhop *Cranmers* Execution, who the year before had been condemned and degraded by Commiſſion from the Pope; after which, being by the ſubtilty of ſome, put in hope of life, out of frailty he ſubſcribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal *Poole* would no longer be kept from being Archbiſhop, (which he would not be as long as he lived) or that the Queen could not be gotten to forget his being the chief Inſtrument of her Mothers Divorce; his Execution was reſolved to be the fourteenth of *February*, in the ſame place at *Oxford* where *Ridley* and *Latimer* five months before had been: Before the Execution, Doctor *Cole* preached, who to make uſe of *Cranmers* Recantation, told the people, they ſhould do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confeſſion, who now at his death, and with his death would teſtifie which was the true Religion; never thinking that *Cranmer* would have denied his former Recantation: But *Cranmer* being brought to the Stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, That through frailty he had ſubſcribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a puniſhment, that hand which had done it ſhould firſt ſuffer, and therewithall thruſting his right hand into the fire, he there held it, till it firſt, and then his whole body was conſumed; only (which was no ſmall miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire. The ſame year alſo, no fewer than eighty four of both Sexes were burnt for Religion: and it was a cruelty very far extended, that the bones of *Bucer* and *Phagius* ſome time before dead and buried, were taken up and publickly burnt in *Cambridge*. No ſooner was *Cranmer* dead, but the very ſame day was Cardinal *Poole* made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Yet is brought to the ſtake and burnt: where he burns his hand firſt.

When his whole body was burnt, his heart remained untouch't of the fire.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Juſtice was done upon a great Perſon; for the Lord *Sturton* a man much in the Queens favour, as being an earneſt Papiſt, was for a Murther committed by him, arraigned and condemned, and he, with four of his Servants carried to *Salisbury*, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour to be hanged in a ſilken halter, his Servants in places near adjoyning to the place where the Murther was committed. 1557.

The Lord *Sturton* for a murther is hanged in a ſilken halter.

The four and twentieth of *April*, *Thomas Stafford*, ſecond Son to the Lord *Stafford*, with other, to the number of two and thirty perſons (ſet on by the *French* King) attempted to raiſe Sedition againſt the *Queen*, for marrying with King *Philip*, and coming out of *France*, arrived at *Scarborough* in *York-ſhire*, where they took the Caſtle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of *Weſtmerland*, and then taken and arraigned: The eight and twentieth of *May*, *Stafford* was beheaded on the Tower-Hill, and the next day three of his Aſſociates, *Strelly*, *Bradford*, and *Procter* were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed. The firſt of *May*, *Thomas Percy* was firſt made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom the *Queen* gave all the Lands that had been his Anceſtors,

Thomas Stafford for raiſing Sedition arraigned and beheaded.

Thomas Percy made Earl of *Northumberland*.

At this time the *Queen* intangled her ſelf (contrary to her promiſe) in her Husbands Quarrel, ſent a defiance to the *French* King, by *Clarentius* King at Arms; and after on the Munday in the Whitſun-week, by ſound of Trumpet, proclaimed open War againſt him in *Cheapſide*, and other places of the City; and ſhortly after, cauſed an Army of a thouſand Horſe, and four thouſand Foot, to be tranſported over, to the aid of her Husband King *Philip*, under the leading of the Earl of *Pembroke* Captain General, Sir *Anthony Brown* Viſcount *Mountague* Lieutenant General, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* Lord Marſhal, the Earl of *Rutland* General of the Horſe, the Earl of *Lincoln* Colonel of the Foot, the Lord *Robert Dudley* Maſter of the Ordnance, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *De la Ware*, the Lord *Bray*, the Lord *Chandows*, the Lord *Ambroſe Dudley*, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joyning with King *Philips* Forces, they all ſet down before *St. Quintyns*, a Town of the *French* Kings of great importance. To the reſcue whereof, the *French* King ſent an Army, under the leading of the Conſtable of *France*, which conſiſted of nine hundred men at Arms, with as many light Horſe, eight hundred Reyſters, two and twenty Enſigns of Lancequenets, and ſixteen Enſigns of *French* Footmen: Their purpoſe was not to give battel, but to put more Succours into the Town; which the *Philippians* perceiving, encountred them, and in the fight ſlew *John* of *Burbon* Duke of *Anghein*, the Viſcount of *Torrain*, the Lord of *Chadenier*, with many Gentlemen of account: They took priſoners the Duke of *Memorancy* Conſtable of *France*, the Duke of *Montpenſyer*, Duke *Longuevile*,

Queen *Mary* ſends aid to King *Philip*, with which he beſiegeth and takes *St. Quintyns*.

the Marshal of St. *Andrews*, the Lord *Lewis* Brother to the Duke of *Mantova*, the Baron of *Curton*, the *Rhinegrave* Colonel of the *Almaynes*, *Monsieur d' Obigny*, *Monsieur de Biron*, and many others; and then pursuing the victory, under the government of the Earl of *Pembroke*, on the seven and twentieth of *August* they took the Town of St. *Quintyns*; in the assault whereof, the Lord *Henry Dudley*, youngest Son to the Duke of *Northumberland*, was with a piece of great Ordnance slain, & some other of account. The saccage of the Town K. *Philip* gave to the *English*, as by whose valour chiefly it was won.

The joy was not so great for this winning of St. *Quintyns*, but there will be greater sorrow presently for other losses. Many of the Garrison of *Callice* had been drawn from thence for service of St. *Quintyns*, and no new supply sent; which being perceived by the *French* King, a Plot is laid how to surprise it, which yet was not so secretly carried, but that the Officers of *Callice* had intelligence thereof; who there upon signified it to the Council of *England*, requiring speedy Succours, without which, against so great an Army as was raised against them, they should not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger so imminent as indeed it was, they neglected to send Supplies till it was too late. For the Duke of *Guyse*, with no less speed than Policy, took such a course, that at one and the same time, he set both upon *Newnham* bridge, and also upon *Ricebank*, (the two main *Skonces* for defence of the Town) and took them both, and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and that with such violence of great Ordnance, that the noise was heard to *Antwerp*, being a hundred miles off. But having made the Walls assaultable, the *English* used this Stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they should offer to enter; but this Stratagem succeeded not; for the *French* in passing the Ditch, had so wet their cloths, that dropping upon the Train, the Powder would take no fire, (so all things seemed to concur against the *English*) and thereupon the Castle was taken also, and with it the Town also had been taken, but that Sir *Anthony Ager*, with the loss of his own life, and his eldest Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the *French*, but their Numbers increased so fast upon the Town, that the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parlee, where a Composition was made, That the Town should presently be yielded to the *French* King, the lives of the Inhabitants only saved, and safe conduct to pass away, saving the Lord Deputy with fifty other, such as the Duke should name. And here to be quit with the *English* for their hard usage at St. *Quintyns*, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, That all and every person of the Town should bring their money, jewels, and plate, to the value of a groat, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means an inestimable sum of Treasure was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town. And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out against so great an Army, it is said, there were in it but only five hundred Souldiers of ordinary, and scarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women, and children, four thousand and two hundred; all which were suffered to depart, saving the Lord *Wentworth* the Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlain* Captain of the Castle, *John Hurlstone* Captain of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captain of *Newnham* bridge, *Edward Grimston* the Controllour, *John Rogers* the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried prisoners into *France*. And thus *Callice*, which had been in possession of the *English* above two hundred years, was won from the *English* in eight days, which King *Edward* the Third had not won from the *French* in less than a year. The Lord *Wentworth* was suspected, and in Queen *Elizabeths* time arraigned for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. *Callice* thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to *Guysnes*, five miles distant, whereof was Captain the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, who held out the siege and batteries five or six days with so great valour and resolution, that he appeared in nothing inferiour to the Enemy but in multitude; yet at last overlaid with their numbers, and importuned by his Souldiers, much against his own will, he made composition, that the Town and Castle should be wholly rendred, himself and all Officers remain prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The Lord *Gray* afterward ransomed for four and twenty thousand Crowns. And now the Duke of *Guise* considering that *Guysnes* would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a neighbour to *Callice*, if it should be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. *Guysnes* thus won, there remained nothing within the *English* Pale, but the little Castle of *Hammes*, whereof was Captain the Lord *Edward Dudley*, who considering that though it were naturally strongly situate, as being invironed with Fens and Marshes, yet it had but little helps by Art of Fortifications, and being assured that the Duke of *Guise* would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his Garrison, departed into *Flanders*, so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of *Guise*; and with the loss of this Castle, the *English* lost all their footing in *Terra Firma*, and the Kings of *England* all the reality of their Title in *France*, having nothing left but *nudum nomen*.

The losses and mourning at losing Callice.

1558.

Guysnes also won by the *French*.

And so the *English* lost all their footing in *France*.

Presently after this, the *French* King caused the Marriage between his eldest Son *Francis* the Daulphin, and *Mary Steward*, sole Heir of *James* the fifth, King of *Scotland*, to be solemnized: whereupon great Wars ensued soon after between *England* and *Scotland*.

The Daulphin of *France* marries *Mary Steward* heir of *Scotland*.

Queen *Mary* being infinitely troubled in mind for the loss of *Callice*, sent presently forth her Admiral the Lord *Clinton*, with a Fleet of more than a hundred sail, to recover at least reparation in honour, by doing some exploit upon *France*, who not finding opportunity to set upon *Brest*, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of *Conquest*, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages thereabouts, and then returned. In which mean time, many great Conflicts having

An Agreement of Peace between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; but only want of restitution of *Callice*.

having been between King *Philip* and the King of *France*; at last, by mediation of the Dutchess of *Lorrain*, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but only that King *Philip* by all means required restitution of *Callice*, to which by no means the *French* would assent: But whilst they stood upon these terms, it hapned that first the Emperour *Charles* King *Philips* Father died, and shortly after Queen *Mary*, and the day after Cardinal *Poole*, and shortly after Sir *John Baker* of *Sissingherst* in *Kent*, who had been a Privy Counsellour to *Henry* the eighth, *Edward* the sixth, and *Queen Mary*. And so our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*.

Queen *Mary* dies.

Of her Taxations.

SHe began with a rare Example; for in the first year of her Reign, was pardoned by Proclamation, the Subsidy of four shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of goods, granted in the last *Parliament* of King *Edward* the sixth. In her second year, in a *Parliament* then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subsidy of the Laity, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence in the pound; from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence in the pound; and from twenty pounds upwards, sixteen pence in the pound; all Strangers double, and the Clergy six shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City of *London*; and paid twelve pounds a year Interest for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her Time.

New Coyns of Gold and Silver.

IN her first year, on the fourth of *September*, were proclaimed certain new Coins of Gold and Silver, a Sovereign of Gold of thirty shillings; the half Sovereign fifteen shillings; an Angel of ten shillings; the half Angel five shillings. Of Silver the groat, the half groat, and peny; all these Coyns to be currant as before. In her second year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the shooting in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which she was married to King *Philip*, a straight charge was to all Victuallers, Taverners, and Alehouse-keepers, that they should sell no meat nor drink, nor any kind of victuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial to shew whose servant he was. Also in a *Parliament* holden this year, amongst other Acts, the Statute *Ex Officio* and other Laws made for the punishment of Heresies, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbey Land was there confirmed. In her second year, on *Michaelmas* Even, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in *Breadstreet*, were removed to a new Counter made in *Woodstreet*, of the City purchase and building; the which removing was confirmed by the Common Council of the City.

Meat and drink forbidden to be sold to any servingman, without a testimonial whom he served.

The Counter in *Woodstreet* first made a Prison.

Affairs of the Church in her Time.

IN the first year of this Queens Reign, all Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopricks, and the new removed; also all beneficed men that were married, or would not forsake their Opinion, were put out of their Livings; and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. Also this year, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, the Service begun to be sung in *Latine* in *Paul's* Church. Also this year the Popes Authority was by Act of Parliament restored in *England*, and the Mass commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second year, the Realm is Absolved, and reconciled to the Church of *Rome* by Cardinal *Poole*: and first Fruits and Tenths are restored to the Clergy; but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the necessity of it for the Queens support. In her fourth year, Monasteries were begun to be re-edified; of which number were that of *Westminster*, that of *Sheen* and *Sion*, that of the *Black-Fryers*, and the Fryers of *Greenwich*. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines, and of all sorts of Men and Women, two hundred threescore and seventeen.

The number of those that died for Religion in *Queen Maries* days.

Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her Time.

THis Queen restored a great part of Abbey-lands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first year, Sir *Thomas White* then Mayor, erected a Colledge in *Oxford*, now called St. *Johns* Colledge, before, *Bernard* Colledge: he also erected Schools at *Bristow* and *Reading*, and gave two thousand pounds to the City of *Bristow* to purchase Lands, the profits whereof to be imployed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be imployed in like manner, to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir *John Gresham*, late Mayor of *London*, who founded a a Free School at *Holt* in *Norfolk*, and gave to every Ward in *London* ten pounds to be distributed to the Poor; also to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. *Cutbert Tunstal* Bishop of *Durham* erected a goodly Library in *Cambridge*, storing it with many excellent both Printed and Written Books: he also bestowed much upon building at *Durham*, at *Alnewick* and at *Tunbridge*.

St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford* founded.

Casualties happening in her Time.

IN her first year, on the seven and twentieth of *August*, the goodliest Ship in *England*, called, *The Great Harry*, being of the burthen of a thousand Tun, was burnt at *Woolwich* by negligence of the Mariners. In her second year, on the fifteenth of *February*, appeared in the Skie a Rainbow reversed, the bow turned downward, and the two ends standing upward: Also two Suns shined at one time a good distance asunder,

asunder, which were taken for ill signs. This year also in the month of *August*, at a place in *Suffolk* by the Sea side, all of hard stone and pebble, lying between the Towns of *Oxford* and *Alborough*, where never grass grew, nor any earth was ever seen, there chanced suddenly to spring up without any tillage or sowing, so great abundance of Peason, that the Poor gathered above a hundred quarters, yet there remained some ripe, and some blossoming, as many as were before. In her fourth year, hot burning Agues, and other strange Diseases took away much people: so as between the twentieth of *October* and the last of *December*, there died seven Aldermen, namely, *Henry Heardson*, Sir *Richard Dobbs* late Mayor, Sir *William Laxton* late Mayor, Sir *Henry Hobblestern* late Mayor, Sir *John Champneys* late Mayor, Sir *John Aleph* late Mayor, and Sir *John Gresham* late Mayor. In her fourth year, before Harvest, Wheat was sold for four Marks the quarter, Malt at four and forty shillings the quarter, and Pease at six and forty shillings eight pence; where after Harvest, Wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, Malt at six shillings eight pence, Rye at three shillings four pence the quarter. In the Country, Wheat was sold for four shillings the quarter, Malt at four shillings eight pence, and in some places a bushel of Rye for a pound of Candles, which was four pence. In her fifth year, within a mile of *Nottingham*, so marvellous a Tempest of Thunder happened, that it beat down all the Houses and Churches in two Towns thereabouts, cast the Bells to the outside of the Church-yard, and some webs of Lead four hundred foot into the field, writhen as if it had been leather; the River of *Trent* running between the two Towns, the Water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against Trees; with the violence whereof the Trees were pulled up by the Roots, and cast twelve score off; also a Child was taken forth of a mans hand, and carried two Spears length high, and then let fall two hundred foot off, of which Fall it died; five or six men thereabouts were slain, and neither flesh nor skin perished; also there fell some Hail-stones that were fifteen inches about. This year also in Harvest time was a great Mortality, and especially of Priests, so as many Churches were unserved, and much corn was lost in the field for want of Workmen; whereupon ensued a great scarcity, so that Corn was sold for fourteen shillings a quarter, and Wood sold in *London* for thirteen shillings a thousand of Billets, and Coals ten pence a sack. Also this year, on the last of *Septem.* fell so great store of rain, that *Westminster Hall* was full of water, and Boats were rowed over *Westminster* Bridge into *Kings*-Street.

Pease growing plentifully where never sowed

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth, and in a plenty.

A marvellous Tempest.

Of her Personage and Conditions.

OF her Personage we can make no paticular description; only we may say, she was none of the most amiable, but yet without deformity; but of her Conditions we may say, she was not without deformity, and yet was very amiable. If we account her Religion a deformity, yet her constancy and devotion in it we must needs count a beauty: If it were a deformity to promise the *Suffolk* men, Not to alter the Religion which King *Edward* had established, yet it was certainly a pious dissembling, *Cretizare cum Cretensibus*; and equivocation (will some say) was there a vertue, where she deceived them into truth, and did them good against their wills. And as for her Sister *Elizabeth*, if she did not love her, it was but a quality hereditary in her; for their Mothers did not love one another before: and indeed not without some cause in both; for as those upbraided each others Marriage, so these each others Birth. We shall not do her right, if we deny her to be of a merciful disposition, seeing oftentimes she pitied the person, where she shed the bloud: She could have found in her heart to have spared the Lady *Janes* life, if *Ragion di stato* had not been against it; and she did spare her Father the Duke of *Suffolks* life, till his second offence gave her just provocation. The goodness of her nature might be seen in the badness of her fortune; who took nothing so much to heart, as unkindness of friends; the revolt of *Callice*, and the absence of King *Philip*, being the two chief Causes that brought her to her end.

Of her Death and Burial.

THE Conceit of her being with child, had kept Physicians from looking into the state of her body; so as her first distemper at first neglected, brought her by degrees into a Dropsie, to which was added a burning Fever, brought upon her by a double grief, one for the long absence of King *Philip* (who had now been away a year and a half;) the other, and perhaps the greater, for the loss of *Callice*; as she forbore not to say to some about her, That if they looked into her Heart, being dead, they should find *Callice* there. She began to fall sick in *September*, and died at her Mannour of Saint *James*, the seventeenth of *November*, in the year 1558. when she had Reigned five years, four months, and eleven days; Lived three and forty years. Her Body was interred in a Chappel in the Minster of St. *Peters* Church at *Westminster*, without any Monument or other Remembrance.

Men of Note in her Time.

OF Men of Valour in her time, there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign; but to name some for example, there was *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the chief assistant of King *Philip* in the winning of St. *Quintyns*; there was *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Captain of *Guysnes*, who though he yielded the Town, yet more out of tenderness to his Souldiers than out of fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up: and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir *Anthony Ager*, who in defence of the Town of *Callice* lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and flie. Of Learned men also there were very many, as *John Rogers*, born in *Lancashire*, who Translated the Bible into *English* with Notes. *Richard Moryson* Knight, born in *Oxfordshire*, who wrote

divers

divers Treatiſes. *Robert Record*, a Doctor of Phyſick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick.

Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of *Durham*, whoſe Anceſtour was Barbour to the Conquerour.

Cuthbert Tunſtall, of a Worſhipful Family in *Lancaſhire*, though baſe born, whoſe Anceſtour came into *England* with the Conquerour as his Barbour, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms, Biſhop firſt of *London*, and after of *Durham*, who wrote divers learned Works. *Richard Sampſon*, Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, who wrote certain Treatiſes. *Lucas Shepheard*, born at *Coleheſter* in *Eſſex*, an *Engliſh* Poet. *Jane Dudley*, Daughter to *Henry Gray* Duke of *Suffolk*, wrote divers excellent Treatiſes. *William Thomas* a *Welſhman*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Italy*, and other things. *James Brooks*, and *John Standiſh*, both of them Writers in defence of the Pope's Doctrine. *William Peryn* a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Maſs, and alſo divers Sermons. *Henry* Lord *Stafford*, Son to *Edward* Duke of *Buckingham*, who, amongſt other things which he wrote, Tranſlated a book out of *Latine* into *Engliſh*, entituled, *Utriuſque Poteſtatis Differentia*; which Book (as ſome think) was firſt compiled by *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*.

John Hopkins Tranſlated divers of *Davids* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Meeter.

John Hopkins, who Tranſlated divers of *Davids* Pſalms into *Engliſh* Meeter, which are to be found amongſt thoſe appointed to be ſung in the Church.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her firſt Year,
Sir *Thomas White* was Mayor.
Thomas Offley, *William Hewet*, Sheriffs.

In her ſecond year,
Sir *John Lyon* was Mayor.
David Woodroffe, *William Cheſter*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Garret*, or *Gerrard* was Mayor.
Thomas Lee, or *Leigh*, *John Machel*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Offley* was Mayor.
William Harper, *John White*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *Thomas Curteis* was Mayor,
Richard Mallory, *James Altham*, Sheriffs.

In her ſixth year,
Sir *Thomas Lee*, or *Leigh*, was Mayor.
John Halſey, *Richard Champion*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

1558. QUEEN *Mary* dying on *Thurſday* the ſeventeenth of *November*, in the Year 1558. her Siſter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of the age of five and twenty years, the onely ſurviving Child of King *Henry* the Eighth, by undoubted Right, ſucceeded her in the Crown; which happening in a time of Parliament, *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*, and Lord Chancellour, ſent to the Knights and Burgeſſes in the Lower Houſe, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper Houſe; to whom he ſignified, That Queen *Mary* was that Morning dead, and therefore required their Aſſents to joyn with the Lords in proclaiming Queen *Elizabeth*; which accordingly was done, by the ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *Weſtminſter*, and after in the City of *London*. The *Queen* was then at *Hatfield*; from whence on Wedneſday the three and twentieth of *November*, ſhe removed to the Lord *Norths* Houſe in the *Charter-Houſe*, where ſhe ſtayed till Munday the eight and twentieth of *November*, and then rode in her Chariot thorow *London* to the Tower; where ſhe continued till the fifth of *December*, and then removed to *Somerſet* Houſe in the *Strand*; from whence ſhe went to her Palace at *Weſtminſter*; and from thence, on the twelfth of *January*, to the Tower; and on the fourteenth of *January*, to *Weſtminſter* to her Coronation; where as we went, ſhe ſaid this Prayer: *O Lord, Almighty and everlaſting God, I give thee moſt hearty thanks, that thou haſt ſpared me to this joyful day; and I acknowledge, that thou haſt dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didſt with thy faithful Servant* Daniel *whom thou delivereſt out of the Denne, from the cruelty of the raging Lyons; even ſo was I overwhelmed, and onely by thee delivered: To thee therefore onely be thanks, honour and praiſe for ever.* And it is incredible, what Pageants and Shews were made in the City, as ſhe paſſed. On Sunday the five and twentieth of *January*, ſhe was Crowned in the Abbey Church at *Weſtminſter*, by Doctor *Oglethorp* Biſhop of *Carlile*, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. At this time, to honour her Coronation, ſhe conferred more Honour, than in all her time after: *William Parre* degraded by Queen *Mary*, ſhe made Marqueſſe of *Northampton*; *Edward Seymour*, whoſe Father had been Attainted, ſhe made Earl of *Hertford*; *Thomas Howard*, ſecond Son to the Duke of *Norfolk*, ſhe made Viſcount *Bindon*; Sir *Henry Carie*, her Couſin German, ſhe made Baron of *Hunſdon*; and Sir *Oliver Saint-John*, ſhe made Baron of *Bletſho*.

Queen *Elizabeth* is Proclaimed.

She is Crowned.

Divers Lords created.

And now the *Queen*, though ſhe were her ſelf very wiſe, yet would not truſt (and it was a great point of Wiſdome that ſhe would not truſt) to her own wiſdome; and therefore ſhe choſe Counſellours to aſſiſt her: In which number ſhe took *Nicholas Heath* Archbiſhop of *York*; *William Pawlet* Marqueſs of *Winchester* Lord high Treaſurer; *Henry Fitz Allen* Earl of *Arundell*; *Francis Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*; *Edward Stanley* Earl of *Derby*; *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembrook*; *Edward* Lord *Clinton* Lord Admiral; and *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*; Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Sir *William Peter*, Sir *Richard Sackvyle*, and *Nicholas Winton* Dean of *Canterbury*; All which had been Counſellours to Queen *Mary*, and were of her Religion: but then to make a counterpoyſe of Counſellours of her own Religion, ſhe joyned with them *William Parre* Marqueſs of *Northampton*; *Francis Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*; Sir *Thomas Parrey*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambroſe Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, late Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth: and a little after Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, whom ſhe made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for her

She makes of her Privy Councell as well Papiſts as Proteſtants.

she sends Ambassadours to all Princes abroad.

her State at home, she seeks correspondence with Princes abroad: To the Emperour *Ferdinand*, she sent in Embassage Sir *Thomas Chaloner*: To the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, the Lord *Cobham*: To the Princes of *Germany*, Sir *Henry Killigrew*; Sir *Armygill Waad* to the Duke of *Holst*; and another Ambassadour to the King of *Denmark*. There were also Ambassadours sent to the Pope, to the State of *Venice*, and to the *French* King; with whom at this time there was a Treaty of Peace holden at *Cambray*, between the Kingdoms of *France*, *England* and *Spain*; where for *England*, was imployed the Earl of *Arundell*, *Thursby*, Bishop of *Ely*, and Doctor *Wooton*, Dean of *Canterbury*; with whom *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham* was joyned by a new Commission.

King Philip solicites Queen Elizabeth for Marriage.

As soon as King *Philip* heard of the death of his Wife Queen *Mary*, partly out of considerations of State, and partly out of affection of love, he solicited Queen *Elizabeth* by his Ambassadour, the Earl of *Feria*, to joyn in Marriage with himself; which was no more for two Sisters to have successively one Husband, than was done before, for two Brothers to have successively one wife; and for this he promised to procure a Dispensation from the Pope. To which Motion, the Queen, though she well knew, that to allow a Dispensation in this case to be sufficient, were to make her own Birth illegitimate; yet to so great a Prince, and who in her Sisters time had done her many favours, she would not return so blunt an Answer; but putting the Ambassador off for the present in modest terms: She conceived there would be no better way to take him off clean from further suit, than by bringing in an alteration of Religion; which yet she would not do all at once, and upon the sudden (as knowing the great danger of sudden changes), but by little and little, and by degrees: as at first she permitted onely Epistles and Gospels, the Ten Commandements, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, to be read to the People in the *English* Tongue; in all other matters they were to follow the *Roman* Rite and Custome, untill order could be taken for establishing of Religion by Authority of *Parliament*; and a severe Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting all Points of Controversie to be medled with: By which means, she both put the Protestants in hope, and put not the Papists out of hope. Yet privately she committed the correcting of the Book of Common Prayer, set forth in the *English* Tongue, under King *Edward* the Sixth, to the care and diligence of Doctor *Parker*, *Bill*, *May*, *Cox*, *Grindall*, *Whitehead* and *Pilkington*, Divines of great Learning; with whom she joyned Sir *Thomas Smith*, a learned Knight: but the matter carried so closely, that it was not communicated to any, but to the Marquesse of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and Sir *William Cecill*. The two and twentieth of *March*, the use of the Lords Supper in both kinds was by *Parliament* allowed: The four and twentieth of *June*, the Sacrifice of the Masse was abolished, and the Liturgy in the *English* Tongue established, though as some say, but with the difference of six Voices. In *July* the Oath of Supremacy was propounded to the Bishops and others: And in *August*, Images were removed out of Churches, and broken or burnt. By these degrees Religion was changed; and yet the Change, to the wonder of the World, bred no disturbance; which if it had been done at once, and on the sudden, would hardly, at least not without dangerous oppositon, have been admitted.

whom she puts off, by bringing in an alteration of Religion. Which yet she doth by degrees.

The alteration of Religion by Parliament, by the difference only of six voices.

During this time, a *Parliament* had been Summoned to begin at *Westminster*, upon the fifteenth of *January*; and now the Queen, for satisfaction of the People, appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm, and Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen *Mary*: For the Prelates, were chosen *John White*, Bishop of *Winchester*; *Ralph Bayne*, Bishop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*; *Thomas Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*; Doctor *Cole*, Dean of *Pauls*; Doctor *Langdell*, Arch-deacon of *Lewis*; Doctor *Harpsefield*, Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*; and Doctor *Chadsey* Arch-deacon of *Middlesex*. For the Protestant side were appointed Doctor *Scory*, Doctor *Cox*, Doctor *Sands*, Doctor *Whitehead*, Doctor *Grindall*, Master *Horne*, Master *Guest*, Master *Elmer*, and Master *Jewell*. The place was prepared in *Westminster* Church; where, besides the Disputants, were present the Lords of the Queens Councel, with other of the Nobility; as also many of the Lower House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates, and their adherents, were these: First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custome of the Ancient Church to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common Prayer and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath authority to appoint and Change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Masse a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in Writing; and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing first. The last of *March* was the first day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said, they would deliver their minds onely by Speech: This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords, yet they had it granted. Then rose up Doctor *Cole*, and made a large Declaration concerning the first Point: when he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say? Who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book; which was distinctly read by Master *Horn*. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article: this again much displeased the Lords: yet this also was granted them, to do at their next meeting on *Munday* next; but when *Munday* came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted, That Queen *Elizabeth* was the lawful and undoubted Queen of *England*; notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King *Henry* the Eighth, that excluded both her and her Sister *Mary* from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a principle in Law, That the Crown once gained taketh away all defects. Also in this Parliament, First Fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of *England* was confirmed to the Queen, with so universal consent, that in the Upper House none opposed these Laws, but onely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *Anthony Brown*, Viscount *Mountague*:

1559.

A Conference of Papists and Protestants about matters of Religion,

But broken off, and why.

The Crown once gained, taketh away all defects.

The Title of Supreme Head of the Church is confirmed to the Queen.

Montague: and in the Lower-House, only some few of Papal inclination, murmured, saying, That the Parliament was packt; and that the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Arundell*, and Sir *William Cecill*, for their own ends, had cunningly begged Voyces, to make up their Party.

The Oath of Supremacy readily taken by all, but only some few, and who they were.

The Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendred to the Bishops and others; of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Livings. And that we may see, how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion; it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above Nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were no more that refused to take the Oath, but onely fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colledges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, six Abbots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except *Antony* Bishop of *Landaff*) as *Nicholas Heath* Archbishop of *York*, *Edmond Bonner* Bishop of *London*, *Cutbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, *Thomas Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, *Guilbert Bourn* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *John Christopherson* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John White* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Thomas Watson* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Ralph Bayne* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Owen Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlile*, *James Turberville* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *David Pool* Bishop of *Peterborough*: and with these, Dr. *Feckenam* Abbot of *Westminster*: All which were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private Friends, excepting those two sawcy Prelates, *Lincoln* and *Winchester*, who threatned to excommunicate the Queen. Three onely, namely, *Cutbert Scot* Bishop of *Chester*, *Richard Pate* Bishop of *Worcester*, and *Thomas Goldwell* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, changed their Religion of their own accord; as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, *Henry* Lord *Morley*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, and Sir *Robert Peckham*, (who had been Privy-Counsellors to Queen *Mary*) Sir *Thomas Sheiley*, and Sir *John Gage*.

Papal Bishops removed, and Protestants placed in their rooms.

In the Sees of the Prelates removed, were placed Protestant Bishops, as *Matthew Parker* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (who was consecrated by the Imposition of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops; namely, *William Barlow* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *John Scory* of *Chichester*, and *Miles Coverdale* of *Exeter*) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated *Edmund Grindall* Bishop of *London*, *Richard Cox* Bishop of *Ely*, *Edwyn Sands* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Rowland Merick* Bishop of *Bangor*, *Thomas Young* Bishop of Saint *Davyes*, *Nicholas Bullingham* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Jewell* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Richard Davis* Bishop of Saint *Asaph*, *Edward Guest* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Gilbert Barkely* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Thomas Bentham* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *William Alley* Bishop of *Exceter*, *John Parkhurst* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Robert Horn* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Richard Cheyney* Bishop of *Gloucester*, *Edmund Scambler* Bishop of *Peterborough*, *William Barlow* Bishop of *Chichester*, *John Scory* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Young* Archbishop of *York*, *James Pilkington* Bishop of *Durham*, *John Best* Bishop of *Carlile*, and *William Downham* Bishop of *Chester*.

Whilest these things were done in *England*, the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray* continued still; wherein King *Philip* stood for the restitution of *Callice* to the *English*, as firmly as if it had been his own Interest; and without it, would agree to no Peace with *France*: But when by Messages he understood that his Suit for marriage with Queen *Elizabeth* was rejected; and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen *Elizabeth*, seeing she would not be his, to himself; and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became presently less then a Friend, and forbore to do any more good Offices in that business. Queen *Elizabeth* thus left to her self, agreed with the *French* King, to conclude her own peace apart; and thereupon, Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at *Cambray*: For the *Queen* of *England* were *Thursby* Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Williams*, the Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain to the *Queen*, and Doctor *Wooton*, Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*: For the King of *France* were, *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, the first Peer of *France*, *Annas* Duke of *Memorancy*, *James Albon* Lord of Saint *Andrews*, *John Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleance*, and *Claude Aubespine* Secretary to the Privy Councel. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference, was the restitution of *Callice*; for which the *English* Commissioners, by the Queens appointment, offered to remit two Millions of Crowns, that by just accompt were due from *France* to *England*; but the Queen was not more desirous to recover *Callice*, than the *French* King was to hold it: And thereupon at last, it was concluded, that *Callice* should remain in possession of the *French* for the term of eight years; and those expired, it should be delivered to the *English*, upon Forfeiture of five hundred thousand Crowns, for which, Hostages were given: But all this notwithstanding, though the Conditions were sealed and sworn to, and though Hostages were assigned to remain in *England*, till one or other were performed; yet all was frustrate, and came to nothing.

King *Philip* stood for restitution of *Callice*, till he understood of the alteration of Religion in *England*. Queen *Elizabeth* left to her self, sends Embassadors about Peace with *France*.

Where it was concluded, that *Callice* should be restored after eight years, but yet came to nothing.

About this time, *Henry* King of *France* married his Daughter *Isabel* to *Philip* King of *Spain*, and his Sister *Margaret* to *Emanuel Phylibert*, Duke of *Savoy*; at the Solemnity of which Marriages, he would needs be a Tilter himself; and thereupon commanded the Earl of *Montgomery* to run against him, who unfortunately breaking his Lance upon the Kings Cuyrasse, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within few dayes he ended his life: After whose death, *Francis* his Son, at the age of sixteen years, succeeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen *Mary*, the Title of *Scotland*, and upon ground thereof, laying claim to the Crown of *England* also, & giving the Arms of *England*, as properly belonging to him.

Henry King of *France* unfortunately slain running at Tilt.

And now begins the game of Faction to be plaid, wherein the whole Estate of Queen *Elizabeth* lies at stake, a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well, will put her in jeopardy of losing all, seeing all about her was against her; *Philip* of *Spain* hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit; the King of *France* hath a quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is now his right; the Queen of *Scots* hath a quarrel to her for detaining her In-

heritance; the Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his Authority; the King of *Sweden* hath a quarrel to her, for slighting his Son in the way of Marriage: And all these being against her, whom hath she on her side, but onely her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants, who being scarce setled in their Religion, how shall they be setled in their Loyalty? And not being Loyal, where can she find to cast Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*; Wisdome is a supply for all defects: And indeed, the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passed all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

Knox in *Scotland* preaches against the Princes Authority. The Lords of *Scotland*

It happened (if at least it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose) that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in *Scotland*; but was indeed an incroachment upon the Princes Authority; for at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other headstrong Ministers, not onely Images and Altars were cast down and burnt, the Monasteries of Saint *Andrews*, of *Stone*, of *Stryveling*, and of *Lyndisnew* were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it pertained to them, of their own Authority, to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the prescript of Laws: whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of *Scotland*, against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this Case each of them sought for aid; The Queen Dowager had aid out of *France*, the Lords of *Scotland* sent for aid to the Queen of *England*: But this was matter for consultation. It seemed a bad Example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince; On the other side; It seemed no less then impiety, not to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion; but most of all it seemed plain madnesse, to suffer adversaries to be so near Neighbours, and let the *French* nestle in *Scotland*, who pretend Title to *England*: upon such considerations, it was resolved to send them aid: and thereupon, an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* his Lieutenant General; Sir *James Crofts* Assistant to him; the Lord *Scroop*, Lord Marshal; Sir *George Howard*, General of the men at Arms; Sir *Henry Piercy*, General of the Light-Horse; *Thomas Huggens* Provost Marshall; *Thomas Gower*, Master of the Ordnance; Master *William Pelham*, Captain of the Pyoneers; and Master *Edward Randoll*, Serjeant Major, and divers others. These coming into *Scotland*, joyned with the *Scottish* Lords, and set down before *Leith*, where passed many small Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults: to whom, after some time, a new supply came of above two thousand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir *Andrew Corbet*, Sir *Rowland Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Heslith*, Sir *Arthur Manwaring*, Sir *Lawrence Smith*, and others: yet with this new supply there was little more done then before; many light Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Assaults, so long, till at last the young *French* King, finding these broyls of *Scotland* to be too furious for him to appease, he sent to the Queen of *England*, desiring that Commissioners might be sent to reconcile these differences: whereupon were dispatched into *Scotland*, Sir *William Cecil*, her principal Secretary, with Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury*; who concluded a Peace between *England* and *France*, upon these Conditions, That neither the King of *France*, nor the Queen of *Scotland*, should thenceforth use the Arms or Titles of *England* or *Ireland*; And that both the *English* and the *French* should depart out of *Scotland*; And a general Pardon should be enacted by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those stirs. This Peace was scarce concluded, when *Francis* the young King of *France* died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother *Charles*, who was guided altogether by the Queen-Mother, and molested with the Civil dissensions between the Princes of *Guise* and *Conde*; for whose reconcilement, the Queen sent Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord President of *Wales*; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord *Ambrose Dudley*, Earl of *Warwick*; who arriving at *Newhaven*, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven moneths, he was then constrained, by reason of a Pestilence, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

1560.

The Lords of *Scotland* sent for aid to Queen *Elizabeth*.

The Queen sends an Army to assist the Lords of *Scotland*.

A Peace is concluded between the King of *France*, and the Queen, and upon what terms.

Francis King of *France* dieth and leaveth *Mary* Queen of *Scots* a Widow.

Newhaven taken by the *English*, but soon surrendred.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to marry, that she might have Issue to succeed her; to which purpose *Thomas Gargrave*, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely desired; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, than out of her Loyns: Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married; namely, To the Kingdom of *England*: and behold (saith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband; and therewith she held out her finger, and shewed the Ring, wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, she gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom: and if (saith she) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other; yet I doubt not but God will send you as good Kings as if they were born of me; for as much as we see by daily experience, That the Issue of the best Princes do often degenerate; And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble Stone declare, That a *Queen* having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin. Indeed, before this time, many Matches had been offered her: First, King *Philip*: and when he was out of hope of matching with her himself, he then dealt with the Emperour *Ferdinand* his Uncle, to commend his younger Son *Charles*, Duke of *Austria*, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then *John* Duke of *Finland*, second Son to *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, was sent by his Father, to solicite for his eldest Brother *Ericus*; who was honourably received, but the Match rejected. Then *Adolphus* Duke of *Holst*, Uncle to *Frederick* King of *Denmark* came into *England*, upon a great hope of speeding; but the Queen bestowed upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then *James* Earl of *Arran*, was commended to her by the Protestants of *Scotland*; but neither the man nor the motion was accepted. Of meaner Fortunes, there were some at home

The Parliament moves the Queen to marry.

And her Answer.

The many matches that had been offered to her.

home that pleased themselves with hope of her Marriage: First, Sir *William Pickering*, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Estate; but that most commended him, was his studiousness of Letters, and sweet demeanor. Then *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then *Robert Dudley*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Northumberland*, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age; but these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonies of her Princely favour, but never pledges of Nuptial love.

Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

About this time the Earl of *Feria* (who had married the Daughter of Sir *William Dormer*) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wives friends to live out of *England*, grew so incensed, that he made means to *Pius* the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as an Heretick and Usurper: but the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy; & knowing that gentle courses prevail more with generous minds, than roughness and violence; in most loving manner wrote unto her, exhorting her to return to the Unity of the Catholick Church,; and as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his Counsel; particularly, That he would recall the Sentence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-Prayer in *English* and permit to her People the use of the Sacrament in both Kinds. But Queen *Elizabeth* neither terrified with the Earl of *Feria's* practices, nor allured with the Popes great offers, according to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, persisted constant in her Resolution, to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was perswaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

But she persisted constant in her Religion.

John Oneal Earl of *Tyrone*, began to rebel.

Whilest these grounds of troubles are sowing in *England*, *France* and *Scotland*, it is not likely that *Ireland* will lye fallow; though indeed it be a Countrey that will bring forth troubles of it self, without sowing: but howsoever, to make the more plentiful Harvest of troubles at this time, *John Oneal* (whose Father King *Henry* the Eighth made Earl of *Tyrone*) to prevent the punishment of a private Outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince: and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was he that in the beginning of the Queens Reign, sowed the Seeds of that trouble in *Ireland*, which afterward, took so deep root, that till the ending of her Raign, it could never throughly be rooted out: though this man a year or two after came into *England*, and casting himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

Queen *Elizabeth* requires the Treaty of *Edenburgh* to be confirmed by the Queen Dowager. And her Answer.

The Treaty of *Edenburgh* should by promise have been confirmed by *Francis* the *French* King while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen *Elizabeth* requires his Dowager, the Queen of *Scots* to confirm it: but she solicited often to it by *Throgmorton* the Queens Leiger in *France*, made always answer, She could not do it without the Counsel of her Nobility in *Scotland*. Whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir *Thomas Randoll* into *Scotland*, to perswade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to permit their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any Forraign Prince; for which she alledged many great Reasons. In the mean while, the Queen of *Scots*, purposing to return into *Scotland*, sent before-hand *Dr. Oysotte* a *French* Lord, to intreat Queen *Elizabeth*, that with her leave, she her self might passe by Sea into *Scotland*, & *Dr. Oysotte* might pass by Land. But Queen *Elizabeth* openly denied both the one and the other, unlesse she would confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of *Scots* courtesie, if the Queen of *Scots* would not do her right.

The Queen of *Scots* much troubled with this answer, expostulates the matter with her Leiger *Throgmorton*, and much complains of the unthankfulness: but in the mean time providing shipping she loosed from *Callice*; and under covert of a mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in *Scotland*; where she intreated her Subjects in so loving a manner, that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdome; as well to the Protestant party, as the other: and then sent Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, proffering all observance and readiness to enter League with her; so she might by Authority of Parliament, be declared her Successor; which was but her Right. To this Queen *Elizabeth* answered, That though she would no way derogate from her Right: yet she should be loath to endanger her own security, and as it were to cover her own eyes with a Grave-Cloth, while she was alive; but fell again to her old Admonition, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of *Edenburgh*: And now to shew the respect she bore her, when her Uncles the Dukes *D' Aumale*, *D' Albenfe*, and other Lords of *France* that had brought her home, returned through *England*, she gave them most bountiful and loving entertainment.

The Queen of *Scots* passeth safely into *Scotland* though laid wait for to be intercepted. She offered all observance to Queen *Elizabeth*, so she might be declared her Successor. Queen *Elizabeth's* Answer.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise; but there grew such Jealousies of State between them; (the Queen of *Scots* doubting lest Queen *Elizabeth* meant to frustrate her Succession; Queen *Elizabeth* doubting lest the Queen of *Scots* meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more asunder in love, then they were near in blood, and was cause of many unkind passages between them: in all which, though the Queen of *Scots* were a very near match to the Queen of *England*, in the abilities of her mind; yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferior.

But now for all the courtesie which Queen *Elizabeth* shewed to the Queen of *Scots* Uncles, at their returning through *England*, yet new practices were again set on foot against her at *Rome*; the Duke of *Guise* especially laboring to have her be Excommunicated; but Pope *Pius* still averse from such roughness, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot *Martinengi*, and when he might not be admitted to enter *England*, then caused the Bishop of *Viterbo* his Nuntio in *France* to deal earnestly with the Queens Leiger *Throgmorton*, that she (as other Princes had done) would send her Orators to the Councel of *Trent*, which he before had called. But the Queen nothing tendering this point, made peremptory answer, That a Po-

The Pope invites Queen *Elizabeth* to send her Orators to the Councel of *Trent*.

piſh Aſſembly ſhe did not acknowledge to be a General Councel; nor did think the Pope to have any more Right or Power to call it, then any other Biſhop. This anſwer not only exaſperated the Pope, but ſo alienated the King of *Spain's* mind from her, that he was never after ſo kind a friend to her as he had been; & none of her Embaſſadors ever after had any great liking to be imployed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbot *Martinengi* was the laſt Nuntio that ever was ſent from the Pope into *England*, ſo Sir *Edward Carne*, now dying at *Rome*, was the laſt Leiger that was ever ſent to the Pope from the Kings of *England*.

The *Queens* Anſwer.

And now *Queen Elizabeth* knowing well that ſhe had drawn many ill-willers againſt her State, ſhe endeavoured to ſtrengthen it by all the means ſhe could deviſe: She cauſed many great Ordinance of Braſſe and Iron to be caſt; She repaired Fortifications in the Borders of *Scotland*; She encreaſed the number of Ships, ſo as *England* never had ſuch a Navy before; She provided great ſtore of Armour and Weapons out of *Germany*; ſhe cauſed Muſters to be held, and youth to be trained in exerciſes of Artillery; and to pleaſe the people (whoſe love is the greateſt ſtrength of all) ſhe gave leave to have Corn & Grain tranſported, and called in all baſe Coins and Braſs Money.

All baſe moneys called in.

1563

It was now the fifth yeer of *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, when divers great perſons were called in queſtion: *Margaret* Counteſs of *Lenox*, Neece to King *Henry* the Eighth, by his eldeſt Siſter, and her Husband the Earl of *Lenox*, for having had ſecret conference by Letters with the *Queen* of *Scots*, were delivered priſoners to Sir *Richard Sackvile*, Maſter of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in cuſtody. Alſo *Arthur Poole* and his Brother, whoſe great Grand-father, was *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth: *Antony Forteſcue*, who had married their Siſter, and others were arraigned, for conſpiring to withdraw themſeves to the Duke of *Guiſe* in *France*, and from thence to return with an Army into *Wales*, to declare the *Queen* of *Scots*, *Queen* of *England*; and *Arthur Pool* Duke of *Clarence*; which particulars they confeſſed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die; but had their lives ſpared, in regard they were of the Blood-Royal. Alſo the Lady *Katharine Gray*, Daughter to *Hen. Gray* Duke of *Suffolk* by the eldeſt Daughter of *Charles Brandon*, having formerly been married to the Earl of *Pembrooks* eldeſt Son; and from him ſoon after lawfully divorced, was ſome yeers after found to be with Childe by *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford*: who being at that time in *France*, was preſently ſent for; and being examined before the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able within a limited time to produce witneſſes of their marriage, they were both committed to the Tower; where ſhe was brought to bed: and after by the connivance or corruption of their Keepers, being ſuffered ſometimes to come together, ſhe was with childe by him again: which made the *Queen* more angry then before; ſo as Sir *Edw. Warner* Lieutenant of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-Chamber five thouſand pounds, and kept in Priſon nine years after. Though in pleading of his Caſe, one *John Hales* argued, They were lawful Man and Wife, by vertue of their own bare conſent, without any Eccleſiaſtical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortall ſickneſs, humbly deſired the *Queens* Pardon, for having married without her knowledge, and commending her Children to her clemency, died in the Tower.

Divers great perſons queſtioned and condemned, but had their lives ſpared.

At this time (the King being under Age) diſſentions amongſt the Peers grew hot in *France*, of which there were two Factions; both pretending the cauſe of Religion: Of the One, the Duke of *Guiſe*, a Papiſt, was Head; of the other the Prince of *Conde*, a Proteſtant: But while *Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi*: while theſe Princes are at variance, the people ſuffer for it; and chiefly, as being under the weaker protection, the Proteſtant party: whereupon *Queen Elizabeth*, having well learned the *Leſſon*: *Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet*; and fearing leſt the flame of their diſſention, might kindle a fire within her own Kingdome; ſent over Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Preſident of *Wales*, into *France*, to endeavour by all poſſible means their reconcilement; which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he ſhould effect it, but only to ſee what Invitations would be made to the *Queen* for her aſſiſtance) ſhe thereupon, at the moan of the afflicted Proteſtants, ſent over an Army of ſix thouſand Souldiers, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick*, in aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Conde*, and other Proteſtant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of *Newhaven*, to hold in the King of *France* his name untill ſuch time as *Callice* were reſtored: But the Prince of *Conde* marching to joyn with the *Engliſh* Forces, was by the Duke of *Guiſe* intercepted and taken Priſoner; which had been a great diſappointment to the *Engliſh*, but that the Duke of *Colen* joyned with him, beſieged *Caen* in *Normandy*, & took it, together with *Bayeux*, *Faleiſe*, and Saint *Lo*. The *French* Hoſtages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thouſand Crowns, if *Callice* were not reſtored, were remaining ſtill in *England*; who perceiving there was like to be War with *France*, prepared ſecretly to get away; but being ready to take ſhipping, were diſcovered and brought back again.

Queen Elizabeth ſends over an Army to aſſiſt the Proteſtants in *France*.

In the mean while, the Prince of *Conde* drawn on with a hope, to marry the *Queen* of *Scots*, and to have the chief Government in *France*, during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King, and with the *Guiſes*; ſo as now, all *French*, as well Proteſtants as Papiſts, required to have *Newhaven* delivered up: But the Earl of *Warwick* perceiving the fickleneſs of the *French* Proteſtants, firſt to make ſuit to draw him into *France*, and now upon ſo ſlight occaſion to require him to be gone, he ſhutteth all *French* both Proteſtants and Papiſts, out of the Town, & lays hold of their Ships; the French on the other ſide make ready to ſet upon the Town, ſaying, They fought not now for Religion, but for their Country; wherefore it was meet that both Proteſtants and Papiſts ſhould joyn their Forces, ſeeing they had already concluded a Peace betwixt themſelves. And hereupon the Duke of *Memorancy* ſent a Trumpeter to the Earl of *Warwick*, commanding him to yield the Town: who making anſwer by Sir *Hugh Pawlet*, That he would never yield it without the *Queens* leave; he thereupon beſieged the Town, and with a great violence of Battery, ſought to get it by force:

The Prince of *Conde* concludes a Peace with the King of *France*. *Newhaven* delivered up to the *French* with the Queens leav

Which

Which Queen *Elizabeth* hearing, she sent a Commission to the Earl of *Warwick* to yield it up, if upon honourable Conditions; which soon after was accordingly done, after the *English* had held it eleven moneths; and then the Earl, without any dishonour for yielding up a Town, which the Pestilence made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, returned into *England*: but that which was more doleful than the losse of *Newhaven*, he brought the Pestilence with him into *England*. The recovery of this Town, not only made the *French* to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellour of *France* pronounced openly, That by this War, the *English* had lost all their Right to *Callice*, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make War upon the other; which was the Point stood upon by the King of *France* and his Mother, when Queen *Elizabeth* sent Sir *Thomas Smith* to demand *Callice* to be restored.

At this time there were such cross designs amongst the Princes of Christendome, that a very good Polititian could hardly understand their aims. The Duke of *Guise* being slain in the Civil War, the Queen of *Scots* Dowry was not paid her in *France*, and the *Scots* were put off from being the Kings Guard: This exceedingly displeased the Queen of *Scots*: But then to please her again, and for fear least hereupon she should apply her self to the friendship of the *English*, her Uncle the Cardinal of *Lorrain* solicites her afresh, to marry *Charles* Duke of *Austria*; offering her for her Dowry the County of *Tyrol*.

The Queen of *Scots* requires Queen *Elizabeths* advise about her Marriage.

The Queen of *Scots*, to make use of her Uncles fear, and perhaps to bring Queen *Elizabeth* into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen *Elizabeth* not willing she should marry with any forrain Prince, perswades her to take a Husband out of *England*, and particularly commended to her the Lord *Robert Dudley*, (whose Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck:) promising withall, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, in Case she died without Issue. But when her Uncles and the Queen-mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the Marriage with *Dudley*, that so she would refuse that Match, and persevere in the Friendship of the *French*, they offered to pay her the Dowry-money that was behind, and to restore the *Scots* to all their former liberties in *France*. And as for the King of *Spain*, he had indeed a Leiger Embassador here in *England*; but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any sincere love; which he began to withdraw from the *English*, as suspecting them to intend a Trade to the *West-Indies*.

Who perswades her to marry the Lord *Robert Dudley*. But this motion was scorned by her *French* Friends.

At the marriage of the Prince of *Navarre* was the great Massacre of the Protestants in *France*.

And now the *French* Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the *English* at *Newhaven*, and by trusting to their Country-men the *French* Papists, for their peace was but a snare, and the Marriage of *Henry* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Navarre*, with *Margaret* of *Valois*, the *French* Kings Sister was but a bait to entrap them; for upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into *Paris*, they were the readier for the slaughter; and a few dayes after the Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and sense of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

It was now the sixth year year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, a year fatall for the death of many great Personages: First died *William* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, Governour of *Berwick*, a man famous for his great Services in War: then *William* Lord *Paget*, a man of as great Services in Peace; who by his great deservings had wrought his advancement to sundry Dignities, and honourable places; and though zealous in the *Roman* Religion, yet held by Queen *Elizabeth* in great estimation to his dying day: Then *Henry Mannors* Earl of *Rutland*, descended by his Mother from King *Edward* the fourth: And lastly, *Francis* the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, Daughter to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, and Mother to Queen *Jane*.

1564.

Many great Personages die.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* finding how fickle the *French* Protestants had carried themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir *Thomas Smith* into *France*, joyning *Throgmorton* in Commission with him; and in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in *England* should be freed, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns: and this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of *England*, and the King of *France*.

A Peace made with the King of *France*, and upon what Conditions.

About this time the *English* Merchants were hardly used both in *Spain*, and in the *Netherlands*, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion: whereupon the *English* removed the Seat of their Trading to *Embden* in *Freezland*: but *Gusman the Spanish* Legier newly come into *England*, finding the great damages that the *Netherlands* sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compose them; and thereupon Viscount *Montague*, *Nicholas Wooton*, and *Walter Haddon* Master of the Requests, were sent to *Bruges* in *Flanders*; who after many eruptions, brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

It was now the seventh year of Queen *Elizabeth*, when making a Progress, she went to see *Cambridge*; where after she had viewed the Colledges, and been entertained with Comedies and Scholastical Disputations, she made her self a *Latine* Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord *Robert Dudley* Master of her Horse, first Baron of *Denbigh* (giving him *Denbigh* and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of *Leicester* to him, and the Heirs males of his Body lawfully begotten: which Honour was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now *Leicester*, to endear himself to the Queen of *Scots*, accused Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord-Keeper, for being privy to the Libell of *Hales*, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of *Suffolk*, in case the Queen should die without Issue; and thereupon was *Bacon* cast into Prison;

1565.

Queen *Elizabeth* makes a Progress to *Cambridge*.

She makes the Lord *Robert Dudley* first Baron of *Denbigh*, and then Earl of *Leicester*.

son; till afterward, upon his purgation, and the mediation of Sir *William Cecill*, he was set at liberty, and restored to his place.

And now for a while we must cast our eyes upon *Scotland*, for that was now the Stage where all great businesses of State were acted: *Matthew Steward* Earl of *Lenox*, who had married *Margaret Douglas*, Kings *Henry* the Eighths Neece by his eldest Sister, had been kept as an Exile in *England* now twenty years; him the Queen of *Scots* invites to come into *Scotland*, under pretence of restoring to him his ancient Patrimony; but indeed to confer with him about a Marriage with his Son the Lord *Darley*, for being reputed Heir to the Crown of *England*, next after her self, she thought by matching with his Son, to strengthen her own Title, and to prevent the hope of any other. Queen *Elizabeth*, upon suit made by his Wife, gave the Earl leave to go; but soon after, suspecting what the Queen of *Scots* intent was in sending for him, she, to hinder the proceeding, sent Sir *Thomas Randoll* to her, to let her know, That if she proceeded in this Match, she would exceedingly wrong her self; for that it was a Match so much disliked by all the *English*, that she was fain to prorogue the Parliament, lest upon dislike thereof, there should something be enacted against her Right of Succession: But if she would marry the Earl of *Leicester*, she should then by Parliament be declared her next Heir. Hereupon in the Moneth of *November*, the Earl of *Bedford* and Sir *Thomas Randoll* for Queen *Elizabeth*; the Earl of *Murray* and *Lidington* for the Queen of *Scots* at *Barwick*, entred into a Treaty concerning the Marriage with the Earl of *Leicester*. The English Commissioners urged the great benefits that by this Match would accrew both to the Queen of *Scots* her self, and to the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*: The *Scottish* on the other side, urged the great disparagement it would be to the Queen of *Scots*, if refusing the offers made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with so mean a Person as the Earl of *Leicester*. This matter held long debate, partly for that the English Commissioners were so appointed by Queen *Elizabeth*; and partly for that the *Scottish* Commissioners had a good minde to hinder her from marrying at all; and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of *Leicester*, being verily persvaded he should at last obtain Queen *Elizabeth* her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of *Bedford* not to urge the Marriage with the Queen of *Scots* too far; and was thought for this cause to favour *Darley* under hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together; the Queen of *Scots* impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord *Darley* got leave of Queen *Elizabeth* to go into *Scotland* for three moneths only, under colour to be put in possession of his Fathers Lands, (though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the destiny, if there were not a plot in it:) and so in *February* he came to *Edenburgh*; who being a young man, of not above nineteen years of age, of a comely countenance, and most Princely presence, the Queen of *Scots* as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him, yet modesty dissembling it for the present; she thought to get a Dispensation from *Rome*, because of their nearness in Consanguinity. And now, her inclination being grown so apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent *Lydington* to Queen *Elizabeth*, desiring her consent. But she, through the suggestions of the Earl of *Murray*, being induced to believe that the Queen of *Scots* intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of *England*, and to bring in Popery, entred into consultation with her Privy-Councel, what was fit to be done to hinder the Marriage; who all concluded, that these were the best wayes: First, To have a Company of Souldiers levyed for terrour sake about the Borders towards *Scotland*; then to commit to Prison the Countess of *Lenox*, the Lord *Darlies* Mother; and to recall from *Scotland* the Earl of *Lenox*, and his Son *Darley*, upon pain of the losse of all their goods in *England*: then that the *Scots* who were known to be averse from the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted: And lastly, That *Katherine Gray*, with the Earl of *Hertford*, should be received into some grace; about whom onely (it was thought) the Queen of *Scots* was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the *English* Crown. Hereupon Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to counsel her in the Queens name, not to proceed in this Marriage; and to shew her the many inconveniencies that would accrew unto her by it. But she returned answer, That the matter was too far passed to be recalled; and that Queen *Elizabeth* had no cause to be displeased with it, seeing herein she followed her advice, Not to match with a stranger, but with an *Englishman* born.

Queen *Elizabeth* being informed of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of *Lenox* and the Lord *Darley* his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself; the Son humbly intreateth her not to be a hindrance to his preferment; which he vowes to imploy in her Majesties Service, to the uttermost of his power.

And now, to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of *Scots* honoured him first with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord *Armanack*, Earl of *Rosse*, and Duke of *Rothsay*; which Dukedome by Birth pertaineth to the eldest Sons of the Kings of *Scotland*. After this, when he had not been above five moneths in *Scotland*, she married him; and with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this the Earl of *Murray*, and other whom he drew to his party, extreamly fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to admit a Papist King? Whether the Queen of *Scots* might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure? and whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her? But however, they raised Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levyed an Army to encounter them; with which she pursued them so closely, that they were fain to flie into *England* for protection; where Queen *Elizabeth* made no scruple to receive them, seeing the Queen of *Scots* had received *Yareley*, *Standon* and *Walsh*, that were fled out of *England*; but the Earl of *Murray* especially, who had alwayes been found addicted to the

The Queen of *Scots* seeks to marry the Lord *Darley*, son to the Earl of *Lenox*.

Queen *Elizabeth* dissuades her from it, and persuades her to marry the Earl of *Leicester*.

Hereupon Commissioners are sent to treat of this Marriage.

But the Commissioners cannot agree.

The Queen of *Scots* impatient of delay, gets the Lord *Darley* to come to *Scotland*.

At first sight she falls in love with him.

And then sends to Queen *Elizabeth* for her consent to marry him.

Queen *Elizabeth* opposeth it.

The Queen of *Scots* makes the L. *Darly* Duke of *Rothsay*, and marries him

The Earl of *Murray* raiseth an Army against him.

But being encountred, he flies into *England*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* receives.

the *Engliſh*. Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps was not much troubled at the Marriage; partly as knowing the milde diſpoſition of the Lord *Darley*, and how little acceſs of ſtrength it brought to the Queen of *Scots*; but moſt of all, as plainly ſeeing there would troubles ariſe in *Scotland* upon it; and the troubles of *Scotland* would be the quietneſs of *England*; which as a good Mother of her Country, was the mark ſhe aimed at: yet ſhe made a ſhew of being offended with it; but rather to conceal her aim, than that ſhe was offended with it indeed.

Queen Elizabeth is moved again to marry Charles the Emperours Brother.

At this time the Emperour *Maximilian* ſent to Queen *Elizabeth* his Ambaſſador, *Adam Smiricote*, renewing the former Suit for his Brother *Charles* of *Auſtria*; for which Marriage the Earl of *Suſſex* was very earneſt; the Earl of *Leiceſter* as much againſt it: ſo as it grew to a quarrel between them, and the Court was divided into factions about it: but the Queen, who never liked the diſſenſions of her Peers (though it be a Rule with ſome, *Divide* and *Raign*) made them friends, at leaſt in countenance.

Cecill Siſter of the King of *Sweden*, comes into *England* of purpoſe to ſee the *Queen*.

We may now leave *Scotland* a while, and ſee the Honour done at this time to Queen *Elizabeth*, not much inferior to the Honour done to *Solomon* by the Queen of *Sheba*; for now *Cecill*, the Siſter of *Erick* King of *Sweden*, and Wife of *Chriſtopher* Marqueſſe of *Baden*, being great with Childe, came from the fartheſt part of the North (a long Journey) thorow *Germany*, of purpoſe to ſee her, for the great fame ſhe had heard of her Wiſdome: At her being here, ſhe was delivered of a Childe, to whom, in requital of her kindneſs, Queen *Elizabeth* was God-mother, and named him *Edwardus Fortunatus*; giving to her and her Husband, beſides Royal Entertainment, a yearly Penſion.

Alſo Mac Carty a great Potentate of Ireland.

At this time alſo, for the great Fame of her Wiſdom, *Donald mac Carti More*, a great Potentate of *Ireland*, came and delivered up into her hands all his moſt ample Territories; and then receiving them again from her, to hold them to him and his Heirs-males lawfully begotten; and for want of ſuch Iſſue, to remain to the Crown of *England*. The Queen in requital inveſted him with the honour of Earl of *Glenkare*, and Baron of *Valence*; and beſides many Preſents given him, paid the charges of his Journey.

Anno Reg. 8. 1566.

It was now the eighth Year of *Elizabeths* Reign, when Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, a Knight of *Glouceſter-ſhire*, governing *Ireland* under the Title of a Juſtice, was called home, and Sir *Henry Sidney* placed in his room. And here by the way it is to be noted, That the Governours of *Ireland*, after it came under the *Engliſh*, were at firſt called Juſtices of *Ireland*; afterwards, Lieutenants, and their Vice-gerents were called Deputies. Afterwards at the Princes pleaſure, ſometimes Deputies, ſometimes Juſtices, and ſometimes Lieutenants; which laſt Title, though it be of greateſt honour, yet in power is in a manner but the ſame. Sir *Henry Sidney* at his coming into *Ireland*, found the Province of *Munſter* in much diſorder, by reaſon of ſtrife between *Gyrald* Earl of *Deſmond*, and *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*: whereupon the Queen ſending for the Earl of *Deſmond* into *England*, ordained a new Government in that Province, appointed a Preſident to adminiſter Juſtice, together with an Aſſiſtant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary: and the firſt Preſident ſhe made in this place, was Sir *William Sent-leger*.

The Governours of Ireland what Titles they had.

A Preſident of Munſter when firſt ordained.

Queen Elizabeth makes a Progreſs to Oxford.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* in a Progreſs went to *Oxford*; where ſhe took pleaſure in viewing the Colledges, in hearing Orations, in ſeeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of *Palemon* and *Arcett* turned into a Tragedy; for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that preſſed in to ſee it, three men were ſlain. At her coming away, ſhe made an Oration in *Latine* to the Scholars, a ſufficient recompence for all the Orations they had made to her. And this year was a call of ſeven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feaſt at *Grayes-Inn* in *Holborn*.

A call of ſeven Serjeants at Law.

In a Parliament at this time, the Queen is moved again to marry.

Upon the Queens return from *Oxford*, the Parliament began, where they preſently fell upon the matter of ſucceſſion, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points ſome went ſo far, that they ſpared not to accuſe the Queen, as one careleſs of Poſterity; to defame *Cecill* with Libels and reproaches, as if he were her Counſellour in this matter; but above all, to curſe Doctor *Huic*, her Phyſitian, who was thought to diſſwade her from Marriage, by reaſon of I know not what womaniſh inſufficiency. At laſt in the Upper-Houſe it was agreed, That Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper, their Orator, ſhould in all their names beſeech the Queen to marry; and withall, to declare a Succeſſour in the Crown, if ſhe ſhould happen to die without Iſſue; for which he gave many Reaſons, declaring what miſchiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if ſhe ſhould die before a Succeſſour were deſigned. But in the Lower-Houſe there were ſome, amongſt whom were *Bell* and *Mounſon*, (two Lawyers of great account) *Dutton*, Sir *Paul Wentworth*, and others, who grew to far higher terms, diſparaging the Queens Authority, and ſaying, That Princes were bound to deſign a Succeſſour; and that in not doing it, the Queen ſhould ſhew her ſelf no better than a parricide of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words ſpoken in Parliament; which ſpoken out of Parliament, ſhe would never have endured: but not willing to expoſtulate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that thirty of the Higher Houſe, and as many of the Lower, ſhould appear before her, to whom She delivered her mind to this effect; That She knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Succeſſour is once declared; She knew that even Children themſelves, out of a haſty deſire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms againſt their own Fathers, and how could better Conditions be expected from Kindred? She had by reading obſerved, That Succeſſors in a collateral Line have ſeldome been declared; and that *Lewis* of *Orleance*, and *Francis* of *Angouleſme*, were never declared Succeſſors, and yet obtained the Crown without any noiſe.

And to declare a Succeſſor.

The Queens anſwer to their motion.

Laſtly, She ſaid, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succeſſion, yet I adviſe you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With theſe and the like Reaſons, ſhe gave ſo great ſatisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any more ſuch motion. And though She conſented not in plain terms to declare a Succeſſor, yet ſoon after

after She gave some intimation of it; for one *Thornton*, a Reader of the Civil Law in *London*, who in his Lectures called the Queen of *Scots* Right in question, was clapped up in Prison for his labour.

1567.

In the beginning of her ninth year, *Charles* the 9th. King of *France*, sent his Ambassador *Ramboulet* into *England* to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint *Michael*, to bestow upon which two of her Nobility she pleased; and she making choice of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Liecester*, they were by *Ramboulet* invested with them; an Honour that had never been conferred upon any *English*, but onely King *Henry* the 8th, King *Edward* the 6th, and *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

The Duke *Norfolk*, and the Earl of *Leicester* made Knights of the Order of Saint *Michael*.

And now to return to the affairs of *Scotland*: The nineteenth of *June* last past, the Queen of *Scots*, in a happy hour, was at *Edenburgh* Castle delivered of a Son, that was afterward *James* the sixth of *Scotland*; and the first Monarch of *Great Brittain*; whereof She presently sent word to Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvyne*; who thereupon sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, with all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of *Scots* to her Husband the Lord *Darley*, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be as cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so fast before, but now as fast she taketh them off: for where before in publick Acts, she had used to place her Husbands name first, now she caused it to be placed last, and in the coyning of Money began to leave it quite out.

The Queen of *Scots* is delivered of a Son.

She grows cold in her love to the King.

This unkindness between them, was fomented by one *David Rizie* an *Italian*, whom the Queen had taken into her Service, first, as a Musician, and then taking a liking to him, made him her Secretary for the *French* Tongue; by means whereof, he had oftentimes secret conference with her, when the King her Husband might not be admitted. This indignity the King himself being given to his pleasures of Hunting and Hawking, resented not so much, as some Lords that were his friends; who told him plainly, that it stood not with his Honour to suffer this fellow to live. By whose instigation, the King drawn to plot his death; one day taking with him the Earl of *Reuven*, and others, he rushed into the Queens Chamber at her Supper time, where finding *David Rizie* at a Cupboord, tasting some meat that had been taken from the Table, he seized upon him, dragged him forth into an outer Chamber, and there murthered him, the *Queen* at that time being great with Child, and like by that affright to have miscarried: But the Fact being done, the King came in to her again, assuring her there was no hurt at all intended to her Person. The man that had animated the King to do this Fact, was especially the Earl of *Murray*, of whom it is necessary to say something, because his part will be the greatest of all the *Scottish* Actions of this time. He was the base Son of King *James* the Fifth, and so the base Brother of the Queen; made at first Prior of Saint *Andrews*: But not liking that Religious Title, he affected rather some Temporal Honour; which when the *Queen*, being then in *France*, denyed him, then in an angry mood he returned into *Scotland*, where by the advice of *Knox*, whom he held for a great Patriarch, he brought the matter so to pass, that in an Assembly of the States, the Religion was altered, and the *French* were banished out of *Scotland*; Yet afterward, as soon as the Queen was a Widow, he posted into *France*, and so insinuated with her, that she created him Earl of *Murray*, and promoted him to an Honourable Marriage. Being thus exalted, he returned into *Scotland*; where, for the growth of his ambitious designs, he sowed seeds of Sedition, affirming often, what a misery it was to be under the Command of a Woman; and that Royalty was not to be tyed to any Stock or Kindred, but to Vertue onely, whether the Parties were legitimate or no: By this course, making way to the Kingdom for himself. To this end, he used all the means he could to keep the Queen from marrying again; which when he could not effect, he then sought wayes how to make discord between her and her Husband; for which cause he had caused the King to murther *Rizie*. Of the foulness of which Fact, when the King after a while grew sensible, he meant to be revenged of *Murray*, who had counselled him to do it: Which *Murray* understanding, prevented it with causing the like to be done to him, as will presently be seen. For the Queen having been delivered of a Son, and the day appointed for the Christning being come; where the Godfathers were *Charles* King of *France*, and *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*; Queen *Elizabeth* being requested to be God-mother, sent thither the Earl of *Bedford* as her Deputy, and a Font of Massie Gold for a Present, in value 1043 l. but gave him express Command, That he should not honour *Darley* with the Title of King. But before a moneth or two, after the Christning, were passed, the King in a stormy and tempestuous night was strangled in his Bed, and then cast forth into the Garden, and the house immediately blown up with Gun-powder.

David Rizie an *Italian*, growes a great Favourite of the Queen of *Scots*.

The King set on by his Lords, murthers him.

The King intends to be revenged of him.

But the Earl prevents him, and the King is strangled in his bed.

The rumour of this Murther being spread abroad, the common Fame laid it upon *Murray* and *Morton*, and their Confederates; *Murray* and *Morton* upon the Queen: But we must not here give ear to that which *Buchanan* writes, who to curry favour with the Earl of *Murray*, lays most impudent scandals upon the Queen; whereof, before his death, he repented himself extreamly. The King thus murthered, and the Queen left alone to her self, she is counselled to marry with some that might be able to assist her against all her opposites: *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell* being then greatly in her favour, and of great eminency for his valour; and though he were the man that had acted the murther, yet is he by *Murray* and his Confederates commended to the Queen: To which motion, as being destitute of friends, and not knowing whom to trust, she at last consents; but upon these Conditions, That above all things, respect might be had to her young Son; and that *Bothwell* might be legally quitted, both from the bond of his former marriage, and also of the Kings murther. Hereupon a course is plotted, by which *Bothwell* is called to the Bar; and *Morton* being his Advocate, by the Sentence of the Judges he is clearly acquitted. Upon this he is created Duke of *Orkeney*, and by consent of many of the Nobility, he is married to the Queen; which bred a suspition in many,

The death of the King is by common fame laid upon *Murray* and *Morton*, by them upon the Queen.

Who to strengthen her self, marries the Earl *Bothwell*.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earls Rising and Carriage.

many, that the Queen was conscious of the murther; which was the thing that by marriage they intended: And the suspition once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her; and so, the very same man who had absolved *Bothwell*, and consented to the marriage, now take Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to flie, and then seize upon the Queen, whom, clad in a very homely Garment, they thrust into prison in *Lochlevyn*, under the Custody of *Murray*'s Mother, who had been the Harlot of King *James* the Fifth; but boasting her self to have been his lawful Wife, and her Son his lawful Issue. Queen *Elizabeth* having at length notice hereof, sent Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland* to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; aud to consult by what means she might be restored to her Liberty. But *Throgmorton* coming into *Scotland*, found the Confederates in more insolent terms than had been reported; being divided in Opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banished perpetually into *England* or *France*; some would have her questioned before the Judges, committed to perpetual custody, and her Son proclaimed King: Others, more inhumane, who would have her at once deprived of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this *Knox* and some other Ministers thundred out of the Pulpits. *Throgmorton* on the other side, alledged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in *Scotland*, which was not derived from her Authority, and revokeable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up *Buchanans* Arguments, who in those days, by instigation of *Murray*, wrote that damned Dialogue, *de jure Regni apud Scotos*, wherein, against the verity of the *Scottish* History, he endeavours to prove, That the people have power, both to create, and to depose their King. After all their debating, all that *Throgmorton* could get of them, was a Writing without any subscription, wherein they protested, They had shut up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from *Bothwell*, whom she loved so desperately, that to enjoy him, she regarded not all their ruines; willing himself to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily in more straight custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her but once have a sight of her Son: which would not be granted her. At last, when fair perswasions would not serve to make her freely give over the Kingdome, they threatned to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings Murder, and for Tyranny, so as through fear of death, they compelled her, unheard, to set her hand to three Instruments: In the first whereof, she gave over her Kingdom to her young Son, at that time scarce thirteen Moneths old. In the second, she constituted *Murray* Vice-Roy during the minority of her Son. In the third, in case he refused the Charge, these Governours were nominated; *James* Duke of *Chasteau* Herald, *Giles Spike* Earl of *Argyle*, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, *John* Earl of *Atholl*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, and *John* Earl of *Mar*. And presently she signified to Queen *Elizabeth* by *Throgmorton*, That she had made these Grants by compulsion through the Counsel of *Throgmorton*, telling her, That a Grant extorted from one in Prison (which is a just fear) is actually void, and of no effect.

Five days after the Queen had made this Resignation, *James* the sixth, the Queens Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, *John Knox* preaching at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the *Hamiltons*, That all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of *Chasteau* Herald, in his right of Succession against the Family of *Lenox*; but Queen *Elizabeth* had forbidden *Throgmorton* to be at the Action, that she might not seem by the presence of her Embassadour, to approve their proceeding in displacing of the Queen.

Fifteen dayes after this transaction, *Murray* himself returned out of *France* into *Scotland*, and within three dayes went to the Queen with some other of the Confederates, who charged her with many Crimes, and wished her if she tendred her Life and Honour, to observe these Prescriptions: Not to disturb the Peace of the Kingdome, nor desire to be at Liberty; Nor to stir up the Queen of *England*, or the King of *France* to molest *Scotland* with any War; nor to think any more of *Bothwells* love, or meditate Revenge upon *Bothwells* Adversaries.

Murray being now proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*, he bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concern War or Peace, the Kings Person or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the consent of the Confederates; and then gives *Throgmorton* warning by *Lydinton*, not to make any further intercession for the Queens Liberty, for that he and the rest had rather run any hazard than to suffer it. Soon after he puts to death *John Hepburn*, *Daglash*, and others that were *Bothwells* Servants, for having a hand in the Murther of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallows, ready to die, protested before God and his holy Angels, that *Bothwell* had told them, that *Morton* and *Murray* were the first Authors of the Murther. They freed the Queen from all suspicion, like as *Bothwell* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, both living and dying, often protested with deep asseverations, That the Queen was innocent. And fourteen years after, *Morton* going to Execution, confessed that *Bothwell* dealt with him to consent to the murther of the King; which, when he refused utterly, unless the Queen under her hand Writing would allow of it; *Bothwell* made answer, That could not be, but the fact must be done without her knowledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day died two of the Privy-Councel, Sir *John Mason* Treasurer of the Queens Chamber, a Grave and Learned man, but a great Usurper and Encroacher upon Ecclesiastical Livings; and Sir *Richard Sackvile* Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer,

Against whom *Murray* takes Arms, and forceth him to flie, and then seizeth upon the Queen.

Queen *Elizabeth* hearing of it, sends to expostulate with the Confederates about it; and their Answer.

Murray is proclaimed Regent of *Scotland*.

Bothwells Servants at the Gallows, protest that *Murray* and *Morton* were the first Authors of the Kings Murther, and that the Queen was innocent.

The Queen of *Scots* out of fear, sets her hand to three Instruments, to her own prejudice.

Sir *John Mason* and Sir *Richard Sackvile* die.

Exchequer, a man both Prudent and Provident, and allyed to the Queen by her Mother *Anne Bolen*. In his room succeeded *Walter Mildmay*, a man of Wisdom and Integrity: In *Masons* Office came Sir *Francis Knolles*, who married *Katharine Carie*, the Daughter of *Mary Bolen*, the Queens Mothers Sister.

The Marriage of Q. *Elizabeth* with the Emperours Brother, is again treated of; but after seven years breaks utterly off.

It was now the year 1567, and the tenth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the Earl of *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperour *Maximilian*, to Treat of the Marriage of the *Queen* with the Arch-Duke *Charles*, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of *Sussex* to the Emperour, with the Order of the Garter: But in the Treaty of Marriage there fell out so many difficulties about Religion, maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning Succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married *Mary* Daughter to *Albert* the Fifth Duke of *Bavaria*; yet both he and the Emperour continued ever after a good correspondence with the Queen.

About this time there came from *John Basil* Emperour of *Russia* and *Muscovia*, *Stephen Twerdico*, and *Theodore Pogorella*, with a Present of rich Furs of Otter, Miniver, and the like, tendring all service and obsequiousness to the Queen and the *English*. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen *Mary*, had combined themselves into a Society, which they called the *Muscovia* Company; and having large Priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful Voyage: but then it proved most gainful, when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperour's hands, in the year 1569. That none but the *English* of that Company should Traffique in the North-parts of *Russia*. With these *Russian* Embassadours there returned into *England*, *Anthony Jenkinson*, who in his Travels had made curious Observations of *Russia*, set forth a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the *English* that sailed through the *Caspian* Sea. And this year the eighth of *June*, Sir *Thomas Sackvile* was created Baron of *Buckhurst*, at *Whitehall*.

The *Muscovia* Company have their Priviledges enlarged by the Emperor of *Muscovia*.

Sir *Thomas Sackvile* is created Baron of *Buckhurst*.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven moneths kept a Prisoner; at last, by the help of *George Douglas*, to whose Brother she was committed, she made escape from *Loch-leyn* to *Hamiltons* Castle; where upon the testimonies of *Robert Melvyn*, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in prison, (which is *Justus metus*) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least six thousand; but when they joyned Battel with *Murray*, being but raw and unexpert Souldiers, they were soon defeated. In this Case the Queen sought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threescore miles, and coming at night to the House of *Maxwell* Lord *Heris*, from thence she sent *John Beton* to Queen *Elizabeth*, with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intimating, that she would come into *England*, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen *Elizabeth* returned answer, that she should expect from her in abundant manner, all loving and friendly Offices.

The Queen of *Scots* after eleven moneths Imprisonment escapes, and raiseth an Army, but is defeated by *Murray*.

Whereupon she flies into *England*, and requires access to Queen *Elizabeths* presence.

But before the Messenger was returned, she, contrary to the advise of her friends, entred into a small Bark, and with the Lords, *Heris* and *Flemming*, and a few others landed at *Wickinton* in *Cumberland*, near the mouth of the River of *Derwent*, the seventeenth day of *May*; and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in *French* with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into *England*, upon certain hope of her approved clemency; and therefore humbly desiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her presence. Queen *Elizabeth* sending Letters by Sir *Francis Knolles*, comforted her, and promised her aid and defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denyed her access, for that she was held guilty of many Crimes, giving command to have her brought to *Carlile*, as a place of better safety. The Queen of *Scots* receiving this answer, and finding access to the Queen, denyed her, making request again by Letter, that she might have leave both to unfold the injuries she had received, and to answer the crimes objected, in her own presence; humbly intreating her, that either she might be admitted to have conference and assistance, or else have free leave to depart out of *England*, to gain supply elsewhere, and not to be held a prisoner in the Castle at *Carlile*; for as much as she came voluntarily into *England*, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, Queen *Elizabeth* exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to admit her to her presence, but that her Counsellors conceived it to be matter for consultation, what to do in this Case. To detain her in *England*, had many mischiefs attending on it; to send her into *France*, as many; to send her back into *Scotland* many more; so as in conclusion, the most were of Opinion, to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be dismissed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of *England*, and for the death of *Darly* her Husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of Opinions, Queen *Elizabeth* out of her own Judgment, sent word by *Middemore*, to the Regent of *Scotland*, that he should come himself in person, or else depute some fit persons to answer the Complaints of the Queen of *Scots* against him and his Confederates, and render sufficient Reasons wherefore they had deprived her, otherwise she would forthwith dismiss her, and with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdome. To this Summons, *Murray* obeys, and comes to *York*, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who stood Delegates for the Infant King, namely, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Adam* Bishop of *Orkeneys*, *Robert* of *Dunferm*, *Patrick* Lord of *Lyndsey*, *James Mack-gilly*, and *Henry Badinary*; and with these *Lydington* the Secretary, and *George Buchanan*. And the very same day came thither *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*, and Sir *Ralph Sacler* a Privy Counsellour, appointed Com-

1568.

Queen *Elizabeth* promiseth her aid, but denieth access: yet commands her to be brought to *Carlile*.

Reasons for detaining the Queen of *Scots*.

Queen *Elizabeth* appoints Commissioners to hear the cause of the Queen of *Scots*,

Commissioners for Queen *Elizabeth*. For the Queen of *Scots*, (who took it hainously, that Queen *Elizabeth* would not hear the cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tyed to their proceedings) there appeared *John Lesley* Bishop of *Ross*, *William* Lord *Levyngston*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, *Cowen* of *Kilwinnin*, *John Gourdon*, and *James Cockburn*. Being met, *Lydington* turning himself to the *Scots* in a wondrous liberty of Speech, gave them this advice, Maturely to consider, what prejudice they should draw upon themselves, by accusing the Queen of *Scots*, and calling her Reputation in question publickly before the *English*, professed enemies of the *Scottish* Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdome, his Mother, and his own Person. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this business altogether, unless the Queen of *England* will enter into a mutual league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this pretence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of *Scots* made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of *Scots* to have the cause between her and her disloyal Subjects, debated before the *English*, yet she being a free Prince, and obnoxious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the *English* protested, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right which the Kings of *England* have anciently challenged as superiour Lords of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. The day after, the Queen of *Scots* Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of *Morton*, *Murray*, *Marre*, *Glencarn*, *Humes*, and others against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. *Murray* and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by consent of the Peers in Parliament: and that in prosecuting of *Bothwell*, the Author of the Kings murther, whom the Queen protected; and as for her resignation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of *Scots* Delegates answered and confuted, affirming in particular, That where there are one hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or less) that have voyces in the Parliament of *Scotland*, there were not in that tumultuous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of *England* would be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redress.

The Queen of *Scots* requires to have the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors be added to the Commissioners.

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen *Elizabeth* were added to the former, to some of whom the Queen of *Scots* took exception; unless the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publickly to defend her own innocency; and that *Murray* might be detained and cited, whom she affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murther of her Husband *Darley*. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Sussex*, *Leicester*, and the Lord *Clinton*. But Queen *Elizabeth* waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of *Scots* should never want an Advocate as long as *Norfolk* lived: It was seen here, which is said, that the heart of the King is inscrutable; for how Queen *Elizabeth* stood affected in this case of the Queen of *Scots*, no man could well discern; she detested the insolency of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to restore her.

Murray propounds the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*.

After long agitation of this business, and nothing concluded, *Murray* a little before his return into *Scotland*, slily propounded the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the Duke of *Norfolk*; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But withall, *Murray* the more to alienate Queen *Elizabeths* mind from the Queen of *Scots*, gave out, that she had passed away to the Duke of *Andyn* her Right to the Crown of *England*, and that the transaction was confirmed at *Rome*; he shewed Letters also which the Queen of *Scots* had written to some Friends whom she trusted; wherein she accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours she expected from some others. This last clause something troubled Queen *Elizabeth*, neither could she conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both *France* with the Civil Wars, and the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries* had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one *Robert Ridolph* a *Florentine*, under the habit of a Merchant in *London*, was suborned by Pope *Pius* the fifth, to make a secret commotion of the Papists in *England* against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy, and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of *Scots* was removed from *Bolton* (a Castle of the Lord *Scroops*) where all the neighbouring people were Papists; to *Tutbury* more toward the heart of the Country, under the Custody of *George* Earl of *Shrewsbury*.

Ridolph a *Florentine*, incites the Papists in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*.

About this time the *Guises* in *France*, and the Duke *D' Alva* in the *Low-Countries* began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In *France*, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen *Elizabeth* forgetting the fickleness of the Protestants at *Newhaven*, once again takes upon her their protection, supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and withall humanity receives the *French* that fled into *England*; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but onely stood upon their own defence. In the *Low-Countries* likewise, the Duke *D' Alva* breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the *Dutch* come flocking into *England*, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesie they were received.

The Protestants persecuted in *France* by the *Guises*, fly into *England*.

How the War in the *Low-Countries* first began.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the *Low-Countries* began first, which was thus: At which time the King of *Spain* brought in the *Spanish* Inquisition; a small number of the meaner sort of people, in tumultuous manner, cast the Images out of Churches, and brake them in pieces: and although that tumult was soon quieted, yet the King of *Spain* taking advantage at the rash-

raſhneſs of a few, to charge the whole Nation with Rebellion, ſent amongſt them *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke of *D' Alva*, a bloody and fierce man, who (contrary to the Ordinances and Cuſtomes of the Countrey) took away all authority from the ordinary Courts of Juſtice; erected new Conſiſtories; condemned and put to death the Peers, without tryal by their lawful Judges; placed Garriſons of *Spaniards* throughout all their Cities and Villages, and by force exacted the twentieth part of the Fruits of the Earth, and the tenth of the moveables upon every Alienation. At that time a mighty maſſe of money borrowed from the *Genoways*, and other *Italian* Merchants was ſent out of *Spain* into the *Low-Countries*, there to be imployed to intereſt, which being brought by Shipping, was purſued by the *French*; and forced to fly for ſuccour into the Havens of *England*, whom the Queen commanded to be ſuccour'd; as conceiving the money to be the King of *Spains*, as it was given out: But at the ſame time, Cardinal *Odette* coming out of *France* into *England*, and giving notice to the Queen, that the money was not the King of *Spains*, but belonged to certain Merchants of *Genova*, from whence the Duke *D' Alva* had taken it againſt their will, with a purpoſe to imploy it to the ruine of the Proteſtants; and information alſo being given her by one that had a property in the money that it was ſo; ſhe determined to put in ſecurity, and to borrow the money of the Merchants her ſelf, which is an uſual thing with Princes, when Goods are taken in their Ports; and the King of *Spain* himſelf had lately done the like. The Duke *D' Alva* being informed of this dealing of the Queens, by *Gerard de Speſe*, the King of *Spains* Embaſſador in *England*, ſeizeth preſently upon all the Goods of the *Engliſh* in the *Low-Countries*, and kept the men priſoners; The Queen did the like with the *Dutch* Merchants in *England*; Letters of Mart were granted on both ſides, and this grew to ſuch a quarrel between the Nations, that being nouriſhed with other differences afterward, it brought forth in Eighty Eight that *Spaniſh* Invaſion, which is, and will be memorable in all future Ages.

Letters of Mart granted againſt *Spain*.

1569.

Upon occaſion of this Money detained, certain Peers of *England*, amongſt whom were the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter*, the Earls of *Arundel*, *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, and others, accuſed Sir *William Cecill*, for ſending away money into *France*, making this their colour, but done indeed out of envying his great favour with the Queen, and ſuſpecting him to incline to the Houſe of *Suffolk* in the matter of ſucceſſion. Hereupon they conſult ſecretly how to get him impriſon'd; and *Throgmorton* (who envyed him as much as they) ſuggeſting that if he were once clapp'd up, they might ſoon find out a way to cruſh him; But the Queen (by what means it is uncertain) coming to have notice hereof, gave a check to their purpoſe, and protected *Cecill* againſt their combined practiſes.

Sir *William Cecill* accuſed by the Duke of *Norfolk* and others, is protected by the Queen.

The Earl *Murray* being returned into *Scotland*, makes the Lords believe that he deſires a meeting at *Edenburgh*, to conſult about reſtoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as *Hamilton* Duke of *Chaſteau* Herald (appointed Vicegerent of the Kingdom by the Queen) and the Lord *Heris* were coming thither, he circumvented them, and before any of the reſt came, caſt them into priſon; and forthwith in an open War oppreſſeth all her Favourers. It may be thought, the Earl *Murray* could have been content the Queen ſhould have been ſet at liberty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his ſervitude; and Queen *Elizabeth* perhaps would willingly have had her reſtored to her Kingdom, but that ſhe doubted, ſuch reſtoring would indanger her own ſecurity: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the firſt place, and hers but in the ſecond, ſhe had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happineſs to be relieved; and all ſhe could do her ſelf, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the faſter; if ſhe could have ſate ſtill, they would perhaps have looſened of themſelves; but now, the more ſhe ſtirred, the more ſhe was intangled.

And now the Deſtiny of the Duke of *Norfolk* began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke ſhould marry the Queen of *Scots*; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not ſo forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly preſageth what will follow. It had been motioned to the Duke at *York*, by the Biſhop of *Roſſe*; and afterward (in pretence at leaſt) by *Murray* himſelf at *Hampton-Court*; but the Duke, before he would reſolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earls of *Arundell*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmerland*, *Suſſex*, *Pembroke*, *Southampton*, and *Leiceſter* himſelf, who all judged it fit, he ſhould acquaint the Queen with it firſt, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few dayes, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* meeting the Duke in the Palace at *Weſtminſter*, adviſed him, to move the Earl of *Leiceſter* himſelf to embrace the Match, ſeeing he had formerly ſued for it: but if he refuſed it, then at leaſt to to take him along with him, for that himſelf alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens conſent. A day or two after, the Earl of *Leiceſter* propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicateth it to the Earls of *Arundell* and *Pembroke*, who thereupon, together with *Throgmorton*, wrote Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, commending the Duke of *Norfolk* to her for a Husband; the Duke himſelf likewiſe writeth to her, tendring his ſingular love and reſpect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with *Leiceſters* own hand, and ſent to the Queen of *Scots*; to which if ſhe conſented, they then promiſed to procure, that Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould give her aſſent, and that forthwith ſhe ſhould be re-inveſted in her Kingdom, and the Succeſſion of *England* ſhould be confirmed upon her. We may eaſily believe, the Queen of *Scots* was not hardly drawn to give conſent to her own deſire; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord *Lumley* the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of *Leiceſters* conſent that he might adviſe of it with ſome other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to *Cecill* alſo.

The Duke of *Norfolks* firſt proceeding about the marriage with the *Queen* of *Scots*.

Articles between them are drawn by *Leiceſter*.

The rumour of this Marriage was ſoon come to the Queens Ears; which the Duke underſtanding, he dealt earneſtly with the Earl of *Leiceſter*, to have the matters propounded to the Queen out of hand. *Leiceſter* makes delayes; and pretends cauſes to put it off; which *Cecill* ſeeing, he adviſeth the Duke to go and acquaint the

Leiceſter promiſeth to acquaint Queen *Elizabeth* with the matter, but delays.

the Queen with it himself. This Counsel *Leicester* opposed, promising to open it to the Queen as she went in Progress. At length, at *Farnham*, the Duke standing by as the Queen sate at Table, she gave him a tart Admonition, That he were best take heed upon what Pillow he rested his Head. After this, at *Titchfield*, *Leicester* fell sick, or at least counterfeited; to whom the Queen coming, and bidding him be of good chear; he with sighs and tears craved pardon for his fault, and unfolded to her the whole story from the very beginning. Whereupon, the Queen called the Duke into the Gallery, reproving him sharply, for going about the Marriage, without acquainting her; and commanding him, upon his Allegiance, to desist. The Duke made her a free and hearty promise of obedience, and spared not to say (as if he little regarded the Queen of *Scots*) that his Revenues in *England* were not much lesse then hers in *Scotland*; and that when he was at his House in *Norwich*, he thought himself in a sort not inferiour to some Kings; but notwithstanding, finding the Queens anger by her countenance, and perceiving *Leicester* to be in a manner quite alienated, and most of the Nobility also, as scarcely saluting him when they met him; he grew extremely dejected, and prepared presently to leave the Court, meaning to stay at *Norwich*, till by his friends intercession, and his own submissive Letters, the Queens heart might be mollified towards him: Mean while, the Court was suspiciously fearful, least he should raise Rebellion, and (they say) it was concluded, that if he did so, the Queen of *Scots* should presently be made away. And now the Duke, who held secret commerce by Letters with the Bishop of *Rosse*, *Throgmorton* and *Leicester* (for they were sent to and fro in bottles) being examined touching the marriage of the Queen of *Scots*, and certain secret conferences with the Bishop of *Rosse*, confessed most of the Objections, and was thereupon commited to the Tower, under the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill*; within two dayes after the Bishop of *Rosse* likewise is examined, and together with the Florentine *Robert Ridolph* is delivered to the custody of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Earl of *Pembroke* is confined to his house, and examined privately; but his confession was not committed to writing: It being his Request, because he could not write himself. At this time, the rumour of Insurrection in the North begun in Autumn before, grew very strong, by reason of some frequent meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmerland*, and others, who thereupon being upon their Allegiance, sent for to repair presently to the Queen, make delayes (for they stayed waiting for supplies, both from the *Scots*, and from the Duke *D' Alva*) when the Earl of *Northumberland* doubted what to do, was frighted of purpose by his servants, telling them, that men in Arms were near at hand to apprehend him; Who thereupon in a tempestuous night, riseth out of his Bed, and in great fear gets into his Park at *Topcliffe*, and the night following to *Bransprith*, to the Earl of *Westmerlands* House, where a great many were met that were acquainted with the Enterprise: Here they brake forth in an open Rebellion, being pressed forward by one *Nicholas Morton* a *Romish* Priest, sent by the Pope to pronounce Queen *Elizabeth* an Heretick; and therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Soveraignty: By and by they send forth a Writing, wherein they declare that they had taken Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of their fore-Fathers might be restored, wicked Counsellors removed from the Queen, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the loyal Nobility relieved, who were now in disgrace; but towards the Queen, professing themselves most dutiful Subjects; withall they send Letters to the Papists all the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to their assistance; but they were so far from joyning with them, that many sent both the Letters and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and afforded their aids and purses against them, no less then the best Protestants; even the Duke of *Norfolk* himself was not backward in it.

But coming at last to her knowledge, she commands the Duke upon his Allegiance, to desist, which he promiseth.

He is committed to the Tower.

The Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* raise Arms in the *North*, and why.

These Rebels go first to *Durham*, where they tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Common-Prayer they could find in Churches of the *English* Tongue: when they had been twelve days in Rebellion, they numbred their Army, and could not reckon above six hundred Horse, and four thousand Foot: whereupon being certainly informed, that the Earl of *Sussex* with seven thousand, and the Earl of *Warwick* with twelve, were setting out against them, they betook themselves to *Rabie*, the chief House of the Earl of *Westmerland*; going from thence, they besieged *Bernards* Castle, which for lack of Provision, was yielded to them. At which time being proclaimed Traytors, and hearing a fresh of the great Forces that were coming against them, the two Earls with a small Company get presently into *Scotland*, hard by where the Earl of *Northumberland* hid himself at *Harclow* in a poor Cottage, amongst the *Grayhams* (famous Robbers) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl of *Murray*: *Westmerland* made a shift to get into the *Low-Countries*, where he had a slender Pension from the King of *Spain*, and there lived even to old age. Of the rest, for terror and examples sake, there were hanged at *Durham* threescore and six of the chief; amongst whom, *Plomtree* a noted Priest. At *York* were executed, *Simon Digby*, *John Fulthorp*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Robert Penyman*; and at *London* a few monehts after, *Christopher* and *Thomas*; and some other in other places. After this, the heads of the Rebels being convict of High-Treason, were proscribed; namely, *Charles* Earl of *Westmerland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Anne* Countess of *Northumberland*, *Edward Dacres* of *Morton*, *John Nevill* of *Leversege*, *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Egremond Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of *Sussex*, *Christopher Nevill*, *Richard Norton*, *Christopher Marmaduke*, *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and forty others of good account. Out of the ashes of this Rebellion, a new fire was kindled at *Naworth* in *Cumberland* by *Leonard Dacres*, second Son to the Lord *Dacres* of *Gyllisland*; He was a Party with the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking forth sooner then he expected, and he at that time being at the Court, and there admitted to kiss the Queens hand, tendered his service to go against them; and to that purpose, was sent home; but in his Journey (branding himself with a double disloyalty) he consulted with the Rebels, and encouraged

But pursued by the Queens Army, they flie.

Westmerland in the *Low-Countries*, where he lived poorly to old age.

Northumberland was taken and proscribed.

After this, *Leonard Dacres* raiseth an Army, but is defeated, and flyeth into the *Low-Countries*.

encouraged them to go on; and by vertue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of *Greystock*, and other Houses of the *Dacres*, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountred by the Baron of *Hunsdon*, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiantly, he was put to flight, and fled into *Scotland*, from whence soon after he passed over the *Low-Countries*, and in great misery and poverty died at *Louvayn*.

But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not careless of the afflicted Protestants in *France*: for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplyed them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of *Navar's* Jewels; and gave leave to *Henry Champernon* to lead into *France* a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries; amongst whom were *Philip Butshed*, *Francis Barkley*, and *Walter Rawleigh*, a very young man, who now began to look into the World. But as the Queen of *England* assisted the *French*, so in revenge thereof, the King of *France* meant to assist the *Scots*, but that he was taken away by death.

Queen *Elizabeth* assisteth the Protestants in *France*.

There was at that time a Rebellion in *Ireland* also, raised by *Edmund* and *Peter*, Brothers to *Boteler* Earl of *Ormond*; but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of *Ormond* first by perswasions, obtained of them to submit themselves; and when, notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, being exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of Rebels were pursued by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, and soon dispersed.

The Earl of *Murray* Regent of *Scotland*, is murthered riding in the street.

And now the Earl of *Murray*, Regent of *Scotland*, when he had brought all things to his hearts desire, and thought himself secure, at *Lithquo*, riding along the Streets, was shot into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navil, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a *Hamilton*, who did it upon a private revenge, for that *Murray* had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lunatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

After *Murray's* death, the Countrey being without a Regent, was cause of many disorders, *Thomas Carre* and *Walter Scot*, two principal men amongst the *Scottish* Borders, and devoted to the Queen of *Scots*, made Inrodes into *England*, wasting all places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of *England*, under the Command of the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, they were defeated: In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Holds were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights, as Sir *William Drury*, Sir *Thomas Mannors*, Sir *George Carie*, Sir *Robert Constable*, and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of *Scotland* being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Counsel of Queen *Elizabeth* in the matter; but she making answer she would not meddle in it, because she would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of *Scots*, whose case was not yet tryed, they created *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* Regent; which Queen *Elizabeth* did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

Matthew Earl of *Lenox* is made Regent in his place.

But while Queen *Elizabeth* favoured the Kings Party in *Scotland*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and the Earl of *Argyle*, (the Queen of *Scots* Lieutenants) imploy the Lord *Seton* to the Duke *D' Alva*, requiring him for many great Reasons, to vindicate the Queen of *Scots* liberty, alledging how acceptable a Work it would be to all Christian Princes, and to the whole Catholick Church: Whereunto the Duke made Answer, They should find him ready to the uttermost of his power to satisfie their request. At which time also the *French* King dealt earnestly with Queen *Elizabeth* to the same purpose; and the *Spanish* Embassadour in his Masters name urged it no lesse extreamly: but Queen *Elizabeth* assaulted with all these Importunities, made answer, That as she would omit nothing that might serve for the Reconciling of the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, so she must have leave to provide for her own and her Subjects safety; a thing which Nature, Reason, and her own Honour required at her hands. And now when these Princes prevailed not with Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, out comes Pope *Pius Quintus* with his Bull Declaratory, which he caused to be fastned in the night-time upon the Gate of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, wherein all her Subjects are absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, or any other duty; and all that obey her, accursed with *Anathema*. He that fastned up the Bull was one *John Felton*, who never fled for the matter, but as affecting Martyrdom, suffered himself to be apprehended, confessed and justified the Fact, and thereupon arraigned, was condemned and hanged near the place where he had fastned the Writing.

Many Princes intreat Queen *Elizabeth* to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, and her Answer.

A Bull of *Pius Quintus* against Queen *Elizabeth* for detaining the Queen of *Scots*.

Felton that brought the Bull, hanged.

The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk* seeming now extream penitent for his Fault, and utterly to ablior the Marriage, was delivered out of the Tower, and suffered to go to his own House, but yet to be in the custody of Sir *Henry Nevill* still. Indeed *Cecill* being a good Friend to the Duke, had told the Queen, That the Law of 25 of *Edward* the Third could not take hold upon him: and now being in a kind of liberty, *Cecill* deals earnestly with him to marry speedily some other, thereby to take away all suspition in that behalf; yet some again thought that this liberty of the Dukes was granted him on purpose to bring him into greater danger.

The Duke of *Norfolk* upon his penitence is delivered out out of the Tower, and *Cecill's* counsel to him.

At this time died *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, the Grand-child of an Earl of *Pembroke*, yet the Son but of an Esquire, and Grandfather to *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* now living, who lieth buried in *Pauls*, under a fair Monument of Marble, with an Inscription, testifying his great deservings while he lived.

Many Conspiracies were at this time to set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty; amongst others, there Conspired *Thomas* and *Edward Stanley*, younger Sons of the Earl of *Derby*, with others; but the matter discovered, they were soon suppressed, and some of them executed. And now the

Many Conspiracies to set the Q. of *Scots* at liberty.

Lords

Lords of the *Queen* of *Scots* Party continuing to protect the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Earl of *Suſſex* once again, accompanied with the Lord *Scroop*, entreth *Scotland*, burneth the Villages all along the Valley of *Anandale*, and compelleth the Duke of *Caſtle-Herald*, and the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, under a Writing ſigned with their own Hands and Seals, to forſake the *Engliſh* Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of *Suſſex* returning home, made theſe Knights, *Edward Haſtings*, *Francis Ruſſel*, *Valentine Brown*, *William Hilton*, *Robert Stapleton*, *Henry Carwen*, and *Simon Muſgrave*.

Queen *Elizabeths* mind being now in great ſuſpenſion, by reaſon of that Bull from *Rome*, and the late conſpiracy in *Norfolk*, ſent Sir *William Cecill* and Sir *Walter Mildmay* to the Queen of *Scots*, who was then at *Chatteſworth* in *Derbyſhire*, to conſult with her by what means the breach in *Scotland* might beſt be made up, ſhe re-inveſted in her former dignity, and her Son and Queen *Elizabeth* might be ſecured. The Queen of *Scots* did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting her ſelf wholly upon the Queens clemency: when the Commiſſioners made unto her certain Propoſitions of Agreement: Firſt, That the Treaty of *Edenborough* ſhould be confirmed: Then, that ſhe ſhould renounce her Right and Title to *England*, during Queen *Elizabeths* life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten: Then, that ſhe ſhould ſend her Son for a Hoſtage into *England*, with other ſix Hoſtages; ſuch as the Queen ſhould nominate: Then, that the Caſtles of *Humes* and *Eaſt-caſtle*, ſhould be held by the *Engliſh* for three years; with ſome other. To which Propoſitions the Queen of *Scots* for the preſent gave a provident anſwer; but referred the fuller Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Roſs*, her Ambaſſadour in *England*, and ſome other Delegates; who afterwards allowing ſome of the Propoſitions, and not allowing others; the Treaty came to nothing, but the matter reſted in the ſtate it was before.

Propoſitions made to the *Queen* of *Scots*, for ſetting her at liberty.

But came to nothing.

At this time *Philip* King of *Spain* had contracted a Marriage with *Anne* of *Auſtria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his own Neece by his Siſter; who was now ſetting Sail from *Zealand*, towards *Spain*; when Queen *Elizabeth*, to teſtifie her love and reſpect to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent Sir *Charles Howard* with the Navy-Royal, to conduct her through the *Britiſh* Sea.

1570.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign finiſhed; which certain Wizards had made Papiſts believe ſhould be her laſt: but contrary, as if it were but her firſt, a new Cuſtom began, of celebrating the ſeventeenth day of *November* (the Anniverſary day of her Reign) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings and Bonfires: which Cuſtom, as it now began, ſo it was never given over as long as ſhe lived, and is not yet forborn ſo long after her death.

The ſeventeenth day of *November* began to be celebrated in honour of Queen *Elizabeths* coming to the Crown.

At this time in *Ireland*, *Connagher O Brien*, Earl of *Thowmond*, not brooking the ſevere Government of *Edward Fitton*, Preſident of *Connaght*, entred into conſultation with ſome few, to raiſe a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was ſtrangely diſcovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, *Fitton* knowing not at all of the matter, ſent the Earl word in friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him would be his Gueſts. The Earl convinced by his own Conſcience, imagined that his Intendments were revealed; that *Fitton* would come as an Enemy, rather than a Gueſt. Out of which fear, he preſently ſet ſail into *France*; where repenting him ſeriouſly of his fault, he confeſſed the whole buſineſs to *Norris* the Queens Embaſſador in *France*; and by his interceſſion, was afterward pardoned and reſtored.

The Earl of *Thowmond* intending a Rebellion, is ſtrangely diſcovered. A guilty Conſcience betrays it ſelf.

1571.

In *January*, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen *Elizabeth* in Royal pomp entring the City of *London*, went to ſee the Burſe which Sir *Thomas Greſham* had lately built for the uſe of the Merchants; and with ſound of Trumpets, and the voyce of a Herald, ſolemnly named it the *Royal Exchange*. A few dayes after, for his many great Services, ſhe made Sir *William Cecill* Baron *Burghley*.

Sir *William Cecill* is made Baron of *Burghley*.

There were now about the *Scottiſh* affairs, in the name of the King of *Scots*, the Earl of *Morton*, *Pernare* Abbot of *Dumfermelin*, and *James Mac-Gray*; whom when Queen *Elizabeth* required to ſhew more clearly, for what cauſes they had depoſed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein, with a certain inſolent liberty, they endeavoured to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that the people of *Scotland* were above the King: and urged *Calvins* Authority alſo, That Popular Magiſtrates are conſtituted for the moderation of the licentiouſneſs of Princes: and that it is lawful for them, both to impriſon Kings; and upon juſt cauſes, to depoſe them. This Writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the Delegates, ſhe gave this Anſwer; She ſaw no juſt cauſe yet, why they ſhould handle the Queen in ſuch manner; and therefore willed them to think upon ſome courſe out of hand, how to allay the diſſenſions in *Scotland*. Hereupon in Sir *Nicholas Bacons* houſe, Keeper of the Great-Seal, a Propoſition was made to the Biſhop of *Roſſe*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, and Baron *Levingſton*, Delegates for the Queen of *Scots*, that for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, and the Queen of *England*; it were requiſite, that before the Queen of *Scots* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the Duke of *Caſtle-Herald*, the Earl of *Huntley* and *Argyle*, the Lords *Humes*, *Heris*, and another of the Barons ſhould be delivered for Hoſtages, and the Caſtles of *Dumbriton* and *Humes*, yelded up into the hands of the *Engliſh* for three years. But they made anſwer, that to yield up great Perſonages, and ſuch Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing elſe, but to leave the miſerable Queen utterly deſtitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places, fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Barons for Hoſtages, till two years were expired: which not being accepted, they ſtraightway gathered, and ſpoke it openly; That now they plainly perceived the *Engliſh* meant to keep the Queen of *Scots* perpetually priſoner, and likewiſe to break off the Treaty; ſeeing they rigorouſly demanded ſuch ſecurity as *Scotland* was not able to make good. And now Queen *Elizabeth* ſeeing that nothing could be done for her own, the King and Queen of *Scots* ſafety, unleſs both Factions in *Scotland* conſented; ſhe held it fit

Queen *Elizabeth* requireth the *Scottiſh* Lords, to ſhew for what cauſe they had depoſed their Queen, and what was done in it.

that the Lords of *Scotland* should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in *England* proceeded in this sort, the Queens Party in *Scotland* was hardly used: *Dumbriton Fryth*, the strongest Castle in *Scotland* was taken: and *J. Hamilton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews*, the Duke of *Castle-Heralds* Brother, as an accessary to the murther of *Darley*, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In *England*, the Queen of *Scots* had all her Servants taken from her, except ten only, and a Priest to say Masse: with which indignities the Queen of *Scots* provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Counsels, with certain love Letters to the Duke of *Norfolk*, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by *Ridolphus*; which being brought first to the Duke, *Higford* (one that waited on the Duke in his Bed-chamber) had copyed out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a Mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber; and that (it should seem) purposely. *Ridolphus* to draw on the Duke to be Head of the discontented Party in *England*, aggravated to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all Law he had been kept a long time in prison, and now, to his great disgrace, was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibited to him a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, and had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns; whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand amongst the *English* that were fled: he promised, that the King of *Spain* would send four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance; to these Reasons the Bishop of *Rosse* added, that it was an easie matter for him to surprise the Queen; whom, when he had in his hands, he might set the Queen of *Scots* at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen *Elizabeth*, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took some-what with the Duke, but this point of surprising the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

Ridolphus inciteth the Duke of *Norfolk* to take Arms against Queen *Elizabeth*, and by what Reasons.

In *France*, a little before this, was the Marriage solemnized between *Charles* the Ninth King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*; in gratulation whereof, Queen *Elizabeth* sent into *France*, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurst*, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps the more, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord *Buckhurst* having in his retinue, one *Guydo Cavalcantius*, a Noble man of *Florence*, the Queen-mother of *France*, as being a *Florentine* her self, had often conference with him, when she would many times say, What a happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of *England*, and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*; and at last desired him to commend the motion to the Queen of *England*, both from her, and from her Son the King of *France*, as a thing they both exceedingly desired. The Lord *Buckhurst* returned, having for a present from the King of *France* a Chain weighing a thousand *French Crowns*; and *Cavalcantius* at his return made the motion to the Queen, who seemed not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of *England* the wealthy Dukedoms of *Anjou*, *Burbon*, *Averne*, and in possibility, the Kingdom of *France* it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the *French* propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke; another, concerning the Joynt Administration of the Kingdome; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, That the two first Articles might in some sort be composed; but the third, scarce possibly; for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdome; yet between a wife and her Husband it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; he should not be compelled to use the *English* Rites, but at his pleasure use the *Roman*; not being expresly against the Word of God. But upon these *Punctilios* they could not accord: and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the Match was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended it, onely for their own ends: for the Earl of *Leicester* (who knew more of the Queens mind than any man) wrote at this time to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Queens Embassador in *France*, that he found the Queens inclination so cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would find one point or other to break it off.

The Articles of the Match.

But could not be agreed; and so the Treaty brake utterly off.

A motion of a Match is made between Queen *Elizabeth* and the Duke of *Anjou*.

At this time the continuance of the Duke of *Norfolks* affection towards the Queen of *Scots*, came to be discovered by a Packet of Letters, sent by *Ridolphus* to the Bishop of *Rosse* and by *Bayliffs* confession (who brought the Letters) being set upon the Rack: so as the Bishop of *Rosse* was confined to the Isle of *Ely*; *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, and *Rolston*, were cast into the Tower; and *Henry Howard*, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of *Canterburies* keeping. At the same time the Queen of *Scots* sent money to her Confederates in *Scotland*; which being by *Higford* delivered to one *Brown* to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and thereupon went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Counsel. Upon this, *Higford* being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withall gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of *Scots*, which is mentioned before; two dayes after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confessed, denyed every particular; and thereupon was brought again to the Tower, by *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Smith*, *Henry Nevill*, and Doctor *Wilson*: And after him *Bannester*, who was the Dukes Counsel at Law: The Earls of *Arundell* and *Southampton*; the Lord *Lumley*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Percy*, *Lowder*, *Powell*, *Goodyer*, and others, are committed to Prison; who, upon hope of Pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter. When these things, and especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were shewed

The Duke of *Norfolks* affection to the Queen of *Scots*, is discovered to continue, and by what means.

He is committed again to the Tower.

ſhewed him, he then cryed out, I am betrayed by my own Servants; not having learned to be diſtruſtful, which is the very ſinew of Wiſdom. And then with all ſubmiſſion, he beſought the Lords to mediate for him to the Queen; towards whom, he proteſted he never had the leaſt thought of doing any hurt.

And now ſeeing it appeared, that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* had been the whole contriver of the buſineſs, it was deliberated what to do to him, becauſe he was an Ambaſſadour. Hereupon divers Civilians are called; as *David Lewis*, *Valentine Dale*, *William Drury*, *William Aubrey*, and *Henry Jones*; of whom theſe queſtions were asked:

The Civilians deliver their Opinions what may be done with an Embaſſadour, if he prove a Practicer againſt the State.

First, *Whether an Ambaſſadour who raiſeth Rebellion againſt that Prince to whom he is an Ambaſſadour, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is not liable to Puniſhment?*

They anſwered, *That ſuch an Ambaſſadour hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, and is lyable to puniſhment.*

Secondly, *Whether the Miniſter or Proctor of a Prince, who is depoſed by publick Authority, and in whoſe room another is Inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *That if ſuch a Prince be lawfully depoſed, his Proctor cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour, foraſmuch as none but abſolute Princes, and ſuch as have Right of Majeſty, can appoint Ambaſſadours.*

Thirdly, *Whether a Prince who is come into another Princes Countrey, and held in Cuſtody, may have his Proctor; and if he ſhall be held an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *If ſuch a Prince have not loſt his Soveraignty, he may have his Proctor; but whether that Proctor ſhall be reputed as an Ambaſſadour or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation.*

Fourthly, *Whether if a Prince gave warning to ſuch a Proctor, and to his Prince who is under cuſtody that this Proctor ſhall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambaſſadour; whether that Proctor may by Law challenge the Priviledge of an Ambaſſadour?*

They anſwered, *A Prince may forbid an Ambaſſadour to enter into his Kingdome, and may command him to depart the Kingdome, if he contain not himſelf within his due limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambaſſadour.*

What the Biſhop of *Roſſe* pleadeth for himſelf.

Upon theſe Anſwers, the Biſhop of *Roſſe* is warned by the Lords of the Councel, That he ſhall no longer be eſteemed an Ambaſſadour, but be puniſhed as his fault ſhall deſerve. The Biſhop alledged for himſelf, That he had not violated the Right of an Ambaſſadour *Via Juris*, but *Via Facti* (to uſe his own words) and therefore adviſeth them, not to uſe harder meaſure to him than was uſed to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadours, *Throgmorton* in *France*, *Randall* and *Tamworth* in *Scotland*; who had raiſed rebellions there, and were open Abettors of the ſame; and yet had no greater puniſhment, than to be gone at a time limited. When they began to urge him what the *Engliſh* had teſtified againſt him, he lovingly requeſted them to give no credit to it; foraſmuch as by a received cuſtom, which hath the force of a Law, the Teſtimony of an *Engliſh* man againſt a *Scot*, or of a *Scot* againſt an *Engliſh* man, is not to be admitted: But after ſome alterations, the Biſhop is led away to the Tower, and kept cloſe Priſoner.

Matt'ew Earl of *Lenox* Regent of *Scotland* is murthered.

At this very ſeaſon, *Matthew* Earl of *Lenex*, Regent of *Scotland*, the Kings Grand-father, was by the adverſe party ſet upon at unawares; who having yielded himſelf to *David Spenſe* of *Worceſter*, (that was then careful to defend him) together with him, was ſlain by *Bell* and *Caulder*; when with great induſtry he had governed the Kingdome for his Grand-child about fourteen moneths.

In his place is ſet the Earl of *Marre*, who dyed within thirteen moneths.

In whoſe room, *John Ereskin* Earl of *Marre*, by common conſent of the Kings Faction, was choſen Regent of *Scotland*; who being a man of a quiet diſpoſition, through extream grief of the many troubles he ſuſtained in the place, departed this life, when he had governed thirteen moneths.

And now a *Parliament* was held at *Weſtminſter*; wherein, beſides a Law for preventing of the treacherous endeavours of ſeditious Subjects, another Law was made, That if any one during the Queens life, by Books written or printed, ſhall expreſly affirm, That any is, or ought to be the Heir or Succeſſor of the Queen, (beſides the natural Off-ſpring of her Body) or ſhall to that purpoſe publiſh, print, or diſperſe any Book or Schedules; he, and his favourers, ſhall for the firſt offence ſuffer a years Impriſonment, and the loſs of one half of his Goods: and if they offend again, they ſhall be in a *Præmunire*.

To be reconciled to the See of *Rome* made Treaſon.

A Law alſo was made, by which to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*, was made Treaſon; and it was pronounced againſt the Queen of *Scots*, That if ſhe offended again againſt the Laws of *England*, it might be lawful to queſtion her, as the Wife of a Peer of the Kingdom of *England*. But here the Queen interpoſed her Authority, and would not ſuffer it to be enacted. About this time, in *May*, a ſolemn Tilting was performed at *Weſtminſter*; where the Challengers were *Edward* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henry Lee*, and *Chriſtopher Hatton* Eſquire; who all did very valiantly, but the Earl of *Oxford* beſt.

John Story Doctor of the Laws executed for Treaſon, and why.

Aſſoon as the *Parliament* was diſſolved, a Conſultation was held, Whether *John Story*, Doctor of the Laws, the Duke *D' Alva's* Searcher (who ſometime before, was by a Wile brought into *England*) being an *Engliſh* man born; and having in *Braband* conſulted with a forain Prince about the invading of *England*, were to be held guilty of High-Treaſon? It was Reſolved affirmatively: whereupon he is called to the Bar, and indicted of Treaſon: That he had conſulted with one *Preſhall* a Conjurer, to make away the Queen: That he curſed her daily, when he ſaid Grace at Table: That he ſhewed a way to the Secretary of Duke *D' Alva*, how to invade *England*, *&c.* Where he affirming, that the Judges had no power to meddle with him, for that he

belonged not to the Queen *England*, but was the King of *Spains* sworn Subject; is nevertheless condemned by the Form of *Nihil dicit* (forasmuch as no man can renounce the Countrey wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytors.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for *John Perrot* President of *Munster*, had brought *James Fitz Morris* to submit himself, and crave pardon. *Sidney* the Lord Duputy returned into *England*, and Sir *William Fitz Williams*, who had married his Sister, succeeded in his room.

1573. It was now the fifteenth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; when *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, on the sixteenth day of *January*, was brought to his Tryal at *Westminster-Hall*; where sate as Commissioners, *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* (made high Steward of *England* for that day) *Renold Gray* Earl of *Kent*; *Thomas Ratcliff* Earl of *Sussex*; *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*; *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*; *Henry Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*; *Edward Seymor* Earl of *Hertford*; *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*; *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*; *Walter Devereux* Viscount of *Hereford*; *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, Admirall; *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Chamberlain; *William Cecill* Lord *Burley*, Secretary; *Arthur*, Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*; *James Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *William* Lord *Sands*, *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, *William* Lord *Borough*, *Lewis* Lord *Mordant*, *John Pawlet* Lord *St. John* of *Basing*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Roger* Lord *North*, *Edmond Bruges* Lord *Chandois*, *Oliver* Lord *St. John* of *Bletsho*, *Thomas Sackvyle* Lord *Buckhurst*, and *William West* Lord *de la Ware*. After silence bidden, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clerk of the Crown said, *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, late of *Keningale*, in the County of *Norfolk*, Hold up thy hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud Voyce readeth the Crimes laid to his Charge: That in the eleventh year of the Queens Reign, he had trayterously consulted to make her away, and to bring in forraign Forces for invading the Kingdom: Also, That he dealt with the Queen of *Scots* concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Also, That he relieved with money the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland*, that had stirred up Rebellion against the Queen: Also, That in the 13th. year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope *Pius* the Fifth, the Queens professed Enemy, of the King of *Spain*, and the Duke *D' Alva*, for the freeing of the Queen of *Scots*, and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he sent supply to the Lord *Heris*, and other the Queens Enemies in *Scotland*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* is brought to his Tryal, and condemned.

No Councel to be allowed in case of Treason.

These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these Crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsell. But *Catiline* chief Justice, made answer, That it was not lawful. Yet (saith the Duke) I have heard that *Humphrey Stafford*, in the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in a Case of Treason, had one assigned to plead for him. To which *Dyer* chief Justice of the Common Pleas, made answer, That *Stafford* had Councel assigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary, from whence he was taken by force; but in the Indictment of Treason, he pleaded his own cause. After this, the Duke yielding to be tryed by the Peers; first *Barham*, Serjeant at Law, then *Gerrard* the Queens Attorney; and lastly, *Bromley*, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected against him: to all which, the Duke made colourable answers; but most of them being proved by sufficient testimony, he asked upon occasion, Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate, and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies? to which *Catiline* answered, They were; and that the Queen of *England* might wage War with any Duke of *France*, and yet hold firm peace with the *French* King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself: who answered, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a while, and then returning, the Lord *Steward* beginning at the lowermost, asked them, My Lord *de la Ware*, Is *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk* guilty of these Crimes of High Treason, for which he is called in question? He rising up, and laying his hand upon his breast, answered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord *Steward* with tears in his eyes, pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few dayes after were *Barnes* and *Mather* executed, who conspired with one *Herle*, to make away certain of the Counsellors, and to free the Duke; but *Herle* revealed the business presently, to whom *Barnes* (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) smilingly said, *Herle*, thou wert but one hour before me, else I had been in thy place for the Accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the same time with them was hanged also *Henry Rolf*, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke were now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his case, that it was four moneths after before he was executed; at last, on the second of *June*, at eight of the Clock in the morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*, and there beheaded.

The Duke is beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein amongst other Laws, it was Enacted, That if any man should go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queens Commandment, for Treason or suspicion of Treason, and not yet Arraigned, he shall lose all his Goods for his life-time; and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; if the said person having been arraigned, the Rescuer shall forfeit his life; if condemned, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

Walter Devereux is created Earl of *Essex*, and by what right.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Essex*, being before but Viscount *Hereford*; because he was descended by his Great-grand-mother, from the *Bourchiers*, and made the Lord *Clinton* (who had large Revenues in *Lincoln-shire*) Earl of *Lincoln*; Also she called forth *John Pawlet* of *Basing*, the Marquesse of *Winchesters* Son, *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris*, for Barons by Summons.

The Lord *Clinton* is made Earl of *Lincoln*. *Henry Compton*, *Henry Cheyney*, and *Henry Norris* are made Barons by Summons.

Within ten dayes after the Dukes death, *William* Lord *De la Ware*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, *Thomas Wilson*, Doctor of the Laws, and *Thomas Bromley*

Queen *Elizabeth* sends the Lord *de la Ware*, and others, to the Queen, to charge her with many Crimes, and what she answered.

ley the Queens Solicitor, were sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to expostulate with her, That she had usurped the Title and Arms of the Kingdom of *England*, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at *Edenburgh*; That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk*, without acquainting the Queen, and had used all forcible means to free him out of prison; had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in *Scotland*, and in the *Low-Countries*; had implored Aids from the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and others; had conspired with certain of the *English*, to free her out of Prison, and declare her Queen of *England*; Lastly, That she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered her self to be publickly named the Queen of *England* in Forraign Countries: All which Accusations she either absolutely denyed, or else fairly extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Creature; yet she was content, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

How the *Dutch* got possession of their Sea-Towns.

About this time, the King of *Spain* by his Embassadour here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the *Netherlands* were harboured and entertained in *England*, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen set forth a severe Proclamation, That all the *Dutch*, who could any wayes be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to *D' Alva's*, or the King of *Spain's* benefit: For hereupon, *Count-Vander-Mark*, and other *Dutch* going out *England*, surprised the *Brill* first, then *Flushing*, and afterwards drew other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excluded the Duke *D' Alva* in a manner from the Sea. And this errour, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of *Spain*. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the Netherlands, some to Duke *D' Alva*; but the far greater number to the Prince of *Orange*: The first of whom was *Thomas Morgan*, who carried three hundred *English* to *Flushing*; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of *Humphrey Gilbert*; and afterward it became the Nursery of all our *English* Souldiers.

A League concluded between Queen *Elizabeth* and the King of *France*.

At this time *Charles* the *French* King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the *Low-Country* War, concluded a Peace, entred into a League with Queen *Elizabeth*; which was to remain firm, not onely during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor signifie to the Survivor within a year, that he accepteth it, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, what aid by Sea or Land, they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln* and Admiral of *England*, was sent into *France*, with whom went the Lords *Dacres*, *Rich*, *Talbot*, *Sands*, and others. The *French* King likewise sent the Duke of *Memorancy* and *Paul Foix* into *England*, with a great Train; that the Queen in the presence of them, and the Embassador in Ordinary, might swear to the League, which she did at *Westminster* the seventeenth of *May*, in the year 1572. The day after she made *Memorancy* Knight of the Garter.

Great preparation for the marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* with the *French* Kings Sister. At which marriage was the cruel massacre of Protestants at *Paris*, and throughout all the Cities of *France*.

Memorancy whilest he tarryed in *England*, made intercession in his Kings name, that what favour could be without danger, might be shewed to the Queen of *Scots*; and then made much ado again about the marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*; but being hopeless to make conclusion thereof, by reason of the diversity of Religion, he returned into *France*; for now was great provision making ready for the marriage, between *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and the Lady *Margaret* the *French* Kings Sister; to which Solemnity, with notable dissimulation, the Queen of *Navarre*, and the chief of all the Protestants were allured, being born in hand, that there should be a renovation of love, and a perpetual Peace established. The Earl of *Leicester* likewise and the Lord *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, and out of *Germany*, the Sons of the Prince Elector Palatine, under colour of honour, but indeed, that they might be intrapped, and they, and together with them the Protestant Religion, at one blow, if not clean cut off, yet receive a deadly wound: For the marriage being celebrated, there presently followed that cruel Massacre at *Paris*, and the terrible slaughter of the Protestants throughout all the Cities of *France*; but to set a shew of equity upon the Fact, Edicts and Proclamations were presently set forth, that the Protestants had plotted a wicked conspiracy against the King, the Queen-Mother, the Brethren, the King of *Navarre*, and the Princes of the Blood-Royal; and to keep the thing in memory, Coyn was presently stamped, upon the one side whereof was the Kings Picture with this Inscription, *Virtus in Rebelles*, on the other side, *Pietas excitavit justitiam*; But the King of *France*, notwithstanding all the shew he made of Piety, escaped not the Divine revenge; for before the year came about, he fell sick of a Bloody-Flux, and afterwards with long and grievous torments ended his life.

The King of *France*, for this shedding of blood, falls himself into a Bloody-Flux, and in grievous torments ends his life.

A little before this, *Mota Fenell*, Embassador to the King of *France*, being in *England*, by vertue of an Order from the Queen-Mother of *France*, propoundeth to Queen *Elizabeth* at *Kenel-worth* (two dayes before the Massacre in that Kingdom) the marriage of her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alanson* (for the Queen-Mother had been told by some cunning men, that all her Sons should be Kings, and she knew no way for it but this.) But Queen *Elizabeth*, by reason of the disparity of age, modestly excused her self, (for he was scarce seventeen years old, and she was now past eight and thirty) yet she promised to consider of it, and *Alanson* did not leave to prosecute the Suit.

A motion is now made to Queen *Elizabeth* to marry *Francis* Duke of *Alanson*, and her Answer.

At this time, *Thomas Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*, who first rebelled, and afterwards fled into *Scotland*, was for a sum of money delivered by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunsdon* Governour of *Berwick*, and a while after was beheaded at *York*. And now as these two great Personages, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Northumberland* were taken away by violent death; so three other great Personages were at this time taken away by a natural death: First, *William Paulet*, who from a private man came by degrees

Thomas Percy Earl of *Northumberland* is beheaded.

William Powlet Marquess of *Winchester* dies, his great age, and numerous Issue:

degrees to be Marqueſſe of *Winchester*: lived to the age of within three years of a hundred, and could reckon a hundred and three of his Children, and his Childrens Iſſue, after he had held the place of Lord Treaſurer of *England* above twenty years; in whoſe room ſucceeded Sir *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*: Then died *Edmund* Earl of *Darby*, famous as well for his Hoſpitality and good Houſe-keeping, as for his skill in Chirurgery and Bone-ſetting; Then died Sir *William Peter*, who being aſcended from an honeſt ſtock at *Exceſter* in *Devonſhire*, was Privy-Counſellour and Secretary to King *Henry* the Eighth, King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*; who planted himſelf in *Eſſex*, where he purchaſed great poſſeſſions; whoſe Son *John* was by King *James* made Baron of *Writtle* in that Countrey.

Some good acts of Queen *Elizabeth.*

And now Queen *Elizabeth* having formerly borrowed money of her Subjects, ſhe thankfully repaid it, which won her no leſs love, than if ſhe had given it; and more love ſhe gained alſo at this time by two Proclamations, by one of which, ſhe commanded Noble men to obſerve the Law of keeping retainers; by the other, ſhe reſtrained Informers, who under colour of ſpying out Crown-Land, concealed by private perſons, ſacrilegiouſly ſeized upon the Lands of Pariſh-Churches and Alms-houſes, piouſly endowed by the Queens Anceſtors. And more Love and Honour alſo ſhe gained at this time by two Acts of Juſtice; the one, that ſhe ſatisfied the *Engliſh* Merchants out of the goods which were detained belonging to the *Dutch*, and reſtored the reſt to Duke *D' Alva*, and made a full tranſaction with the Merchants of *Genova*, for the money intercepted; the other, that ſhe freed *England* at this time, of the debts which her Father and her Brother had run into in forraign parts, and were increaſed by yearly intereſt, and cauſed the obligations of the City of *London*, which had ſo often been renewed, to be given in, to the great rejoycing of the Citizens.

The *Spaniſh* affairs growing now very turbulent in the *Netherlands*, *Flaſhing* loſt, the Towns of *Holland* revolted, and the *Spaniſh* Navy vanquiſhed by the *Zealanders*, Duke *D' Alva* againſt his will, began to ſhew more kindneſs towards the *Engliſh*, ſo as in the moneth of *January*, the Trade which in *Anno* 1568. had been forbidden, was now allowed again between the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh* for two years; but thoſe two years expired, the *Engliſh* removed their Trading to the Confederate States.

The Earl of *Worceſter* ſent as Deputy for the Queen, to Chriſten the King of *France*'s Daughter.

The laſt year in the moneth of *November*, a Daughter was born to the *French* King, to whom he requeſted Queen *Elizabeth* to be God-mother, who thereupon ſent *William Somerſet* Earl of *Worceſter* into *France*, with a Font of maſſy Gold to ſtand as her Deputy at the Chriſtning. Hereupon, and for that, the Queen promiſed to obſerve the League ſtrictly, the *French* King and Queen-Mother began to affect her more and more, and the Duke *D' Alanſon* wrote ſundry Love-letters to her, and the *French* King and his Mother interceding for the marriage with all earneſtneſs. It is true, the Queen conceived divers Reaſons why it was fit for her to marry; but the Courtiers for their own ends diſſwaded her as much from it: at laſt the Queen-Mother of *France* was wonderful importunate, that her Son *Alanſon* might have leave to come to ſee her: whereunto, being wearied with continual Letters and Meſſages, ſhe gave her conſent; but upon condition, that he ſhould not take it for any diſgrace to him, if he returned without obtaining his Suit: But as ſoon as Queen *Elizabeth* had notice, that his Brother *Henry* was elected King of *Poland*, and that the King of *France* was very ſick, ſhe gave intimation to *Alanſon*, by *Edward Horſey* Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, that he ſhould not make too much haſte into *England*; but ſhould firſt procure a Peace by ſome means or other in *France*, and declare by ſome notable Argument, his good will towards the Proteſtants, thereby to be the more welcome Gueſt into *England*. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in *France*, and in certain places the Proteſtants were allowed to exerciſe their Religion: and then again the *French* King and the Queen-Mother uſed all their endeavour to have the Marriage go forward (for they were very deſirous that *Alanſon* who was of a crooked and perverſe diſpoſition, and prone to raiſe tumults) might be removed out of *France*; and withall, they requeſted of Queen *Elizabeth*, that if the Duke of *Anjou* took his Voyage into *Poland* by Sea; he might have publick caution to ſail through the *Britiſh* Ocean. To this laſt Requeſt, ſhe not onely conſented with all alacrity, but alſo made offer of a Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while, *Alanſon* fell ſick of the Meazels, which his Mother ſignified to Queen *Elizabeth* by Count *Rhets*, excuſing him thereupon for not coming into *England* as he had determined. The Count found the Queen at *Canterbury*, where ſhe gave him Royal entertainment: and *Matthew Parker* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Royal entertainment to them both.

The Duke D' *Alanſon* may come and ſee her, but with condition. In hope of this match the Proteſtants are better uſed in *France* then before.

James Douglas Earl of *Morton* is made Regent of *Scotland*, but is oppoſed by divers of the Lords.

All this while, ſince the death of the Earl of *Marre*, there had been no Regent in *Scotland*, but now by the procurement of *Queen Elizabeth* chiefly, *James Douglas* Earl of *Morton* is made Regent; who, when his Authority in a Parliamentary Aſſembly was eſtabliſhed, Enacted many profitable Laws for the defence of Religion againſt Papiſts and Hereticks, in the name of the King: But the protection and keeping of the Kings Perſon, he confirmed to *Alexander Ereſkin* Earl of *Marre* (to whom the cuſtody of the Kings in their tender years, by ſpecial priviledge belongeth) though he were himſelf in his Minority: Upon theſe Conditions, That no Papiſts, nor factious perſons ſhould be admitted to his preſence: An Earl ſhould come with only two Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one: All other, ſingle: and every one unarmed. The *French* King in the mean time, ſent his Embaſſadour *Mounſier Vyrriar* to corrupt the Earls of *Atholl* and *Huntley*, with large promiſes, to oppoſe the Regent: Queen *Elizabeth* as much laboured to defend him: but though by the Miniſtry of *Killigrew*, ſhe had drawn *James Hamilton* Duke of *Caſtle-Herald* and *George Gourdon* Earl of *Huntley*, and the moſt eminent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to acknowledge the Regent, yet *William Kircald*, Lord *Graunge*, (whom *Murray* when he was Regent had made Governour of *Edenburgh* Caſtle) the Lord *Humes*, *Lydington*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*,

It belongs to the Earls of *Marre* to have the cuſtody of the Kings perſon in his Minority.

Dunkeld, and others, would by no means admit of the Regents Government, but held that Caſtle, and fortified it in the Queen of *Scots* name, having *Lydington* for their Counſellor herein, and truſting to the natural ſtrength of the place, and to the Duke *D' Alva*'s and the *French* Kings promiſes, to ſend them ſupplies both of men and money. Now when theſe perſons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Caſtle to the Regent, Queen *Elizabeth* (who could in no caſe indure the *French* in *Scotland*) ſuffered her ſelf at length to be intreated by the Regent, to ſend Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for aſſaulting the Caſtle, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Hoſtages ſhould be ſent into *England*, to be ſecurity for returning the Men and Ammunition, unleſs by the common hazard of War they ſhould chance to miſcarry. The Conditions being agreed on; *William Drury* Marſhal of the Garriſon at *Barwick*, with ſome great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Souldiers (amongſt whom were ſome Noble Volunteers, *George Carie*, *Henry Carie*, *Thomas Cecill*, *Henry Lee*, *William Knolles*, *Sutton*, *Cotton*, *Kelway*, *Will. Killigrew*, and others, entred into *Scotland*, and beſieged the Caſtle, which after three and thirty dayes ſiege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings uſe, with all the perſons that were in it; amongſt whom, *Kircald* Lord *Grange*, and *James* his Brother, *Muſman* and *Cook* Goldſmiths (who had counterfeited Coyn in the Caſtle) were hanged; although to redeem *Granges* life, a hundred of the Family of the *Kircalds* offered themſelves to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, beſides an annual Penſion of three thouſand Marks; and twenty thouſand pounds of *Scottiſh* money in preſent; and to put in caution, that from thenceforth he ſhould continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. *Humes* and the reſt were ſpared, through Queen *Elizabeths* merciful interceſſion; *Lydington* was ſent to *Leith*, where he dyed, and was ſuſpected to be poyſoned: A man of the greateſt underſtanding in the *Scottiſh* Nation, and of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which, *George Buchanan* called him the Chamælion.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſendeth aid to the Regent of *Scotland*, with which he repreſſeth the adverſe Faction.

Lidington for his variable diſpoſition called the Chamælion.

And now from this time *Scotland* began to breath, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both Parties, as the Souldiers, betook themſelves into *Swedeland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries*, where they valorouſly behaved themſelves, and won great commendation. As for *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, he was now ſet at liberty, but commanded to depart preſently out of *England*, and being beyond the Sea, he continued ſtill to ſolicite his Miſtreſs the Queen of *Scots* cauſe, with the Emperour, the Pope, the *French* King, and the *German* Princes of the Popiſh Religion; who all led him on with fair promiſes, but performed nothing: For indeed, he in whom he had greateſt confidence, which was the Duke of *D' Alva*, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealouſie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion, that by his cruelty he made the people to revolt; and therefore in his place was ſent *Ludovicus Zuinga*, a man of great Nobility in *Spain*, but of a more peaceable diſpoſition than *D' Alva*; and now this man did all good Offices to win Queen *Elizabeth* to him, and minding his own affairs onely, would not intermeddle with the *Scottiſh* or *Engliſh* matters.

The Duke *D' Alva* is called home, and *Zuinga* ſent Governour in his place.

About this time, a frantick Opinion was held by one *Peter Bourchet*, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that oppoſed the truth of the Goſpel; & ſo far was he poſſeſt with this opinion, that he aſſaulted the famous Seaman Captain *Hawkins*, and wounded him with a Dagger; taking him for *Hatton*, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of he Privy Councel, whom he had been informed to be a great Adverſary to Innovations. The Queen grew ſo angry hereat, that She commanded Martial Law ſhould be executed upon him preſently, till her Councel adviſed her, that Martial Law was not to be uſed, but in the Field, and in turbulent times; but at home, and in time of Peace, there muſt be legall proceedings: Hereupon *Bourchet* was ſent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he ſtuck it into the brains of one of his Keepers, named *Hugh Longworth*, and killed him; for which fact, he was condemned of murther, had his right hand cut off, and nailed to the Gallows, and then himſelf hanged.

A frantick opinion of *Peter Bourchet*.

After the violent death of this Varlet, we may ſpeak of the natural death of two great perſons: Firſt, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Son of that Warlike *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, by his ſecond Wife *Agnes Tilney*. This *William* was made a Baron by Queen *Mary*, and Lord High Admiral of *England*, and by Queen *Elizabeth* Lord Chamberlain, till ſuch time, that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of Honour in *England*. His Son *Charles* ſucceeded him in the Dignity of his Barony, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of *England*. A while after him dyed *Reginald Gray* Earl of *Kent*, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of *Kent*, when as that Title, from the death of *Richard Gray* Earl of *Kent*, who had waſted his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this mans Grand-Father, had lien aſleep for fifty years together.

The Keeper of the Privy Seal', the fourth degree of Honour in *England*.

Reginald Gray of a private man made Earl of *Kent*.

At this time many particular Rebellions were in *Ireland*; The *O-Conors* and *O-Moors* took Arms, and committed many outrages: In *Munſter* *James Fitz-Morris*, and *Fitz-Edmund* did the like; but by the induſtry of Sir *John Perrot*, Preſident of *Munſter*, were ſuppreſſed. In *Ulſter*, *Bryan Mac Philym* burnt *Knockfergus*, and many other joyned in Rebellion with him. Againſt theſe, *Walter Devereux* (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of *Eſſex*) deſired leave to go; which Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Deputy of *Ireland* oppoſed, as fearing that the glory of ſo great an Earl would eclipſe his light. But for this, the Queen finds a remedy, by appointing *Eſſex* to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governour of *Ulſter*. But this remedy for *Fitz-Williams* might have made a ſore in the mind of *Eſſex* (to receive his Authority from his inferiour) but that the Nobleneſs of his mind made him more to regard the Vertue, than the Glory. And ſo, in the end of *Auguſt*, he landed at *Knockfergus*, having with him the Lords *Darcy* and *Rich*, and Sir *Henry Knolles* and his

Many Rebellions are in *Ireland*.

Walter Devereux Earl of *Eſſex* is made Governour of *Ulſter*, by a Patent from the Deputy.

his four Brothers, *Michael* and *John Carves*, *Henry*, *William*, and *John Norrises*: At his landing *Bryan Mac Phelym* welcomed him, tendering unto him all manner of dutifulness and service; but presently after falls from him, and joyns with *Turlogh Leynigh*. After this revolt, the Earl of *Essex* finding many difficulties in the business, and himself not well provided of skilful Souldiers, makes suit to the Queen for leave to come home; which the Earl of *Leicester* (who liked his room better than his company) opposed; till after expence of a years time, and much treasure, he at last obtained leave, and returned home.

1574.

An. Reg. 17. The Duke of *Alanson* continues his suit to Queen Elizabeth.

The next Year, being 1574, and the 17th. year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Duke of *Alanson* grew more importunate in his Suit, than at any time before; so he obtained of the Queen to come into *England*, any time before the twentieth of *May*; and this she the rather did, because she perceived him now to be really bent against the *Guyses* her sworn Enemies. But before this Answer was brought him, *Valentine Dale* Doctor of the Civil Law, the Queens Embassadour in *France*, gave intimation to the Queen, That *Alanson* and *Navarre* were in restraint, and committed to Keepers: For the *Guyses* had suggested, that *Alanson* held intimate friendship with Admiral *Colen*, the chief Leader of the Protestants in *France*; and indeed, *Alanson* being examined, freely confessed, that he had now for a good while desired the marriage of the Queen of *England*, and conceiving that good correspondence with *Colen* might be useful to him to that end, he had thereupon had conference with him thereabout, and concerning the *Low-Country* War. In the mean time *Thomas Wilkes*, *Dales* Secretary, got cunningly to *Alanson*, and in the Queens name, made promise both to him, and to *Navarre*, that she would omit no opportunity of procuring their inlargement. For which, the subtile Queen-Mother so complained of him to Queen *Elizabeth*, that he was fain to go into *France*, and there to crave pardon for his fault. But *Navarre*, not unmindful of this kindness in *Wilkes*, when above five and twenty years after, being King of *France*, he saw him in *Normandy*, he Knighted him. Hereupon the Queen sent *Thomas Randall* into *France* to the Queen-Mother, that if it were possible, he might gain Reconciliation for *Alanson* her Son, and for the King of *Navarre*. But before he was landed in *France*, *Charles* the then *French* King dyed, whose Funeral Rites were solemnly performed in St. *Pauls* Church in *London*.

Charles the *French* King dies.

Henry the new King of *France* solicites the Queen for *Alanson*.

As soon as *Henry* the Third, King of *France*, was come from *Poland*, *Roger* Lord *North* was sent into *France*, to congratulate his return, and happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joynt Letters into *England*, strongly soliciting the business of Marriage between *Alanson* and the Queen. In the mean time notwithstanding they used all possible devices (and left no means unsought) to get the young King of *Scotland* to be sent into *France*, and to deprive *Morton* who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of *Scots* also was desirous; she being perswaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into *France*, she and the Catholicks in *England* should be more mildly used. At which time, an aspersion was cast upon the Queen of *Scots*, as if she had made the match between *Charles* Uncle to the Queen of *Scots* (who had lately the Earldom of *Lenox* confirmed to him by Parliament) and *Elizabeth Cavendish* the Countesse of *Shrewsburies* Daughter by a former Husband; upon which ground, both their Mothers, and some others also were kept in prison for a time; and being doubted whereunto this marriage should tend, *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, President of the Councel in the North, is authorized with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North; which from small beginnings is now become so eminent as it is at this day; whereof this was the Original. When as in the Reign of *Henry* the Eight, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts, about the subversion of Abbies was quieted, the Duke of *Norfolk* tarried in those quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendered unto him, whereof some he composed himself, and others he commended under his Seal to men of wisdom to determine: Hereof when King *Henry* heard, he sent down a peculiar Seal to be used in these cases, and calling home the Duke, committed the same to *Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and constituted Assistants with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the Poor, and he was the first that was called President; and from that time, the authority of his successors grew in credit.

How the President of the North came first to be ordained.

1575.

An. Reg. 18.

It was now the year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the eighteenth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *Henry* the third King of *France* being returned from *Poland*, and Crowned at *Rheimes*, was careful to have the League of *Blois* confirmed; which in the year 1572, had been concluded between his Brother *Charles* and the most Illustrious Queen *Elizabeth*; Now therefore he confirmed it with His own Subscription, and delivered it to *Dale* the Queens Legier, as the Queen likewise ratified it at St. *James* near *Westminster*: But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutual defence against all persons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also? Whereunto she answered, that it did comprehend it: he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and *Alanson* being drawn to the Adverse party, there was no speech of the marriage for a long time.

Henry King of *France* prepares war against the Protestants.

In the *Netherlands* at this time, *Lodovick Zuinga*, who as successor unto Duke *D' Alva*, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which *D' Alva* had neglected; but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent *Boischoit* into *England*, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, but this she would not grant: Then he made suit that the Queen would please not to take it in evil part, if the banished persons of the *English* in the *Low-Countries* served the King of *Spain* in a Sea-fight against the *Hollanders*; and that they might have free access to the Ports of *England*, to buy provision for ready money; but this she would not grant neither: Then he made request, that the *Dutch*, who were Rebels against the King of *Spain*, might be put out of *England*; but neither would she grant this, as being an Action void of Humanity, and against the

Laws

Laws of Hospitality: yet because she would not be thought to violate the old *Burgundian* Law, she commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the *Dutch* which were made ready, should not go forth of the Haven; nor yet the *Dutch*, who had taken up Arms against the K. of *Spain*, enter into the Ports of *England*, & by Name, the Prince of *Orange*, and Fifty other the prime of that Faction; and this she did the more willingly, because *Zuinga* at the intercession of *Wilson* the *English* Embassador, had removed the Earl of *Westmerland*, and other *English* Fugitives out of the Dominions of the King of *Spain*, and had also dissolved the *English* Seminary at *Doway*; though in stead thereof, the *Guises* through the procurement of Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, set up another Seminary at *Rhemes*.

The *English* Seminary at *Doway* is dissolved, and another set up at *Rhemes*.

And at this time the Prince of *Orange*, perceiving his Forces but small, and thinking himself too weak for the King of *Spain*, and little hope of aid from *England*, he entred into Consultation with the Confederate States, to whose protection they were best, and in the most security to betake themselves: The Princes of *Germany* they knew were not all of one minde, parted from money very hardly, and did not every way, nor would not by any means possible accord and concur with them in their Religion; and therefore they were not so fit. Then the *French* they saw, were intangled in a Civil Warre, and so had enough of their own to do; besides the old grudges and heart-burnings that were between the *French* and *Dutch*; and therefore neither were they so fit. There remained then the *English*, as fittest of any (if it might be obtained) seeing they were Neighbours, of the same Religion, and of a Language not much different, strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize. Hereupon (considering the commodiousness of the *English* Nation) they sent into *England Philip Marnize* of Saint *Aldegond*, *Janus Dowsa*, *William Nyvell*, and Doctor *Melsen*; who in an honourable Ambassage, offer the Countries of *Holland* and *Zealand* to be possessed or protected by the Queen, forasmuch as she was descended from the Princes of *Holland*, by *Phillippa* Wife of *Edward* the third, Daughter of *William* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Hanonia* and *Holland*: by whose other Sister, the hereditary Right of those Provinces came to the King of *Spain*. To this offer, the Queen takes time to answer; and at last, having maturely advised of the matter, her Answer was this; That as yet she conceived not how with the safety of her Honour, and an upright Conscience, she could receive those Provinces into her Protection, much less assume them into her possession; but promised, she would deal earnestly with the King of *Spain*, that a well conditioned Peace might be concluded. Presently upon this, *Zuinga* Governour of the *Low-Countries* died; after whose death, the States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the other Provinces, took upon them the ancient Administration and Authority in the Common-wealth; which the King of *Spain* was fain to confirm to them, till such time as *John* of *Austria* were come, whom he determined to make Governour there. In the mean time, Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the King of *Spain*, sent *William Davyson* in Ambassage to those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and and quiet, which yet, by reason the *Spanish* Souldiers were so outragious, little prevailed.

The States of the *Low-Countries* make choice of Queen *Elizabeth* to be their Protector, and why.

The Queens Answer to their offer.

Zuinga dying *John* of *Austria* is sent Governour into the *Netherlands*.

In *England* all was calm and quiet for all this year, onely a difference fell out between Sir *John Forster* Governour of *Berwick*, and *John Cormichill* Keeper of *Liddesdale* in *Scotland*: In composing whereof, the Regent of *Scotland*, having given Queen *Elizabeth* some discontentment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl of *Huntington*, appointed the Legate for *England* at *Bonderod*, and so the matter was taken up, and the Regent ever after continued constant in observing the Queen, and to his great commendation, restrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to the great good of both Kingdoms.

This year there dyed in *Scotland*, *James Hamilton* Duke of *Castle-Herald*, and Earl of *Arran*, who was great Grand-child to *James* the Second, King of *Scots*, by his Daughter, appointed Tutor to *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, and designed Heir and Governour of the Kingdom, during her minority.

At this time the Earl of *Essex* is come into *Ireland* again, where having done good services, and being in the midst of Victory, he was on a suddain commanded to resign his Authority in *Ulster*: and as though he were an ordinary Commander, is set over three hundred Souldiers: which disgrace was wrought by his adversaries in Court, to the continual perplexing of his milde spirit. And now is Sir *Henry Sidney* the third time sent Deputy into *Ireland*; who going into *Ulster*, there came to him and submitted themselves *Mac Mahon*, *Mac Guyre*, *Torlogh Leynigh*, the *O-Conors* and *O-Moors*, the Earl of *Desmond*, and the rebellious Sons of the Earl of *Clanriccard*, all whom he received into favour, and with great commendation administred the Province.

The Earl of *Essex* going into *Ireland* again, is disgraced with being made an ordinary Commander.

At this time the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries* began to deal roughly with the people, and harried the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and injury; *Antwerp*, the most famous Town of Traffick in all *Europe*, was miserably pillaged, the *English* Merchants house rifled, insomuch that the States were enforced to take up Arms, and Messengers were sent to all neighbouring Princes; and to Queen *Elizabeth* was sent *Monsieur Aubigny*, both to shew her upon how necessary and just causes they had taken up Arms, and also to borrow of her a great sum of money, the better to enable them to resist the *Spaniard*. But she being certainly informed, That they first sued to the *French* King for help, denyeth the Request, yet promiseth to intercede earnestly with the King of *Spain* for Peace. And in that imployment, she addressed into *Spain*, *John Smith*, cousen-german to King *Edward* the sixth, a man of *Spanish* behaviour, and well known to the King of *Spain*, who was liberally received by the King; and with such wisdom retorted the contumelious speech of *Gasper Quiroga* Archbishop of *Toledo* and the *Spanish* Inquisitors, who would not admit in the Queens Title the Attribute of *Defender of the Faith*; that he had gained great thanks from the King of *Spain* himself, who requested him not to speak of it to the Queen, and gave severe command, that the Title should be admitted.

John Smith Embassadour into *Spain*, his stout carriage.

And now by this time was *John* of *Austria* come into the *Low-Countries* with a large Commission: for he was the Naturall Son of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, to whom the Queen sent

Edward Horſey, Governour of the Iſle of *Wight*, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer help, if the States called the *French* into the *Netherlands*; yet at the ſame time, *Swevingham* being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, ſhe ſent them twenty thouſand pounds of *Engliſh* money; (ſo well ſhe could play her game of both hands) upon condition they ſhould neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the *French* into the *Low-countries*, nor refuſe a peace, if *John* of *Auſtria* ſhould condeſcend to indifferent Conditions; but if he embraced a peace, then the money ſhould be paid back to the *Spaniſh* Souldiers, who were ready to mutiny for lack of pay. So carefull ſhe was to retain theſe declining Provinces in obedience to the King of *Spain*.

Martyn Forbiſher is ſent to diſcover the North part of *America*.

At this time a Voyage was undertaken, to try if there could be found any Sea upon the North part of *America*, leading to the wealthy coaſt of *Cathaia*, whereby in one commerce might be joyned the riches of both the Eaſt and Weſt parts of the world, in which voyage was imployed *Martyn Forbiſher*, who ſet ſail from *Harwich* the eighteenth of *June*, and the ninth of *Auguſt*, entred into that Bay, or Sea, but could paſſ no further for Snow and Ice. The like expedition was taken in hand, two years after, with no better ſucceſſe.

About this time dyed the Emperour *Maximilian*, a Prince that deſerved well of Queen *Elizabeth* and the *Engliſh*, who thereupon ſent Sir *Philip Sidney* to his Son *Rodolphus* King of the *Romans* to condole his Fathers death, and congratulate his ſucceſſion: as likewiſe to do the like, for the deceaſe of the Count Electour Palatine, named *Frederick* the third, with his ſurviving Son,

Walter Devereux Earl of *Eſſex* out of diſcontentment dyeth in *Ireland*.

And now *Walter Devereux* Earl of *Eſex*, who out of *Liceſters* envy, had been recalled out of *Ireland*, was out of *Leiceſters* fear, (as being threatned by him) ſent back again into *Ireland*, but with the empty title of Earl *Marſhall* of *Ireland*; with the grief whereof, he fell into a bloudy Flux, and in moſt grievous torments ended his life: When he had firſt deſired the ſtanders by to admoniſh his Son (ſcarce ten years old at that time) to have alwayes before his eyes, the ſix and thirtieth year of his age, as the utmoſt term of his life, which neither himſelf, nor his Father before him could out-go, and the Son indeed attained not to it, as ſhall hereafter be declared. He was ſuſpected to be poyſoned, but Sir *Henry Sidney*, Deputy of *Ireland*, after diligent ſearch made, wrote to the Lords of the Councel, That the Earl often ſaid, It was familiar to him upon any great diſcontentment to fall into a Flux, and for his part, he had no ſuſpition of his being poyſoned: yet was this ſuſpicion encreaſed; for that preſently after his death, the Earl of *Leiceſter* with a great ſum of money and large promiſes, putting away *Douglas Sheffeild*, by whom he had a Son, openly marryed *Eſſex* his widow. For although it was given out, that he was privately marryed to her, yet Sir *Francis Knolles* her Father, who was well acquainted with *Leiceſters* roving loves, would not believe it, unleſſe he himſelf were preſent at the marriage, and had it teſtified by a publick Notary, At this time alſo dyed Sir *Anthony Cook* of *Gyddy-Hall* in *Eſſex*, who had been School-maſter to King *Edward* the ſixth, and was no leſſe School-maſter to his own Daughters, whom he made skilfull in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues; marryed all to men of great Honour; one to Sir *William Cecill*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*; a ſecond to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; a third to Sir *Thomas Hobby*, who dyed Embaſſadour in *France*; a fourth to Sir *Ralph Lonlet*; and the fifth to Sir *Henry Killigrew*.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* marries his Widow.

Sir *Anthony Cook* dies, and how his learned Daughters were beſtowed.

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of *Clanriccard*, who ſcarce two months before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy ſoon ſuppreſt; and *William Drury* newly made Preſident of *Munſter*, reduced the whole province to good Order, except only the County of *Kerry*, whither a number of Vagabonds were gotten, truſting to the Immunities of the place. For King *Edward* the third made *Kerry* a County Palatine, and granted to the Earls of *Deſmond* all the Royall Liberties which the King of *England* had in that County, excepting *Wreck* by *Fire*, *Foreſtall*, and Treaſure *Trove*. The Governour notwithſtanding, who wiſely judged that theſe Liberties were granted for the better preſervation of Juſtice, and not for maintainance of outragious malefactors, entred into it, and violently put to flight and vanquiſhed the miſchievous crew, which the Earl of *Deſmond* had placed there in ambuſh. The Earl in the mean while made great complaints of *Drury* to the Deputy; and particularly, of the Tax which they call *Ceaſſe*, which is an exaction of proviſion of Victuals at a certain rate, for the Deputies Family; and the Souldiers in Garriſon. This Tax not he only, but in *Lemſter* alſo many Lords refuſed to pay, alleadging that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examined in *England*, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, That this Tax was anciently impoſed; and that by a certain Right of Majeſty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not ſubjected to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wiſe Civilians have obſerved. Yet the Queen commanded to uſe a moderation in exactions of this nature, ſaying She would have her ſubjects ſhorn, but not devoured.

The County of *Kerry* in *Ireland*, a County Palatine.

The Tax in *Ireland* called the *Ceaſſe*.

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John* of *Auſtria*, pretending to Queen *Elizabeth* nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal ſecretly with the pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himſelf to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and invade *England*: of which his practiſes the prince of *Orange* gives Queen *Elizabeth* the firſt Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep diſſembling) ſhe enters into a League with the States, for mutuall defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it (becauſe ſhe would not have it wrongfully interpreted, as though ſhe meant to foſter a Rebellion in the *Netherlands*) ſhe ſent *Thomas Wilkes* to the King of *Spain* with theſe Informations, That ſhe had alwaies endeavoured to keep the *Low-Countries* in obedience to the King of *Spain*; had perſwaded (even with threatnings) the prince of *Orange* to accept of Peace; but withall, if the King of *Spain* would have his Subjects obedient to him, ſhe then requeſts him to reſtore their priviledges, and to remove *John* of *Auſtria* from the Goverment, who

1577.

not

not only was her deadly enemy, but labored by all means to bring the *Netherlands* into utter servitude. If this be granted by the King of *Spain*, she then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegiance to him, as by their promise to her they are engaged to do, she will utterly forsake them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compell them. While *Wilkes* in *Spain* unfoldeth these matters, *John* of *Austria* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience and making a large declaration of the causes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Queen *Elizabeth* (like a fortunate Princesse) sate as an Honourable Arbitresse between the *Spanish*, the *French*, and the States; insomuch that it was not untrue which one wrote, That *France* and *Spain* were Ballances in the Scale of *Europe*; and *England* the Beam to turn them either way; for they still got the better, to whom she adhered.

An. Reg. 19. A suddain Mortality at the Assizes at *Oxford.*

About this time, when the Judges sate at the Assizes in *Oxford*, and one *Rowland Jenkes* a Book-seller was questioned for speaking opprobrious words against the Queen, suddenly they were surprised with a pestilent savour; whether rising from the noysome smell of the prisoners, or from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours dyed except Women and children; and the Contagion went no further. There dyed *Robert Bell*, Lord chief Baron, *Robert* D' *Oylie*, Sir *William Babington*, D' *Olye* Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, *Harcourt*, *Weyman*, *Pheiplace*, the most of them men in this Tract; *Barham* the famous Lawyer; almost all the Jurors, and three hundred other, more or lesse.

The Lord *Latimers* Family in Issue Male extinct, and how his four Daughters were bestowed.

This year the title of the Lord *Latimer*, (which had flourished in the Family of the *Nevills* even since the dayes of King *Henry* the sixth) was extinct in *John Nevill*, who dyed without issue male, and left a fair estate to four Daughters, whereof the eldest marryed *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, the second *Thomas Cecill*, who was afterward Earl of *Exeter*; the third, Sir *William Cornwallis*; and the fourth, Sir *John Davers*.

In *Ireland* the *O-Moores* and *O-Conors*, and others, whose Ancestours the Earl of *Sussex* in Queen *Maries* dayes, had for their rebellion deprived of their Patrimony in *Leyse* and *Ophalie*, did now break forth into a new Rebellion, under the Conduct of *Rorie Oge*, that is, *Roderick* the younger; set on fire the Village of *Naasse*, assault *Lochlin*; from whence being driven back by the valour of *George Carew* the Governour, he was afterward slain.

English Volunteers go into the *Low-Countries*, and do valiantly.

Out of *England* at this time there went into the *Low-Countries*, *John North* the Lord *Norths* eldest Son, *John Norris* second Son to the Lord *Norris*, *Henry Cavendish*, and *Thomas Morgan* Colonels, with many Volunteers, to learn Military Experience. Thither also came *Casamire* the Elector Palatines Son, with an Army of *German* Horse and Foot, at the Queens Charges: upon these *Don John*, assisted by the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragon*, and other the best Commanders of *Spain*, confident of Victory, flyeth furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then turning again, and thinking to break through the Hedges and Brakes where the *English* and *Scottish* Volunteers had placed themselves, was again repulsed; for the *English* and *Scottish* were so hot upon the matter, that casting away their garments, by reason of the hot weather, they fought in their shirts, which they made fast about them. In this Battel *Norris* fought most valiantly, and had three Horses slain under him, as also *Steward* the Scot, *Bingham*, and *William Markham*.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces, there came at that time into the *Netherlands*, the Count *Swarzemberg* from the Emperor; *Monsieur Bellieure* from the *French* King; and from the Queen of *England*, the Lord *Cobham* and *Walsingham*, with Commission to procure conditions of Peace, but returned without doing any thing, for that *Don John* refused to admit the Protestant Religion, and the Prince of *Orange* refused to return into *Holland*.

Egremond Ratcliffe is put to death in *Flanders*, and why.

About this time *Egremond Ratcliffe*, Son to *Henry* Earl of *Sussex*, by his second Wife, who had been a prime man in the Rebellion of the North, and served now under *Don John*, was accused by the *English* fugitives, that he was sent under-hand to kill *Don John*; which (whether true or false) he was thereupon taken and put to death. The *Spaniards* have affirmed, That *Ratcliffe* at his last end, confessed voluntarily, That he was freed out of the Tower of *London*, and moved by *Walsinghams* large promises to do this Fact; but the *English* that were present at his death, deny that he confessed any such thing, though the *English* Rebels did all they could to wrest this confession from him.

John D' Austria dyeth.

At this very time, *Don John*, in the flower of his age, died of the Pestilence, or (as some say) of grief, as being neglected by the King of *Spain* his Brother; a man of an insatiable Ambition, who aimed first at the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and after, of *England*; and who, without the privity of the *French* King, or King of *Spain*, had made a league with the *Guises*, for the defence of both Crowns.

Alanson solicits his Suit with the Queen afresh.

Alanson although very busie about the *Belgick* War, yet now began again to pursue the Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*; for renewing of which suit, first was *Bacheruyle* sent to the Queen; and soon after *Rambouler*, from the *French* King; and within a moneth after that, *Simier*, a neat Courtier, and exquisitely learned in the Art of Love, accompanied with a great number of the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen at *Richmond* entertained in such loving manner, that *Leicester* began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite blasted. Certainly a little before, when *Ashley*, a Lady of the Queens Bed-Chamber, mentioned the Earl of *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she with an angry countenance replyed, Dost thou think me so unlike my self, and so forgetfull of Majesty; as to prefer my Servant, whom I my self have advanced, before the greatest Princes of the Christian World?

The Earl of *Morton* Regent of *Scotland*, is removed, and the King though but twelve years old, is admitted to govern.

But it is now time to return to the *Scottish* Affairs. The Earl of *Morton*, Regent of *Scotland*, though a man of great wisdom and valour, yet was now so overcome with covetousness, that he grew universally hated; and thereupon with the joynt consent of the Nobility, the Administration of the Common-wealth, was translated to the King, though he was yet but twelve years old, and

twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Councel, three of them by course for three moneths; amongst whom, the Earl of *Morton* for one, that they might not seem to cast him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of *Dumferlin* to Queen *Elizabeth*, acknowledging her great deserts towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of *Edenburgh*, agreed on in the year 1559, to be confirmed, for the more happy restraining the Robbers about the borders; and withall, That his ancient Patrimony in *England*; namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father *Matthew*, Earl of *Lenox*, and the Countess his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen readily promised the former demands, but stuck a little at the last, concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That *Arbella*, the Daughter of *Charles* the King of *Scots* Unkle, born in *England*, was the next Heir to the Lands in *England*; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the Kings of *Scots*, born in *Scotland*, did anciently (without question) hold the Earldom of *Huntington* by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of those Lands, by *Burleigh* Master of the Wards; and willeth the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of *Lenox* in *Scotland*, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in ill part, that the King had recalled the Enfeoffment of the Earldom of *Lenox* (made to his Unkle *Charles* and his Heirs) after the death of *Charles*, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of *Arbella*; although indeed it be a Priviledge of the Kings of *Scotland*, That they may recall Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of *Morton* in the mean while, not enduring the disgrace to be outed of his Regency, regarded not the Prescript Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of *Sterling*, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this presumption, the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of *Atholl* their Captain, and in the Kings Name levyed a great Army, and were ready to encounter *Morton*; but by the Intercession of *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassadour, they were stayed from fighting; and *Morton* presently betook himself home, and the Earl of *Atholl* soon after dyed, not without suspition of being poysoned.

The King of *Spain* and the Pope conspire against Queen *Elizabeth*.

At this time the King of *Spain*, and Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth held secret Consultation, to invade at once both *England* and *Ireland*, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen *Elizabeth*; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of *Ireland* for his Son *James Buon* of *Campagno*, whom he had made Marques of *Vincola*: The King of *Spain* secretly to relieve the *Irish* Rebels, as Queen *Elizabeth* did the *Dutch*, while Friendship in words was upheld on both sides: and being known, That the greatest strength of *England* consisted in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advised, That the *Italian* and *Dutch* Merchants should hire these Ships for long Voyages; to the end, that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surprized with a greater Fleet: and at that time *Thomas Stukeley*, an *English* Fugitive, should joyn himself to the *Irish* Rebels with new Forces. For he making great boast, and promising the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Popes Bastard Son, had so insinuated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adorned him with the Titles of Marques of *Lemster*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Caterlogh*, Viscount *Morogh*, and Baron of *Rosse*, (the principal Dignities of *Ireland*) and made him Commander over Eight hundred *Italian* Souldiers, to be imployed in the *Irish* War. With which Forces *Stukeley* setting Sail from *Civita Vecchia*, arrived at length in *Portugal*, where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another way. For *Sebastian* King of *Portugal* (to whom the Chief Command in this Expedition against *England* was assigned) being first to dispatch a War in *Africa*, in aid of *Mahomet Abdall*, Son to the King of *Fesse*, perswaded *Stukeley* to go along with him into *Mauritania*, together with his *Italian* Souldiers, and then afterward they would go together against *Ireland*. To this motion *Stukeley* soon agreed, and therein agreed with his destiny; for in that memorable Battel where three Kings were slain, both he and *Sebastian* lost their lives.

Thomas Stukeley is by the Pope honoured with the greatest dignities, and sent into *Ireland*. But diverted by the King of *Portugal*, is slain in *Africa*.

At this time Sir *Henry Sidney* (who had been Deputy of *Ireland* at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputy-ship to Sir *William Drury*, President of *Munster*: Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equalled him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *John Casimire*, Son of *Frederick* the Third, Count Palatine of the *Rhyne*, came into *England*; where, after he had been entertained with Tiltings and Justs, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tying the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly Pension, he returned. And now was *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, made Governour of the *Netherlands* by the King of *Spain*, and Queen *Elizabeth* supplyed the States with a great sum of money, for which *William Davison* brought into *England* the ancient pretious Habiliments of the Family of *Burgundy*, and their Costly Vessels, laid to pawn by *Matthew* of *Austria* and the States.

1579.

Alexander Farnese Prince of *Parma* is made Governour of the *Netherlands*.

Simier in the mean time here in *England* ceaseth not by all amorous devices to perswade the Queen to marry *Alanson*; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of *Leicester* gave out, he crept into the Queens affection by Love-Potions and unlawful Arts: and *Simier* on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down *Leicester*, discovering his marriage with the Earl of *Essex* Widow: whereat the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at *Greenwich*, and meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of *Sussex* (though his greatest Adversary) disswaded her: telling her, That none ought to be molested for contracting lawful Matrimony. But *Leicester* notwithstanding was so provoked for his Confining, that he was bent to revenge it; and if it be true, as some said, he had suborned one *Tinder* a Yeoman of the Guard to murther *Simier*. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no person should offer injury to the Ambassadour or any of his Servants. At which time it fell out, that as the Queen,

Queen, together with *Simier*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, and *Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, were rowed in a Barge to *Greenwich*, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a Boat, shot one of the rowers in the Queens Barge through the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows; but upon solemn Protestation, that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malitious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have perswaded the Queen, that he was purposely suborned to shoot either her or the *French* Ambassadour: but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them, which a Mother would not believe against her Children.

Alanson comes privately into *England*, and hath secret Conference with the Queen.

After a few dayes *Alanson* himself came privately into *England* with only one or two attendants, and came to the Queen at *Greenwich*, at a time when she thought not of it; they had secret Conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home; but within a moneth or two after the Queen enjoyned the Lord *Burleigh* Treasurer, the Earl of *Sussex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with *Simier* concerning the marriage Covenants.

Burleigh and others are enjoyned to consult of the Marriage Covenants.

As in *England* there was some fear of this *French-man*; so in *Scotland* at this time of another *French-man*, called *Esme Steward*, Lord of *Aubigny*, who came now into *Scotland* to visit the King his Cousen. He was the Son of *John Steward* Brother to *Matthew Steward* Earl of *Lenox* the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from *Aubigny* in *France*, which Title *Charles* the Seventh King of *France* had anciently conferred upon *John Steward* of the Family of *Lenox*, who being Constable of the *Scottish* Army in *France*, vanquished the *English* in one Battel, and was slain by them in another: and from that time the Title belonged to the younger descent of that House. This *Esme Steward*, the King embraced with exceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of *Scotland*, and Captain of the Castle of *Dumbriton*, and created him first Earl and then Duke of *Lenox*. The fear from this man was, Because he was devoted to the *Guises* and the Popish Religion; and that which increased the fear from this man, because he applyed himself to *Mortons* Adversaries: and mediated to have *Thomas Carre* Lord of *Fernishurst* called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of *Scots*.

The Title of Lord D'*Aubigny*, from whence it came.

Esme Steward made first Duke of *Lenox*.

About this time Queen *Elizabeth*, at the request of *William Harbourne* an *English*-man, procured a Grant from the *Turkish* Emperour, for the *English* Merchants to exercise free Traffick in all places of his Dominions, as well as *Venetians*, *Polanders*, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up first the Company of *Turky* Merchants; managing a most gainful Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Ægypt*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Asia*, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Tapistry, Indico, Currants, and the like.

The *Turkey* Merchants when set up.

This year dyed Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; but who by vertue of an Act of Parliament, always exercised the Jurisdiction of Lord Chancellor; a very fat man, but singularly wise, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Councel: In whose place succeeded Sir *Thomas Bromley* the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of *England*.

In *Ireland* at this time, in the Province of *Munster*, *James Fitz-Morris* kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission upon his knees, vowing all Obedience to the Queen, he stole away into *France*, and promised the *French* King, If he would lend him assistance, to make him King of *Ireland*. But being by him slighted, he went into *Spain*, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of *Spain* sent him to the Pope, from whom (by means of *Nicholas Sanders*, an *English* Priest, and *Alan* an *Irish* man, both Doctors of Divinity) he obtained a little money, a Legats Authority for *Sanders*, a consecrated Banner, and Letters of Commendation to the Catholick King. And returning from *Spain* with those Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at *Smerwick Kerry*, a demy Island in the West part of *Ireland*, about the first day of *July*; where (the place being first of all consecrated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it; but these were presently set upon and carried away, by *Thomas Courtney*, and thereby the *Spaniards* deprived of their opportunity of coming thither by Sea. But now *John* and *James*, Brothers to the Earl of *Desmond*, gathered together a small number of *Irish*, joyn themselves presently with their Kinsman *Fitz-Morris*. Yet the *Spaniards* seeing that but a very few *Irish*, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to distrust the estate they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone; whom *Fitz-Morris* heartned the best he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more Company, he passed through the Land of his Cousen *William a Burgh*, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown Loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmish between them; in which *Fitz-Morris* being strucken through with a Pike, and shot into the head with a Leaden bullet, died in the place, and most of his Company with him; but withall, two of *William Burghs* Sons were in that skirmish slain also; when the Queen, to comfort him for the loss of his Sons, adorned him with the Dignity of Baron of *Castle Conell*, and rewarded him with a yearly Pension besides: which Favours so overwhelmed him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir *William Drury* the Deputy growing very sick, appointed Sir *Nicholas Malby*, then Governour of *Connaught* to be President of *Munster*, and General of the Army; at which time, the Earl of *Desmond*, who had all this while made a shew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion; when now *Drury* the Deputy dying at *Waterford*, by his death *Malbyes* Authority ceasing, Sir *William Pelham* is by the Councel chosen Justice of *Ireland*, with the Authority of Vice-Roy, untill such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of *Ormond* is made President of *Munster*. *Pelham* goeth into *Munster*, and sendeth for the Earl of *Desmond*, who refusing to come, is thereupon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State; and this being published, the Justice committed the following the War to the Earl of *Ormond*, who slaying most of the *Spaniards* and adherents

Fitz Morris raiseth a Rebellion in *Ireland*, but is by *William a Burgh* encountred and slain.

The Earl of *Desmond* rebels.

Sir *William Pelham* is made Justice of *Ireland*.

herents to *Desmond*, compelleth him to send his Wife to the Justice, to beg his pardon.

The Lord Gray is made Deputy of Ireland.

The Lord Justice *Pelham* now certified, That *Arthur* Lord *Gray* was landed with authority to be Deputy of *Ireland*, at *Munster* deliver'th the Army to *George Bourchier* the Son of *John*, second Earl of *Bathe* of that name, and himself returneth to *Dublin*, to deliver up the Province to his Successor. The Lord *Gray* at his landing, before he received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels had their Rendevouz, marched towards them, who presently betake themselves to *Grandilough*, a grassy Valley, and beset thick with Trees, where they who dwell near, scarce know the winding out; yet the Deputy (taking one *Cosbie* an old man, well acquainted with the place, to be his leader) entred into it, where he lost divers of his men, namely, *Peter Carew* the younger, *George Moore*, *Audley*, and *Cosbie* himself that was his Leader.

San Joseph an Italian with seven hundred Souldiers landeth in Ireland.

A short time after, there landed at *Smerwick* in *Kerry*, under the the command of *San Joseph* an *Italian*, about seven hundred *Italian* Souldier, who fortifie the place, and name it *Fort del Or*: Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the Fort to demand who they were, what they had to do in *Ireland*, and who sent them; withall commanding them to depart immediately. But they replyed, That some of them were sent from his Holiness, others from the Catholick King, upon whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for that Queen *Elizabeth* (by reason of heresie) hath forfeited the Right due unto her; and therefore what they had gotten, they would maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for battery, lets fly his Ordinance four dayes together; in which time the *Spaniards* once or twice make Sallies out, to their own losse much, but not an *English* man slain, bnt only *John Cheek*, a couragious young Gentleman, Son to Sir *John Cheek*, a learned Knight. And now *San Joseph*, who commanded the Fort, a white-liver'd Souldier, terrified, with the continuall Battery, and having no hope of relief, either from the King of *Spain* or *Desmond* (contrary to the will of all his Souldiers) set up a white Flag, and desired Parlee; but Parlee was denyed, because he had combined with Rebels, with whom it is not lawful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his Company might passe away with their Bagge, but neither would this be granted. Then he required that some of the chiefer sort might have leave to depart; but neither could this be obtained. At last, when they could prevail in nothing, they hanged out the White Flag again, and submitted themselves absolutely, without any condition, to the Deputy's mercy, who presently consulted how to deal with them; and this was the Case; Their number was well near as great as the *English*; there was present fear of danger from the Rebels; and the *English* were so destitute of meat and apparel, that they were ready to mutiny, unless they might have the spoyl granted them; and besides, there were no ships to send them away if they were spared: For these Reasons it was concluded, (the Deputy gainsaying, and letting tears fall) That only the Leaders should be saved, the rest slain, and all the *Irish* hanged up; which was presently put in execution, to the great disliking of the Queen, who detested the slaughter of such as yield themselves, and would not accept of any excuses or allegations.

No Parlee to be allowed to Rebels.

San Joseph yields himself to the Deputy, without any condition.

His men are all slain, and why.

And yet more cruelty then this was at that time commited in the *Netherlands*; for *John Norris*, and *Oliver Temple*, *English* Commanders, together with some Companies of *Dutch*, setting out early one morning, took *Mechlyn* a wealthy Town of *Brabant*, at an assault with Ladders; where they promiscuously murthered both Citizens and Religious persons, offering violence even upon the dead, taking away Grave-stones, which were sent into *England* to be sold.

About this time certain *English* Priests, who were fled into the *Netherlands*, in the year 1568, by the procurement of *William Allen* an *Oxford* Scholar, joyned themselves to study at *Doway*, where they entred into a Collegiate Form of Government; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly Pension. But Tumults arising in the *Low-Countries*, and the *English* Fugitives being commanded by the King of *Spains* Deputy to depart from thence, other the like Colleges, for the training up of the *English* Youth, were erected, one at *Rheims* by the *Guises*, and another at *Rome* by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, which always afforded new supplies of Priests for *England*, when the old failed, who should spread abroad the seeds of the *Romish* Religion here amongst us; from whence those Colleges had the name of Seminaries, and they called Seminary Priests who were trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst other Disputations, it was concluded, That the Pope hath such fulness of Power, by Divine Right, over the whole Christian-World, both in Ecclesiastical and Secular matters, that by vertue thereof it is lawful for him to excommunicate Kings, absolve their Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and deprive them of their Kingdoms. From these Seminaries at this time, there came two into *England*, *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian*, both of them *English*-men, and Jesuits. *Parsons* was born in *Somersetshire*, a fierce and rough conditioned fellow: *Campian* was a *Londoner*, of a milder disposition. They had been both brought up in *Oxford*; *Campian* a Fellow of St. *Johns* Colledge, and had been Proctor in the year 1569; and when he was made Deacon, counterfeited himself to be a Protestant, till such time as he slipped out of *England*. *Parsons* was of *Baylioll* College, where he made open profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dishoneſt carriage, he was expelled the House, and then fled to the Popish party. Both these came privily into *England*, in the disguise one while of Souldiers, another while of Noble-men; sometimes like *English* Ministers, and sometime in the habit of Apparators. *Parsons* who was made the Superior, brake forth in such open words amongst the Papists, about deposing the Queen, that some of themselves had a purpose to complain of them to the Magistrates. *Campian*, though something more moderate, yet in a Writing provoked the *English* Ministers to a dispute; and published in *Latine* an elegant Book of his Ten Reasons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of the *Romish* Church; as *Parsons* in like manner, set forth another violent Pamphlet against *Clark*, who had written modestly against *Campians* Provocation.

What Colledges were called Seminaries, and why.

Parsons and Campian Jesuits come into England in disguise, and of their education.

vocation. But Doctor *Whitaker* soundly confuted *Campian*, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a disputation; where he scarcely made good the great fame that went of him.

Captain *Drakes* return from his Voyage about the World.

In this year was the return of Captain *Drake* from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which *Magellan* had before attempted, but dyed in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular accidents, would require a large Volume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some special passages. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, yet had a great man (*Francis Russell*, after Earl of *Bedford*) to be his God-father. His Father, in King *Henry* the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, changed his Soyl, and lived close in *Kent*. King *Henry* being dead, he got a place amongst the Mariners of the Queens Navy, to read Prayers, and afterward bound his Son *Francis* to a Ship-Master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commodities, one while to *Zealand*, another while to *France*, training him up to pains and skill at Sea; took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed his Barque to him by his Will: This Barque *Drake* sold, and then in the year 1567, went with Sir *John Hawkins* into *America*; in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of money by Trading and Pyracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was lawful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels, with which he set sayl again for *America*, where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, hiding it under ground: after this, he fired a great place of Traffick, called, The *Croß*, at the River *Chirage*, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he reserveth for another Voyage; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he returned home. Afterwards in the year 1577, the thirteenth day of *November*, with five Ships, and seamen to the number of 163, he set sayl from *Plimmouth*, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty dayes, came to *Cantyne*, a Cape in *Barbary*, and then sailed along the Isle of *Fago* which sends forth flames of Sulphur: and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship bloud. The sixteenth of *April*, entring into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-Calves; in which place *John Doughty*, the next to *Drake* in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded. Some report, That *Drake* had charge given him from the Earl of *Leicester*, to make away *Doughty* upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the Earl of *Essex* was craftily made away by *Leicester*: The twentieth of *August*, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with other three came to the Sea, which they call, The Straight of *Magellan*. The sixth of *September*, entring into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, The *Pacifique* Sea, he found it out of measure troublous, so that his Ships were here by Tempests dispersed; in one of which, *John Winter*, was Master, who returned back into *England*; *Drake* himself, with only one Ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle *Moucha*, from whence loosing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who shewed him where a *Spanish* Ship laden with Treasure lay; *Drake* making towards it, the *Spaniards* thought him to be their own Countrey man, and thereupon invited him to come on; but he getting aboord, presently shut the *Spaniards* (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold. At *Tauratsa*, going again to shore, he found a *Spaniard* sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of massie Silver to the value of four thousand Duckats, which he bid his followers take amongst them, the *Spaniard* still sleeping. After this, going into the port of *Africa*, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound: From hence, tyding it to *Lime*, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chest full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy aboard; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the *Cacofogo*; and by the way met with a small Ship, without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeraulds of a fingers length. The first day of *March*, he overtook the *Cacofogo*, set upon her, and took her; and in her besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of Silver ready coyned, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he resolved to return home; and so on the third of *Novemb.* 1580. he landed at *Plymouth*, having sayled round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what Compass the World is of.

His Parentage and education.

The Passages of his Voyage.

How he gained his great Treasure.

1580.

Doughty beheaded by *Drake*.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of *Spain* required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on shore near *Debtford* for a Monument (where the Carcass of it is yet to be seen) and her self feasted in it; at which time she Knighted Captain *Drake*. But *Bernardine Mendoza*, the King of *Spains* Ambassadour in *England*, began to rage; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the *English* sailed upon the *Indian* Sea. To whom it was answered, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of *Spain* satisfaction, although the Queen had expended against the Rebels, whom the *Spaniard* had excited in *England* and *Ireland*, more money than that which *Drake* brought home. And as for sayling on the *Indian* Sea, That it was as lawful for the Queens Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding, to *Pedro Sebura*, the King of *Spain's* Agent in this business, a great sum of money was repaid, which was not restored to them to whom it belonged, but employed to the *Spaniards* Wars in the *Low-Countries*, as was known after, when it was too late.

But

But at this time, when *Jackman* and *Pett*, two skilful Pilots were sent forth with two Ships by the *Londoners*, to find out a shorter cut to the *East-Indies*, by the North-West passage; they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the Isles of *Vaygato*, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no further, and had much ado to return home.

Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of *Arundel* dies, in whom ended the Sirname of that Noble Family. The possession of *Arundel*-Castle gives the Title of that Honour.

About this time, *Henry Fitz-Alan*, Earl of *Arundel* died, in whom the Sirname of a most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from *Richard Fitz-Alan*; who being descended from the *Albanets* (ancient Earls of *Arundel* and *Sussex*, in the Reign of King *Edward* the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the possession of *Arundel* Castle, without Creation. He had three Daughters by his Wife *Katharine*, Daughter to *Thomas Gray*, Marquess of *Dorset*, all whom he out-lived; *Henry* a young man of great hope, who dyed at *Brussels*, *Joan*, Wife to the Lord *Lumley*; and *Mary*, who being married to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, brought forth *Philip*, in her right, Earl of *Arundel*.

In *Ireland*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* the Deputy going against the *O-Conors*, who raised stirs in *Offaly*, putteth to death *Hugh O Moley*, quieteth all that Quarter, even the Families of the *Mogohigans* and *O Charles*, and in the very beginning suppresseth a conspiracy which was breaking forth, by putting to death the Lord *Nogent*; who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confesse himself guilty, chose rather to die and be held guiltless, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own innocency. With whose death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a patroness of cruelty, to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kind of people he dealt, and by this example of severity, brought *Turlogh Leymigh* to accept conditions of Peace; and the *O Brians* and *Cavenaghs* (Rebellious Families in *Lemster*) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer Hostages.

In *Scotland*, at this time great jealousie was had of *Lenox*, Lord of *Aubigny*, left, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into *France*, and bring into *Scotland* the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, and proffered himself to be a Protestant) yet many courses were taken to sequester him from the King; but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of *Morton* (who among all other was most addicted to the *English*) was soon after accused of Treason by the Earl of *Arran*, and cast into prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) was beheaded, as convicted to be accessary to the murther of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of *Agnus*, and others who laboured for *Morton*, fled straightwayes into *England*.

The Earl of *Morton* is beheaded, as accessary to the murther of the Kings father.

General *Norris* raiseth the siege at *Stenwick*. But is afterward vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain.

In the *Low-Countries* about this time, the Count *Rheinberg* proceeded victoriously for the King of *Spain*, and beleaguer'd *Stenwick* in *Freezland*; against whom the States sent *Norris* General of the Field, who put the *Rheinburghs* Company to the worst, and raised the Siege; but afterward joyning Battel with *Verdugo* the *Spaniard* at *Northone*, even when the Victory was almost gotten (*Roger Williams* having put the Enemies to flight) the fortune of the War turned, *Norris* is vanquished, wounded, and a great number of his men slain; amongst whom were *Cotton*, *Fitz-Williams*, and *Bishop*, stout Commanders. Here it must not be omitted, That the *English* (who of all the dwellers in the Northern parts of the World, were hitherto the least Drinkers, and deserved praise for their sobriety) in these *Dutch* Wars learned to be Drunkards; and brought the vice so far to over-spread the Kingdom, that Laws were fain to be enacted for repressing it.

In these *Dutch* Wars the *English* learn to be Drunkards.

The King of *Spain* seizeth upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and putteth *Don Antonio* to flight.

But now whilest the States and the King of *Spain* contend about a few Towns in the *Low-Countries*, he seizeth upon the whole Kingdom of *Portugal*. For the last year, *Henry* King of *Portugal* dying, many Competitors challenge the Kingdom; as the Duke of *Savoy*, the Prince of *Parma*'s Son, *Katharine Bracant*, and the Queen of *France*. But *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Son of *Henries* eldest Sister, putting the Case to his Divines and Lawyers, and adjuring them to pronounce to whom of right it belonged, they pronounced, for him: whereupon he sent Duke *D' Alva*, who put to flight *Antonio*, whom the people had elected King, and within seventy dayes subdued all *Portugal*. The Queen of *France* angry hereat, and enviously beholding the King of *Spain*'s Dominions thus enlarged) being now Master of *Portugal*, the *East-Indies*, and many Islands besides) adviseth, amongst other Princes, Queen *Elizabeth*, to bethink themselves in time of restraining his so excessive Dominions. Whereupon the Queen received *Don Antonio*, and lovingly relieved him, which she thought might be done without any breach of the League with *Spain*, seeing *Don Antonio* was descended of *English* blood, and of the House of *Lancaster*; and that no Caution was in the League, That the *Portuger* should not be admitted into *England*.

Whom Queen *Elizabeth* received, and relieved.

1581.

The Match with *Alanson*, now Duke of *Anjou* is pursued afresh.

And now the Queen-Mother of *France*, and the King her Son, more eagerly than ever, pursue the Match with *Alanson* now Duke of *Anjou*, for the transacting whereof, they sent in Ambassage into *England*, *Francis Bourbon*, Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse*, Marshall of *France*, and many other honourable Personages, who were entertained with great respect (a House being purposely built at *Westminster* for that use, royally furnished; Tilting and Justs proclaimed, by *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, *Frederick* Baron of *Wandsor*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, against all Comers. The Delegates that were to confer with the *French* concerning the marriage, were Sir *William Cecill* Lord Treasurer, *Edward* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary; by whom Covenants of Marriage were at length agreed on; First, That the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, within six weeks after the ratification of the Articles, should contract Matrimony, and the rest, most of them such as were before agreed on in the Marriage between Queen *Mary* and King *Philip*, chiefly consisting in conferring Honour upon the Duke, but Power upon the Queen. It was also agreed, That all particulars should be ratified within two Moneths, by the faithful Promise and Oath of the *French* King,

And Articles of the Marriage are agreed on.

King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reservation was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegates, That Queen *Elizabeth* is not bound to finish the Marriage, untill she and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some particulars, and have certified the *French* King of the same within six weeks. Before those six weeks were expired, *Simier*, Secretary to the Councel, is sent into *France*, to require the King of *France* his Confirmation: The King will not hear him, but presseth to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, and that nothing else was to be done. *Simier* on the other side, sheweth by the Articles, That a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded, This the *French* King disclaimeth: Whereupon *Walsingham* is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyntly with *Henry Cobham*, the Ambassadour in ordinary, and *Simier*, alledgeth to the *French* King these Particulars, That Queen *Elizabeth* for no other reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way since the first Treaty, namely the Civil War in *France*, and the Dukes engagement in a War with *Spain*, which makes the wisest of her Subjects now to be against the Match: This hath made her to defer the accomplishment of it, although her affection be still constant toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the *French* Duke be freed from the *Spanish* war, and a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The *French* King willingly accepted of the League defensive; but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

But the King of *France* disclaimeth the Articles.

The Duke of *Anjou* comes himself into *England*.

Not long after, the *French* Duke himself came into *England*, having with good successe raised the Siege of *Cambray*; he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted, whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome: Insomuch that in *November*, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the marriage was confirmed between them; and *Aldegond* Governour of *Antwerp* being there, presently dispatched messengers into the *Low-Countries*, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfires were made, and all shews of rejoycing. But the Earl of *Leicester* (who privily plotted to crosse the Match) *Hatton* the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary *Walsingham*, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maids of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and daunted her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, she calleth to her the *French* Duke, and causing all company to go aside, they privately entertain a long discourse. At length the Duke returning to his lodging, cast the Ring away from him, and after a while takes it up again, terribly exclaiming against the levity and inconstancy of Women.

And in a private conference with the Queen, she draws a Ring from off her Finger and puts it upon his. The *English* Lords and Ladies imagining the marriage to be confirmed, fret exceedingly.

The next day she calleth the *French* Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him exclaim on the Inconstancy of Women.

The Queen at this time was much troubled at a Book lately put forth, with this Title, *The Gulph wherein* England *will be swallowed, by the* French *Marriage*: whereof, conceiving that some Puritan was the Author; it made her highly displeased with the Puritans: whereupon, within a few dayes, *John Stubbes* of *Lincolns-Inne*, a zealous Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whose Sister, *Thomas Cartwright* the Father of the Puritans had married) *William Page* that dispersed the Copies, and *Singleton* the Printer were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by vertue of a Law made in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*, against the Authors and dispersers of Seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon *Stubbes* and *Page* were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market-place at *Westminster*, and their right hands with a Butchers knife & a mallet cut off by the wrist; the Printer was pardoned. At that time, *Stubbes* when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the left, and cryed out, *God save the Queen*, to the great amazement of all the Beholders.

Stubbes and *Page* have their Right hands cut off for writing a seditious Book against the marriage.

At this time the Queen, upon importunate suit of her Councel, gave way, that *Edmund Campian*, *Ralph Sherwin*, and *Alexander Bryant*, Priests, should be called to the Bar, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the five and twentieth year of King *Edward* the third, to have plotted the ruine of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queens Enemy, and coming into *England*, to raise Forces against the State, were then condemned of High-Treason, and accordingly executed. *Campian* after he was convicted, being demanded; First, whether Queen *Elizabeth* were a lawful Queen? would make no answer; afterward, Whether he would stand for the Queen, or the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly professed, That he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to death, which the Queen rather necessarily, than willingly assented to, as being unwilling to force the conscience of any. These, and the like exorbitances of Papists, were cause, that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which began the next *January*.

Campian, *Sherwin* and *Bryant* Priests are executed.

The *French* Duke after three moneths abode in *England*, took his Journey in *February* into the *Low-Countries*, whom the Queen her self brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*; and then commanded the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lords *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windsor*, *Sheffield*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Russel*, Sir *George Bourchier*, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to *Antwerp*, where he is made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limbourgh* and *Lorrain*; for the *Dutch* had long before removed the King of *Spains* Government, and quitted the people from their Oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their own power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of *Anjou* gave free leave to exercise the *Roman* Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of *Spains* authority: but after all, having spent a great masse of mony, with which he was supplyed from *England*;

The Duke of *Anjou* goes out of *England*, whom the Queen brought on his way as far as *Canterbury*.

and observing that onely vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly enterprized an assault upon *Antwerp*, and some other Towns, and shortly departed without any great matter performed.

1582.

At this time Queen *Elizabeth*, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured her self many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark*; to whom she employed Sir *Peregine Bertye* (whom she had lately made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*) to invest him.

Sir *Peregine Bertye* made Lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*.

But now to prevent the Duke of *Guyses* design in *Scotland*, which was to make use of the Duke of *Lenox* favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the *English*: *William Reuthen*, whom the King had lately made Earl of *Gowry*, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove *Lenox* and the Earl of *Arran* from the King; and so, while *Lenox* was gone from *Perth*, (where the King at that time was) to *Edenburgh*, and *Arran* was also absent on a journey: the Earls *Gowry*, *Marre*, *Lindsey*, and others, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Castle of *Reuthen*, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his trusty servants they removed from about him; *Arran* they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of *Angus*, and to send away *Lenox* into *France*, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily consented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, to approve and allow of this his thraldom. The Queen of *Scots* in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distress of the King her Son, layeth open the same in a large Letter, written to the Queen in *French*: With which Letter Queen *Elizabeth* being somewhat affected, sent unto her *Robert Beal* Clerk of the Councel, to expostulate with her concerning the querulous writing, and joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed serious consultations were held at the Councel Table about it, and the most were of opinion, that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the *Scottish* of the *English* faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

The Earl *Gowry* and other Lords take the King, and keep him a prisoner.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonell *William Steward* and *John Colvill* to Queen *Elizabeth*, profering all manner of respect and observance, and requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in *Scotland*, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of *Lenox* was dead in *France*, who departing this life at *Paris*, & even at the very point of death, as often times before, made open profession of the Protestant Religion; thereby confuting those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprisers of the King were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Castle of St. *Andrews*, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing Armed Bands with them, as fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of tumult, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But *Gowry* onely asked pardon, and submitted himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; and then the King sent for the Earl of *Arran* to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, imploying him to compose the Differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil dissensions.

The King of *Scots* frees himself from those that had surprized him.

Whiles he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir *Francis Walsingham* from Queen *Elizabeth*, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors, to the destruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanyed with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he looked for in *Scotland*: Having Audience given him, he put the King in mind of what the Queen out of *Isocrates*, in private Letters had formerly admonished him: *That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more credit may be given to his bare word, than to anothers Oath*; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his Youth of evil Counsellours, and alwayes to be like himself. The King answered, that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should appoint him Counsellours whom he liked not; but that he had long since devoted the first-fruits of his amity to the Queen of *England* his dear Sister, and doth now willingly make profer of the same. *Walsingham* now dealt with him further; not to lay to the Queens charge what broyls had lately fallen out in *Scotland*; sheweth, how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also, so it were not neglected; and that the same might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion Enacted in Parliament, and the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, religion looked into, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with *England*, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly dismissed *Walsingham*, though he held him no good friend to him and his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, proposed and profered reconciliation to those that had surprised him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they entred into new consultations to surprise him again; whereupon they are commanded within a set set time to leave the Kingdom, of which number, *Marre*, *Glames*, *Paslet*, and some other, betook themselves into *Ireland*; *Boyde*, *Zester*, *Weeme*, *Lochlevin*, into the *Low-Countries*; *Dumferlin* into *France*; the Earl of *Angus* is confined to his Earldom, *Gowry* onely to his own ruine, stayeth behind after the limited time, hatching new devises.

Walsingham is sent to the King of *Scots*, to advise him to take heed of evil Counsellours: and the Kings Answer.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War between the Emperour of *Muscovia* and the King of *Sweden*; when *John* King of *Sweden*, doubting himself to be no fit Match for the Emperour, sent a Royal Ambassage to Queen *Elizabeth*, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperour; which she did without delay, and by her Ambassadour drew the *Muscovian* to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But the

the *Muſcovian* ſhortly after dying, and *Theodorus* his Succeſſor granting free Traffique to Merchants of all Nations that would come thither; the Queen importuned him to admit of none but *Engliſh* Merchants, requiring him to confirm the Priviledges which his Father had granted them: Whereto, by way of Anſwer, he commanded Free Trading for all the *Engliſh*, ſaying, it was not fit that a ſmall Company ſhould exerciſe a Monopoly, and all other be reſtrained: But as for Cuſtoms, he promiſed to take leſs by half of that Company than of any other, becauſe they firſt opened the way thither.

1583. The next Summer, *Albertus Alaſco*, a Palatine of *Poland*, of a comely perſonage, and great learning, came into *England* to ſee the Queen, who was nobly entertained, both by her and the Nobility, as alſo by the Scholars of *Oxford*, with learned Orations, and other Recreations: but having tarryed here four moneths, and run into much debt, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf and departed. This man I ſaw my ſelf afterward in *Crakow*, very bare, though it was reported of him, That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Caſtles of great value: but what Mine can bear the charges of prodigality?

Albertus Alaſco a Palatine of *Poland* comes into *England*.

This year proved fatal to divers great men; for there dyed, firſt *Thomas Ratcliff*, the third Earl of *Suſſex* of this Family; a man of a great ſpirit, and great faithfulneſs to his Countrey. There dyed alſo *Henry Wryotheſly* Earl of *Southampton*, one exceedingly devoted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and a great Favourer of the Queen of *Scots*, which coſt him Queen *Elizabeths* diſpleaſure, and impriſonment beſides. There died alſo Sir *Humphry Gilbert*, who was caſt away at Sea, in his return from the North part of *America*, whither he lately ſayled with five Ships, having ſold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. There dyed alſo *Edmund Grindall* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; being blind through age, a grave and pious Prelate, who ſtood highly in the Queens favour for a long time, but he loſt it at laſt, by favouring (as was ſaid) the Puritans Conventicles; but the true cauſe indeed was, for the diſallowing the Marriage of *Julio* an *Italian* Phyſitian with another mans Wife, againſt the Earl of *Leiceſters* pleaſure. *Grindall* dying, *John Whitgift* ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury*, being tranſlated thither from the See of *Worceſter*.

A year fatal to divers great men.

At this time, certain Popiſh Books written againſt the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate, withdrew divers from their Allegiance, and particularly, ſo intoxicated one *Somervile*, an *Engliſh* Gentleman, that he went privately to the Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and death againſt all Proteſtants, ſet upon one or two by the way with his drawn Sword. Being apprehended, he ſtuck not to ſay, That he would murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon he, and upon his intimation, *Edward Arden* his father-in-law (a man of an ancient Houſe in *Warwick-ſhire*) *Ardens* wife, their Daughter, *Somerviles* wife, and *Hall* a Prieſt, were brought to the Bar, and all condemned; *Somervile* as principal, the reſt as acceſſaries. Three dayes after, *Somervile* was found ſtrangled in the Priſon, *Arden* was executed and quartered; the women and Prieſt were ſpared. Many pitied the old Gentleman *Arden*, as miſled by the Prieſt, and (as it was generally believed) brought to his end through the envy of *Leiceſter*, who he uſed to call Whore-maſter, Up-ſtart, and many ſuch opprobrious names.

Somervile and *Arden* are condemned; and why.

In the *Netherlands*, the *Engliſh* Garriſon at *Aloſt* in *Flanders* being neglected, the Governour *Pigot*, and the other Captains, for want of pay, upon Compoſition, yielded up the Town to the *Spaniard*, and then fearing diſgrace at home, joyned themſelves to the Prince of *Parma*; at whoſe hands finding them ſlighted, by degrees they ſtole all away, and came all to unlucky ends.

In *Ireland* the famous Rebell *Gyrald Fitz-Gyrald*, the eleventh Earl of *Deſmond* of this Family, having a long time in lurking places eſcaped the *Engliſh*, was now by a common Souldier found out in a poor Cottage and ſlain. His head was ſent into *England*, and ſet upon *London* Bridge. This end had this great Lord, deſcended from *Maurice*, the Son of *Gyrald* of *Windſore*, an *Engliſh* man, famous amongſt thoſe who firſt ſet upon *Ireland*, in the year 1170. He poſſeſſed whole Countries, together with the County Palatine of *Kerry*, and had of his own Name and Race, at leaſt five hundred Gentlemen at his Command. All whom, and his own life alſo, he loſt within the ſpace of three years, very few of the Houſe being left alive. And this diſaſter he fell into, by proving Trayterous to his Prince, at the inſtigation of a certain Popiſh Prieſt. Of whom, the chief was one *Nicholas Sanders* an *Engliſh* man, who at the ſame time dyed miſerably of Famine, being ſtarved to death, when as being forſaken, and running mad upon his ill ſucceſſe, he roamed up and down the Mountains and Groves, finding nothing to ſuſtain him. In his Scrip were found certain Orations and Letters, written to hearten the Rebells, and promiſing large rewards from the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon the Rebels ill ſucceſs, *James Fitz-Euſtace*, Viſcount *Baltinglas* fled into *Spain*, where he pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the *Roman* Religion, a little before he had taken up Arms with the Rebels, and exhorting the Earl of *Ormond* his Neighbour to do the like, (who drew his Linage from St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, he uſed theſe words to perſwade him, That if Saint *Thomas* of *Canterbury* had not died for the Church of *Rome*, thou hadſt never been Earl of *Ormond*: for King *Henry* the Second, to expiate the murther of *Thomas Becket*, gave large Lands in *Ormond* to his Predeceſſors.

Gyrald Fitz-Gyrald, the famous Rebel in *Ireland*, is by a Common Souldier ſlain. His great poſſeſſions, and numerous Kindred, all dead within the ſpace of three years.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain *Scots*, together with *Gowry*, plotted again to ſurprize the King, pretending onely a care of Religion, and to remove ill Counſellors from him: but the King having intelligence of their practiſe, uſed means by Colonell *Steward*, to have *Gowry* taken and caſt into priſon: whereupon *Marre*, *Glames*, *Angus*, and other of the Confederates flie into *England*, and beſeech the Queen to commiſerate their eſtate, who had incurred the Kings diſpleaſure, to do her and the Kingdom of *England* ſervice. The King on the other ſide, accuſeth them to the Queen of hainous Crimes, and requires to have them delivered up into his hands. But Secretary *Walſingham*, who bore great good will to theſe men, ſent

Letters with a Command, That they ſhould be ſafely admitted into *Lindiſferne*, otherwiſe called, The holy Iſland; where *Hunſdon* being Governour there, and greatly addicted to the King of *Scots*, reſiſted *Walſinghams* Command, alledging he could not ſatisfie the Secretary in this point, unleſs the Queen gave expreſs Command. Hereupon grew a Diſpute, Whether a Secretary of State might not tranſact buſineſs of State, without ſpecial Commiſſion from the Prince. How this Caſe was determined, is uncertain; but ſure it is, the *Scots* came not thither, though ſome favour they had ſhewed them here in *England*. In the mean time, *Gowry* was tryed by his Peers at *Sterlyn*, where, being accuſed of many Treaſons, though he gave colourable anſwers to them all, yet was found guilty, condemned, and beheaded; whoſe head his Servants ſewing to his body, committed to the Grave.

...pe- ...com- ...mon from the Prince.

The Earl *Gowry* is arraigned, condemned and beheaded.

Many practiſes are plotted againſt Queen *Elizabeth* in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*

About this time were practiſes plotted againſt Queen *Elizabeth*, in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, chiefly by *Francis Throgmorton*, eldeſt Son of *John Throgmorton* Juſtice of *Cheſter*, who came to be ſuſpected, by reaſon of Letters ſent to the Queen of *Scots*, which were intercepted. Upon his apprehenſion, *Thomas* Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel*, privately ſtole away into *France*, grievouſly complaining againſt *Leiceſter* and *Walſingham*, for alienating the Queen from them, and uſing ſuch wiles, that ſcarce any man was able to live in ſafety. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, were confined to their Houſes, his Wife committed to the cuſtody of Sir *Thomas Shirley*, *William Howard*, the Earls Brother, and *Henry Howard* their Uncle, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, were examined about Letters from the Queen of *Scots*, and many Stratagems were ſet on foot, dangerous to ſome particular perſons, but neceſſary (as ſhould ſeem) for the Queens ſecurity. Certain it is, That now the Malice of the Papiſts againſt the Queen, brake forth more violently than ever before; for in printed Books, they ſtirred up the Queens own ſervants to attempt the like upon her, that *Judith* did on *Olophernes*. The Author of theſe Books could not be found, but the ſuſpition lay upon one *Gregory Martin* ſometime of *Oxford*; and *Carter* a Stationer, who printed the Books, ſuffered for it. And whereas the Papiſts every where traduced the Queen for cruelty, ſhe deſirous alwayes to leave a bleſſed remembrance behind her, grew extremely offended with the Commiſſioners for Popiſh cauſes, taxing them of too much cruelty: inſomuch, that they were fain, in a printed Declaration, to clear themſelves, proteſting; That they queſtioned no man for his Religion, but onely for dangerous attempts againſt the Queen and State; and that *Campian* himſelf was never ſo racked, but that he could preſently walk up and down. But all this gave not the Queen ſatisfaction, but ſhe Commanded the Commiſſioners to forbear Tortures, and the Judges other Puniſhments; and not long after, when ſeventy Prieſts were taken, and ſome of them condemned, and the reſt in danger of the Law, ſhe cauſed them all to be ſhipped away, and ſent out of *England*: The chief of whom were *Gaſper Heywood*, the great Epigrammatiſt's Son, the firſt Jeſuite that ever ſet Foot in *England*, *James Boſgrave*, *John Hart*, and *Edward Riſton*.

At this time *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, was thruſt out of *England*, for joyning with *Throgmorton* in his Treaſon againſt the Queen; whereupon Sir *William Wade* was ſent to the King of *Spain*, to ſatisfie him how ill *Mendoza* had diſcharged the Office of an Ambaſſadour here in *England*; who, when the King admitted him not to his Preſence, but in a ſlighting manner, putting him off to his Counſellours; *Wade* taking it in great diſdain, boldly ſaid, That it was a declared Cuſtom amongſt Princes (though in heat of War) to give Ambaſſadors audience, and thereupon ſtoutly refuſed to declare his Ambaſſage, and ſo returned into *England* unheard. The greateſt matters laid to *Mendoza*'s charge, were gotten out of *Throgmorton*'s Confeſſion; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he ſent to *Mendoza* a box of Writings; and when his Cheſts were ſearched, there were found two Scrowls, one with the names of the Ports of *England*, and in the other, the names of the Nobility and Gentry in *England*, that favoured the *Romiſh* Religion. Theſe, when *Throgmorton* ſaw brought forth, he ſaid they were counterfeited, and ſtood to it upon the very Rack, but being brought to the Rack the ſecond time, he then confeſſed all; That *Morgan*, by Letters out of *France*, had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade *England*, and with the help of the Duke of *Guyſe*, to free the Queen of *Scots*; and that nothing was now wanting, but money and aid in *England*: and that for procuring of this, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit name of *Mope*, was ſent into *Suſſex*, where the Duke of *Guyſe* intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to *Mendoza*, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noble men that ſhould aſſiſt. But being arraigned at the Guild-hall, he denied all this again, ſaying, He had ſpoken ſo, becauſe he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned to die, he flying to the Queens mercy, confeſſed in a manner all he had before related; and then at the Gallows went about to deny it again. So falſe to it ſelf is the mind of man, when it is divided between hope and fear, and lies under the burthen of a guilty conſcience.

Sir *William Wade* ſent into *Spain* being not admitted to have Audience of the King, comes away without doing his Meſſage. *Mendoza* the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador is thruſt out of *England*, and why.

Sir *William Wade* is ſent to the Queen of *Scots* to treat with her about ſome conditions for ſetting her at liberty.

Sir *William Wade* being returning from *Spain*, was employed to the Queen of *Scots* about the Treaty begun two years before: To whom the diſtreſſed Queen ſincerely profeſſed, That ſhe devoted her ſervice and her ſelf to the Queen of *England*; and made ſolemn promiſe, That if the former Treaty might go on, ſhe would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of *Angus*, and the other *Scottiſh* Lords, and would charge the Biſhops of *Roſſe* and *Glaſco*, her Agents in *France*, to have no further to do with the *Engliſh* Fugitives. Theſe things Queen *Elizabeth* heard gladly, and thereupon ſent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, who joyntly with the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ſhould ſignifie unto her, That if ſhe continued ſtill in the ſame mind as ſhe had delivered to *Wade*; Sir *Walter Mildmay* ſhould come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty; but withall, ſhe commanded *Mildmay* and *Beal* to dive into her as well as they could, to know what practiſes the Duke of *Guyſe* had on Foot. To that which ſhe had ſpoken to Sir *William Wade*, the Queen of *Scots* made a

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wary anſwer; but to that concerning the Duke of *Guyſe*, ſhe plainly confeſſeth; That being ſickly her ſelf, and weak of body, ſhe had committed her ſelf and her Son to the Protection of the Duke of *Guyſe*, her dear Couſen, of whoſe intendments ſhe knoweth nothing; nor if ſhe did, would ſhe diſcloſe them, unleſs ſhe might be ſure of her own liberty. Laſtly, ſhe requeſteth, That being a free and abſolute Prince, ſhe may not be worſe handled, than Queen *Elizabeth* her ſelf was, when ſhe was a ſubject, and kept in priſon by her Siſter. Theſe things had a hearing, but no feeling, and the rather by a ſtrange accident; for *Creighton* a *Scotiſh* Jeſuite, ſayling from the *Low-Countries*, and taken by *Dutch* Pirats, had certain papers which he tore, and threw away, which thrown overboord, and by the wind blown back unto the Ship, miraculouſly (as *Creighton* himſelf ſaid) they were brought to Sir *William Wade*, who patching them together with much labour and cunning, diſcovered by them ſome new intendments of the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the *Guyſe*, about the Invading of *England*: Whereupon, and upon divers other rumours, the better to provide for the ſafety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of *Leiceſter* being the formoſt) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themſelves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subſcriptions, to perſecute all thoſe to the very death, that ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Queen; which League of theirs they called the Aſſociation.

An Aſſociation of Lords and others in defence of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen of Scots offers to enter into the Aſſociation, if ſhe may have her liberty.

The Queen of *Scots* who preſently apprehended, that this Aſſociation was entred into for her deſtruction; making this propoſition by *Nave* her Secretary, to the Queen and the Councel; That if ſhe might have her liberty granted, and be aſſured of the Queens love, ſhe would enter a ſtrict League and Amity with her, and paſſing by all matters of offence, eſteem and honour her above all the Princes of the Chriſtian world: yea, and (ſaving the ancient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland*) ſhe would her ſelf be comprehended in the Aſſociation, and a League defenſive, againſt all that ſhould go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen *Elizabeth* was wonderfully pleaſed, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom. But ſee what malice can do; for many in *England*, but eſpecially the *Scots* of the adverſe party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it; exclaiming, That the Queen ſhould be no longer in ſafety, if the Queen of *Scots* were ſet at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if ſhe were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papiſts were admitted within the Court walls; nor was this all, but the *Scottiſh* Miniſters in their Pulpits, loaded the Queen of *Scots* with all manner of contumelies, ſlandring the King himſelf, and his Councel in the moſt bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refuſed, ſaying, That the Pulpits were exempted from all Regal Authority, and that Eccleſiaſtical perſons were not to be cenſured by the Prince, but by their own Conſiſtory (directly againſt the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all perſons, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Secular, was confirmed; and namely, That the King and his Councel were Supreme Judges in all Cauſes; and that whoſoever refuſed to be tryed by them, ſhould be holden guilty of High-Treaſon; all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Biſhops reſtored, whoſe Calling the Presbiteries had condemned as wicked and Antichriſtian: And laſtly, all ſcurrilous Libels againſt the King and his Mother prohibited; namely, the *Scottiſh* Hiſtory of *George Buchanan*, and his Dialogue, *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*.

To which Queen Elizabeth is inclining.

But is made averſe from it by Scots and Engliſh of the adverſe party, and eſpecially by Scottiſh Miniſters.

The Queen of Scots is taken from the Earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir Amias Pawlet.

At this time, upon her Adverſaries ſuggeſtion, the Queen of *Scots* is taken from the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and committed to the cuſtody of Sir *Amias Pawlet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, and that on ſet purpoſe (as ſome were perſwaded) to drive her into abrupt and deſperate attempts; and indeed upon this, ſhe grew more importunate with the Pope and King of *Spain*, to haſten their intendment, whatſoever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as ſome ſaid) that *Leiceſter* ſent out aſſaſſinates to make her away, but that *Drury* deteſted the villany, and would grant them no acceſs.

A Combination in the Catholicks, to marry the Queen of Scots to ſome Engliſh Nobleman of the Romiſh Religion; and who he was thought to be.

And now to alienate Queen *Elizabeth* utterly from her; it is ſuggeſted to her, That *Allen* for the Catholicks of the Clergy, *Ingleſield* for the Laity, and the Biſhop of *Roſſe* for the Queen of *Scots*, with conſent of the Pope and King of *Spain*, had joyntly combined to depoſe her, and to bar the King of *Scotland* from his hereditary Right to the Crown of *England*, and to marry the Queen of *Scots* to an *Engliſh* Nobleman of the Romiſh Religion, and him the *Engliſh* Catholicks ſhould chooſe King of *England*, and the Pope confirm the Election: and all this upon the credit of *Hart* the Prieſt: but who this *Engliſh* Nobleman ſhould be that ſhould marry the Queen of *Scots*, could not be found, though *Walſingham* were buſie to ſearch it out: the fame went upon *Henry Howard* the Duke of *Norfolks* Brother, who was a ſingle man, a great Papiſt, and of high eſtimation among the Catholicks.

Charles Nevill the laſt Earl of Weſtmerland of this Family, dies in Exile: and of the many Noble Perſonages deſcended from that Houſe.

Plowden the great Lawyer dies.

The Prince of Orange is ſhot and ſlain by a Burgundian.

This year died in Exile and miſery *Charles Nevell*, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the laſt Earl of *Weſtmerland* of this Family; a houſe from whence deſcended many Noble Perſonages, ſix Earls of *Weſtmerland*, two Earls of *Salisbary* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marqueſs *Mountacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, Baron *Ferrers* of *Ouſley*, the Lord *Latymer*, the Lord of *Aburgaveny*, one Queen, & five Dutcheſſes (to let paſs Counteſſes and Baroneſſes) an Archbiſhop of *York*, and a numerous company of other Lords. In *England* died none of reckoning this year, but only *Plowden* the famous Lawyer; but in *France*, the Duke of *Anjou* died of grief; and in *Holland*, *William* Prince of *Orange*, ſhot into the body with three Bullets, by one *Balthaſar Gerard*, a *Burgundian*.

It was now the year 1585, and the 28th. of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when, to tie the *French* King more nearly to her, whom the year before ſhe had received into the number of the Knights of the Garter, ſhe ſent the Earl of *Derby* into *France*, to inveſt him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due ſolemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was inveſted with them.

1585.

At this time a Parliament was aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein *William Parry* a *Welſh* man,

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William Parry Doctor of the Laws, condemned, and executed; and for what cause,

a Doctor of the Laws, when in the Lower House a Bill was read against the Jesuites, he alone stood up, and exclaimed that it was a cruel and bloody Law: and being asked his reason, he stoutly refused, unless he were required by the Lords of the Councel. Hereupon he was sent to the *Gate-house*, but upon submission, was received into the House again. Soon after, he was accused by *Edward Nevill*, for holding secret consultations about making the Queen away; Who thereupon apprehended, upon his examination, confessed in effect thus much, That out of discontent he went beyond the Sea, where, by the encouragement of *Campegio*, the Popes Nuntio at *Venice*, and grant of a plenary Indulgence from the Pope, he undertook to kill the Queen; but coming into *England* to that intent, he altered his mind, and disclosed to the Queen the whole matter. After this, he received a Letter from the Cardinal of *Como*, perswading him to go forward with the Enterprise; and this Letter also he shewed the Queen. After this, he chanced to see a Book of Doctor *Allens*, written *contra Justitiam Brittannicam*, wherein was declared, That Princes who were for heresie excommunicate, might lawfully be deprived of their life and Kingdom. This Book wonderfully confirmed him, and he read it to *Nevill*; who, though he took an Oath of secrecy, yet now upon a hope of the Earldom of *Westmerland*, betrayed him. This was his confession before Baron *Hunsdon*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*: as likewise in his Letters to the Queen, to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, acknowledging his fault, and craving mercy. A few days after, he was called to the Bar in *Westminster*-Hall, where he confessed himself guilty, and thereupon was condemned. After the sentence of death pronounced, he furiously cited the Queen to Gods Tribunal: five days after he was laid upon a Hurdle, and dragged through the City to *Westminster*, where at the Gibbet he made a vain-glorious boasting of his faithfulness to the Queen, but not so much as in a word commended himself to God; and in the great Palace at *Westm.* was executed as a Traytor, the Nobility & Commons sitting then in Parliament.

Laws made for safeguard of the Queen.

In this Parliament, the Association before spoken of, was universally approved, and enacted in this Form; That four and twenty, or more, of the Queens Privy-Councel, and Peers of the Realm, should be selected and authorized under the Great Seal of *England*, *To make enquiry of all such persons as shall attempt to invade the Kingdom, or raise Rebellion, or shall attempt any evil against the Queens Person, for whomsoever, and by whomsoever that layeth any claim to the Crown of* England; *and that person for whom, or by whom they shall attempt any such thing, shall be altogether uncapable of the Crown*; and more to this purpose. Laws also for the Queens safety, were enacted against Jesuits and Popish Priests, and against all that shal receive or relieve them. These Laws terrified many, and particularly out of fear of them, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, the Duke of *Norfolks* eldest Son, purposed with himself to travel beyond Seas; for having been once or twice cited before the Lords of the Councel, and confined to his House, and after six moneths set at liberty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his Souls health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal affection towards her; but as he was taking Shipping, by his own servants treachery he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

The Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, and why.

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland being in the Tower, is found dead in his Bed.

At the same time lay in the Tower *Henry Percy* Earl of *Northumberland*; a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret consultation with *Throgmorton*, the Lord *Paget* and the *Guises*, about the invading of *England*, and freeing of the Queen of *Scots* (whose cause he ever highly favoured) but in the moneth of *June*, he was found dead in his bed, shot into the body with three bullets, under his right Pap, and the door bolted on the inside. The Coroners Inquest examining the matter, found and pronounced that he had killed himself. Three days after, the Lords meeting in the *Star-chamber*, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor, declared this fact of the Earls, and then commanded the Attorney-General to shew the cause of his imprisonment, and the manner of his death; whereupon, *Popham* first, and then *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, in long Orations, lay open all his Treasons, and how for fear of the Law, he had laid violent hands upon himself.

Queen Elizabeth enters League with the Princes of Germany.

And now the Queen knowing that the seeds of these Treasons proceeded from the Duke of *Guise*, and his adherents, she sought for the strengthening of her self, to enter into the League with the Princes of *Germany*; and to this end, she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King of *Denmark*, to the Count Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*, to the Duke of *Saxony*, *Wittenbergh*, *Brunswick*, *Lonceburgh*; the Marques of *Brandenburgh*, and the *Lantgrave* of *Hessia*; and into *Scotland*, she sent Sir *Edward Wotton*, to let the King understand how sincerely she was affected towards him, and withal to draw the King (if he could) into a League of mutual defence and offence, and to commend to him the Match of the King of *Denmarks* Daughter. The King was very inclinable to the matter of the League, but for the present, the busines was interrupted by the death of *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, slain at a meeting to compound a difference between the Borderers, by a sudden tumult of the *Scots*, but who it was that slew him, was not known. The *English* laid it upon the Earl of *Arran*, and the Lord *Fernihurst* Governour of the middle Borders; whereupon, at the Queens complaint, the Earl of *Arran* was confined, and *Fernihurst* committed to prison at *Dundee*, where he died; a man of great valour and resolution, and one that was always firm for the Queen of *Scots*. But Queen *Elizabeth* not thus satisfied, gave leave by way of connivence to the *Scottish* Lords that were fled into *England*, namely, the Earl of *Angus*, the *Hamiltons*, and *John Cladius*, the Earl of *Marre*, *Glames*, and other, that they should steal away into *Scotland*, (she supplying them with money) there to master and subdue the Earl of *Arran*. For *Maxwell*, who was lately made Earl of *Bothwell*, Baron *Humes*, *Goldingholls*, and other in *Scotland*, had already promised them their assistance, even in the very Court. Sir *Patrick Gray* (*Arrans* great Rival for the Kings favour) *Belenden*, and Secretary *Maitland* (by *Wottons* craft) were made against *Arran*. These men, upon their first entry in *Scotland*, command all persons in the Kings Name, to aid them for conserving the truth of the Gospel, for freeing the King from corrupt Counsellors, and for maintaining of Amity with the *English*, so as there presently

A great tumult amongst the Lords in Scotland, and why.

joyned

joyned with them about eight thousand men. The Earl of *Arran* hearing hereof, makes haſt to the King, and accuſeth *Patrick Gray* as Author of this commotion: but whiles *Arran* was making proviſion for defence of the Town, the enemies were ready to ſcale the Walls: whereupon *Arran* being adviſed, that onely his life was ſought, gets ſecretly away with onely one Servant, the reſt betook themſelves to the King in the Caſtle. The Rebels get into the Market-place, and diſplay their Banners againſt the Caſtle: The King ſends *Gray* to know the reaſon of their coming; they anſwer, to ſubmiſs themſelves, and in humble manner to kiſs the Kings hands: the King offereth reſtitution of all their Goods, if they would depart; They deſire to be admitted to his Preſence, which upon theſe conditions the King granted. That they ſhould not attempt any thing againſt his life, or thoſe whom he ſhould nominate, nor make any innovation in the Goverment. They proteſt, They are ready to ſacrifice their Lives for the Kings ſafety; and of any Innovation, they had not ſo much as a thought; onely they requeſt to have their adverſaries, and the Fortifications of *Scotland* delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a dayes Conſultation, they are admitted into the Kings Preſence, and forthwith the Earls of *Mount-Roſſe*, *Crawford* and *Rothſay*; Colonell *Stewart*, *Downs*, *Arran*'s Brothers, and others, were delivered to them: The Earl of *Arran*, who was fled into the Weſtern Iſlands, is called home: the Aſſaulters were pardoned, and pronounced good Subjects. *Hamilton* is ſet over *Dumbriton* Caſtle; *Goldingknolles* over *Edenburgh*; the Earl of *Angus* over *Tantallon*; the Earl of *Marre* over *Sterlin*; and *Glames* is made Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Proſcriptions and Out-lawries againſt all Perſons, ſince the Kings Inauguration (ſaving ſome few proſcribed for the murder of the Kings Father) are called in, and with an unanimous conſent of all Parties, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of *England* is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that purpoſe.

A combuſtion in *Ireland*, how cauſed, and how pacified.

In *Ireland* likewiſe was a Combuſtion this year, firſt the *Burkes* (deſcended of the ancient Family of the *Burroughs* in *England*) provoked by the ſevere Government of *Richard Bingham* Governour of *Connaght*, raiſe Rebellion; but this was ſoon ſuppreſſed, for *Thomas Burk* dyed fighting; *Meyler* and *Theobald Burk* were taken and hanged. After this the *Clan Gibbons*, *Clan Donells* and *Joyes*, combined together in great numbers, and ſay plainly, They will have a *Mac-William* of their own, one of the *Burks* to rule over them, or ſome other Lord out of *Spain*; they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country, nor appear before the *Engliſh* Courts of Juſtice; and thereupon harried all the Country with Fire and Sword, and neither by the perſwaſions of the Archbiſhop *Tuan*, nor by the intreaties of the Earl of *Clan-riccard* (the chief of the Houſe of the *Burks*) would be quieted, till *John Bingham* the Preſidents Brother, following them into the Woods, drave away five thouſand head of their Cattell, ſo as after forty dayes, half ſtarved, they came forth and ſubmitted themſelves. But this was not yet an end; for now the Preſident underſtood, That two thouſand *Scottiſh* Iſlanders were landed, and ready to break into *Connaght*; whereupon he muſters his men to give them battell; but they flying to Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as though in fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm ground, and then with his whole Forces ſet upon them, ſlew three thouſand of them (indeed all but fourſcore) amongſt whom were *Donell Garmy* and *Alexander Garmy*, the Sons of *James Mac-Conel*, who had long diſquieted this part, and thoſe *Burks* who were the firſt Authors of this Rebellion. This was a famous Victory, for the good of the preſent and future times; for hereby the name of the *Mac-Williams* in *Connaght* was utterly extinct, and the inſolent attempts of the *Scottiſh* Iſlanders abſolutely cruſhed.

The Name of *Mac-Williams* in *Connaght* is utterly extinct.

The States of the *Low-Countries* fly to Queen *Elizabeth* for protection, which ſhe for the preſent refuſeth.

In the *Low-Countries* at this time the States were very hard beſet, ſo as they held a Conſultation, whither to flie for Protection, either to the *French* King, or to the Queen of *England*. Monſieur *Prunie* the *French* Ambaſſadour ſhewed many advantages, and gave many reaſons why they ſhould flie rather to the *French* King; the *Engliſh* on the other ſide, alledged many Reaſons why they ſhould flie rather to the Queen of *England*; but in concluſion, they have firſt recourſe to the King of *France*, and afterward being by him neglected, to the Queen of *England*. But then in *England* it was conſulted, Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein the Counſel was divided; ſome were of Opinion, That it were good to receive and aid them, leſt the *Spaniard* firſt conquering them, might have the better way to annoy *England*; others again thought, They were to be held no better than Rebels to their lawful Soveraign, and therefore unworthy of aſſiſtance. After long debating the matter, the Queen refuſeth to take them into Protection, much leſs to exerciſe Soveraignty over them. Nevertheleſs to raiſe the Siege of *Antwerp*, which was then beleaguer'd by the Prince of *Parma*, ſhe was content to ſupply them with four thouſand Souldiers, ſo as the Town of *Sluce*, and the Ordnance belonging to it, were given up into their hands: but while this matter was diſcuſſing, the Town of *Antwerp* was fain to yield it ſelf.

But at laſt ſhe undertakes it.

But the Queen better bethinking her ſelf, partly as fearing the growth of the King of *Spain*'s Power, and partly, as commiſerating the afflicted of her own Religion, at laſt reſolves to undertake their protection, upon condition of her part, to ſupply them with five thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, under a ſufficient General, paying them during the War; and afterward the expenſes to be payed back, upon condition on their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver *Fluſhing* and the Fort of *Ramekin*, the Town of *Brill*, with the two neighbouring Forts: and for the juſtifying of this her action, ſhe ſet forth a large Declaration. And knowing that herein ſhe incenſed the King of *Spain*, ſhe thought beſt to turn his anger further from home, and thereupon ſent out Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carlile*, with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein were two thouſand Volunteers and Mariners) towards the *Weſt-Indies*; who firſt ſurprized the Town of St. *Jago*, afterward St. *Dominick* (where five and twenty thouſand Crowns were given them, to ſpare the Town from burning) afterward

She ſends Sir *Francis Drake* and *Chriſtopher Carlile* to the Weſt, and what they effected there.

Cartagena,

Cartagena, which they held seven weeks, till the *Spaniards* redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this, the *Calenture* waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, passing by *Virginia*, a Colony which Sir *Walter Raleigh* had there planted; from whence *Drake* brings home with him *Ralph Lane*, who was the first that brought Tobacco into *England*, which the *Indians* take against crudities of the Stomach. At this Expedition were lost about seven hundred men, who for the most part died of *Calentures*: their Booty amounted to the value of threescore thousand pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Brass and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in *America*; when in the mean while, Captain *John Davis*, with two Ships (at the charges of *William Sanderson*, and other Citizens of *London*) found out a way to the *East-Indies*, by the higher part of *America*, under the Frigid Zone.

Tobacco first brought into *England* at this time by *Ralph Lane*.

John Davis finds out a way to the *East-Indies* by the higher part of *America*.

At the end of this year, the Earl of *Leicester* is sent General of the Queens Forces into *Holland*, accompanied with the Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *Wil. Russel*, Sir *Tho. Sherley*, Sir *Arthur Basset*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen. Landing at *Flushing*, he was first by Sir *Philip Sidney* the Governor his Nephew, after by the Towns of *Zealand* and *Holland*, entertained in most magnificent manner; and coming to the *Hague* in *January*, the States by Patent committed to him the command and absolute authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governor and Captain General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the Confederate Provinces: So as being now saluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him Princely spirits. But the Queen took him soon off from further aspiring, writing unto him in most peremptory manner; That she wondred how a man whom she had raised out of the dust, could so contemptuously violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Injunctions she sent him by *Hennage* her Vice-Chamberlain; Withall, in Letters apart, she expostulateth with the States, that to her great disparagement, they had cast upon the Earl of *Leicester* her Subject, the absolute command over the united Provinces, without her privity, which she her self had utterly refused; and therefore willeth them to devest him of that absolute authority, to whom she had set bounds, which he should not pass. The States return Answer, That they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the Earl that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted, but they beseeched her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one or other; Neither was there any great matter in the word *Absolute*, seeing the Rule and Dominion resided still in the people. By these Letters and *Leicesters* own submissive writing, the Queen was soon satisfied; *Leicester* all this while receiveth Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces, maketh martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Customs upon Merchandizes, incurred great dislike amongst the common people. His first service was to relieve *Grave* a Town in *Brabant*, which the Prince of *Parma*, by Count *Mansfield* had besieged: Hither he sent the Count *Hohenlo* a *German*, and *Norris* General of the *English* Foot, but notwithstanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the end was taken; but *Hemart* the Governor, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of *Parma* marched into *Gelderland*, and pitched his Tents before *Venlow*, where *Skenkic* a *Frizlander*, and *Roger Williams* a *Welshman* performed great service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also. But in the mean while the Lord *Willoughby* Governor of *Bergen ap Zome*, cut off the enemies Convoyes, and took away their Victuals; and Sir *Philip Sidney* and *Maurice* the Prince of *Oranges* Son, upon a sudden onset, took *Axale*, a Town in *Flanders*. From *Venlow* the Prince of *Parma* goes to *Berke*, where there were twelve thousand *English*, under the command of Colonell *Morgan*; he notwithstanding laid Siege to the Town, which the Earl of *Leicester* came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to raise it, he seeks to divert it, by beleaguering *Duisburgh*; which before the Prince of *Parma* could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of *Parma*, fearing least *Zutphen* should come in danger, commandeth Victuals to be carried thither, which the *Spaniards*, carrying along in a fogge, the *English* by chance lighted on them, vanquished a Troop of their Horse, slew *Hannibal Gonzaga*, and divers others, but then on the *English* side was one slain, more worth than all the *English* and *Spaniards* put together, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity; that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, so future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in sumptuous manner solemnized at St. *Pauls* Church in *London*. *James* King of *Scotland* made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Verses.

The Earl of *Leicester* is sent General of the Queens Forces into *Holland*.

The States commit to him the absolute command over the united Provinces. Which the Queen is angry at.

And the States excuse it.

What was done by the Earl of *Leicester* at his being in *Holland*.

Sir *Philip Sidney* is slain.

1586.

After this *Leicester* assaulted *Zutphen*, where setting upon a Fort, he takes it in this manner: *Edward Stanley* (of the *Stanlies* of *Elford*) catching hold of a *Spaniards* Launce, which was brandished at him, held it so fast, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort; whereupon the *Spaniards* being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forsook the place; *Leicester* Knighted *Stanley* for this act, gave him forty Pounds in present money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardness to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it unseasonable to besiege it any longer (especially so many *English* Garrisons lying round about it, which were in the nature of a Siege) but returned to the *Hague*, where the States entertained him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the *English* supplies were not full, that forreign Souldiers were levyed without their consent, that the Priviledges of the United Provinces were set at nought, and new devices for contribution invented; for all which evils, they intreated him to provide some present remedy. To which complaints (having a purpose to go for *England*) he gave a friendly answer;

Leicester takes the Fort at *Zutphen* by the valour of *Edward Stanley*, and in what manner.

The States complain of the Earl of *Leicesters* carriage.

answer; but upon the very day in which he was to depart, he committeth the Government of the Province, to the deliberation of the *States*; and the same day made another private instrument of Writing, where he reserved to himself the whole authority over the Governours of the several Provinces, Cities, and Forts; and more than this, taketh away the wonted Jurisdiction from the *States* Councel, and Presidents of the Provinces; and came into *England* the third day of *December*. And thus passed the Affairs of the *Netherlands* for this year.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* is fined, and why.

But in *England*, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who had lyen in prison a whole year, was at last brought to the Starchamber; and being charged with fostering of Priests, and having correspondence with *Allen* and *Parsons* the Jesuite, and offering to depart the Kingdom without license, was fined ten thousand Pounds, and imprisonment during the Queens pleasure.

A League of strict Amity concluded with the King of *Scots*.

At this time, the Queen, by Sir *Horatio Palavicino*, supplyed with a large sum of money the King of *Navarre*; through whose side the *Guyses* opposed the reformed Religion in *Scotland*, but her most intentive care was how to unite *England* and *Scotland* in a solid friendship: To which end, she sent *Thomas Randall* into *Scotland*, who making Propositions to the King, touching a League offensive and defensive, though the King at first required some additions, and though the *French* Ambassadour infinitely opposed it, yet at last he consented to it; and in *July* following, there met at *Barwick*, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Ewer*, and *Thomas Randall* for the Queen of *England*; *Francis* Earl of *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyde*, and *Humes* for the King of *Scots*, and there the League (which was called the League of strict amity; for that the word *Offensive*, liked not the *Scots*) was upon certain points concluded; First, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and then other such Articles, as commonly in Leagues are usual.

A dangerous Conspiracy is at this time discovered, begun by *John Savage*, but prosecuted by *Anthony Babington* and divers others.

The very same moneth that this League was agreed on, a most daugerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. For first, one *John Savage* was by the perswasion of *Gifford*, Doctor of Divinity, induced to believe, that it was a meritorious work, to take away the lives of Princes Excommunicate, who thereupon vowed to kill Queen *Elizabeth*: but to make the Queen and her Councel secure, at the same time they wrote a Book, exhorting the Papists in *England* to attempt nothing against their Prince, and to use only the Christian weapons of Tears, Prayers, Watching, and Fasting. About *Whitsuntide* one *Ballard* a Seminary Priest of *Rheims*, acquainted with the Vow of *Savage*, (having dealt in *France* with *Mendoza* and *Charles Paget*, about invading of *England*) arrived here in a Souldiers habit, and by a counterfeit name, called Captain *Foscu*; with these matters he acquainted one *Anthony Babington*, a Gentleman of *Derbyshire*, who by the Bishop of *Glasco*, the Queen of *Scots* Ambassador in *France*, had been commended to her as one worthy of her love; so, as between them there passed often Letters in unknown Characters. In short time, *Babington* had drawn into the Plot, other Gentlemen as zealous of the *Romish* Religion as himself; namely, *Edward Windsor* Brother to the Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury* of a good Family in *Devonshire*, *Charles Tilney* one of the Queens Pensioners, *Chydiock Tichburn* of *Hampshire*, *Edward Abington* (whose Father was Cofferer to the Queen) *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers*, and *John Charnock* of *Lancashire*, *John Jones*, *Savage* formerly spoken of, *Barnwell* of a noble Family in *Ireland*, and *Henry Dunne* a Clerk in the Office of First-Fruits and Tenths; one *Pollie* also served himself into their company, a fellow throughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of *Scots*, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to *Walsingham* day by day. To these Gentlemen, *Babington* communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to *Ballard*, *Tichburn*, and *Dunne*, he sheweth the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of *Scots*: with *Tilney* and the rest, he dealeth to be assistants; of whom, some at first loth, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-gloriousnesse, a Picture of the Assassinates was made to the life, and *Babington* in the midst, with these words, *Quorsum hæc alio properantibus?* This Picture (they say) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face, but only *Barnwell*, (who had oftentimes come to her in the causes of the Earl of *Kildare*, whose servant he was.) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this *Barnwell*, and turning to *Hatton*, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a sword by his side? Thus much *Barnwell* himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid *Gifford*: This man was a Gentleman of a good House at *Chellington* in *Staffordshire*, not far from *Chartley*, where the Queen of *Scots* was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the *English* Fugitives in *France*, under the counterfeit name of *Lusson*, to put *Savage* in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of *Scots*. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or dismayed in minde, came to *Walsingham* privately, revealing who he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into *England*. *Walsingham* courteously entertained him, and sent him down into *Staffordshire*, to do the work he had undertaken. Here *Gifford* bribing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of *Scots* lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by messengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to *Walsinghams* hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one *Thomas Phillips*, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of *Arthur Gregory*, sealed them again so curiously, that no man would imagine them to have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties, to whom the superscription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of *Scots* to *Babington* intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same time to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Charles Paget*, the Lord *Paget*, the Archbishop of *Glasco*, and *Francis Englefield*. The Queen as soon as she understood by these Letters of the storm hanging over

The chief discoverer of this Conspiracy was one *Gifford*, and by what means.

Walsinghams State-craft.

her head, both at home and abroad, commanded *Ballard* to be apprehended, who on a ſuddain is taken in *Babingtons* houſe. *Babington* hereupon goeth to *Walſingham*, with whom he had long been a ſuiter, for licence to go into *France*, promiſing to do great matters in diſcovering the practiſes of the Fugitives; *Walſingham* with fair promiſes drives him off from day to day; and now perſwades him, that for a ſmall ſpace till he could get his licenſe ſealed, he would lodge at his houſe in *London*, where they might have ſecret Conference without ſuſpition. This web *Walſingham* himſelf had ſpun hitherto, and no other of the Queens Councel were made acquainted; and longer yet he would have drawn the thread out, but that the Queen was unwilling; leſt (as ſhe ſaid) by not avoiding danger when ſhe might, ſhe ſhould ſeem rather to tempt God, than to truſt in him. Whereupon, *Walſingham* ſent a Note to his man *Scudamore* from the Court, to look carefully to *Babington*: This Note was delivered in ſuch manner, that *Babington* ſitting by a Table when *Scudamore* read it, over-looked him, and read it likewiſe: Hereupon ſuſpecting that all was diſcovered, the next Night he and *Scudamore*, and one or two more of *Walſinghams* ſervants ſupping at a Tavern, and being very merry, he made an excuſe that he muſt needs ſtep aſide, and roſe up, leaving his Cloak and his Sword, and ſo made haſte through the dark to *Weſtminſter*, where *Gage* and he changed apparel, and then together withdrew themſelves into St. *Johns* Wood near the City, whither *Barnwell* and *Dun* betook themſelves. In the mean ſpace they were proclaimed Traytors all *England* over. Hereupon they lay lurking in Woods and by-places; they ſhave *Babingtons* face, diſfigure the beauty of his Countenance (for he was of an extraordinary beauty) with the huſks of green Wallnuts; and when they were half ſtarved, went to the houſes of the *Bellamies*, near *Harrow* on the Hill, who were great Papiſts; There they were hid in Barns, and put into a Countrey habit: But notwithſtanding all their ſhifting, within ten days after they were diſcovered and brought to *London*. The other Complices were ſoon after taken, moſt of them in the Suburbs of the City, *Salisbury* and *Traverſe* in *Cheſhire*, and *Jones* in *Wales*, who harboured them in his houſe, after he knew they were proclaimed Traytors; *Windſor* only was never heard of. Many days were ſpent in the examination of them, who cut one-the others Throats, with their own Confeſſions. All this while, the Queen of *Scots* and her Servants are ſo narrowly looked to by *Pawlet*, that ſhe knew nothing of all theſe paſſages: As ſoon as they were apprehended, *Thomas George* was ſent to acquaint her with the whole matter, which yet he did not do, till ſhe was got on Horſe-back to ride a hunting, and was not then ſuffered to return, but in ſhew of Courteſie was carried up and down, to ſee the Houſes of the Gentry thereabouts. In which mean while *John Manners*, *Edward Acton*, *Richard Bagot*, and Sir *William Wade*, took *Nave* and *Curle* the Queen of *Scots* Secretaries, and the reſt of her Servants, and delivered them to Keepers apart, that they might have no ſpeech between themſelves, nor with their Lady the Queen of *Scots*. Then they broke open all dores, and ſuch Desks and Boxes as they found with any Papers in them, they ſet their ſeals upon, and ſent them to the Court: In which, being broken open before the *Queen*, were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies likewiſe of Letters ſent to ſeveral perſons, and threeſcore Alphabets at leaſt of private Characters; as alſo, Letters to her from ſome of the *Engliſh* Nobility, containing great proffers of love and ſervice, which the *Queen* notwithſtanding took no notice of, but paſſed over in ſilence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo*, I ſee, and ſay nothing. *Gifford* now, who had all this while ſerved their turn, is ſent into *France*; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the *French* Ambaſſador here in *England*, with Inſtructions that he ſhould deliver no Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, or the Fugitives in *France*; but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he ſent under-hand to Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

Babington ſeeks to eſcape.

But is diſcovered and taken.

The Queen of *Scots* hath her Cloſets broken open, and her Boxes ſearched.

The twentieth of *September*, ſeven of the forenamed Conſpirators were Arraigned, and pleading guilty, were condemned of High-Treaſon. Two dayes after, ſeven other were called to the Bar, who pleaded not guilty, but notwithſtanding were found guilty by their own confeſſions, and condemned; *Pollie* only, though he were privy to all paſſages, yet becauſe he had diſcloſed many things to *Walſingham*, was not called in queſtion. The twentieth day of the moneth, the firſt ſeven in St. *Giles* Fields, where they were wont to meet, were hanged, cut down inſtantly, their privy members cut off, and themſelves yet living and beholding it, were in cruel manner bowelled and quartred; namely, *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Savage*, (who, the roap breaking, fell down from the Gibbet, and was preſently taken by the hangman, his privy members cut off, and bowelled, while he was perfectly living) *Barnwell*, *Tichburn*, *Tilney*, and *Abbington*. The next day, the other ſeven were drawn to the ſame place, and executed in the ſame faſhion, but in a more gentle manner, by the Queens ſpeciall charge who deteſted the former cruelty, for they were to hang til they were quite dead, *Salisbury* firſt, then *Dun*, then *Jones*, *Chernock*, *Traverſe*, *Gage*, and with them *Hierome Bellamy*, who had concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor (whoſe Brother being guilty of the ſame fact, had ſtrangled himſelf in priſon.)

Fourteen of the Conſpirators are Arraigned, and hanged.

When theſe men were executed, *Nave* a *French* man, and *Curle* a *Scoth* man, Secretaries to the Queen of *Scots*, were examined concerning the Letters, the copies of Letters, and private Characters found in the Queen of *Scots* Cloſet; who under their own voluntary ſubſcriptions acknowledged, that they were their own handwritings, dictated in *French* by the Queen herſelf, taken by *Nave*, turned into *Engliſh* by *Curle* and copied out in ſecret Characters. Hereupon, Sir *Edward Wotton* was ſent out of hand into *France*, to make known to the King, the order of the Treaſon, and to ſhew him the copies of the Queen of *Scots* Letters, confirmed by the teſtimony of ſundry of the *Engliſh* Nobility, that the *French* King might ſee what dangerous plots were by *Charles Paget*, and the *Engliſh* Fugitives contrived againſt the Queen of *England*.

Sir *Edward Wotton* is ſent into *France*, to acquaint the King with the Conſpiracy.

And now, what ſhould be done with the Queen of *Scots*, was a great conſultation; wherein the Counſel-

Consultation is held, what should be done with the Queen of *Scots*, and the resolution.

Counsellours were not all of one mind; some conceived, That it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in fast custody; both for that she was not Author of the Treason, but only conscious to it, and because she was crazie, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith Arraigned and put to death according to Law; *Leicester* thought it better to have her poysoned and sent a Divine to *Walsingham* to prove it lawfull, but *Walsingham* protested against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what Law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25. of *Edward* the Third; (In which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raise War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen Enacted a year since: Their opinion at last prevailed who thought best to proceed against her by this later Law, as being indeed in this case provided. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the privy Counsel, and others of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by vertue of that Law, and passe sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any violence against the Queen. These Commissioners therefore upon the eleventh day of *October* repaired to *Fotheringay* Castle in *Northamptonshire*, where the Queen of *Scots* was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her *Walter Mildmay*, *Paulet* and *Edward Barker*, publick Notary; who delivered her the Queens Letters; which having with a setled countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange, that the Queen should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an absolute Queen, no lesse than her self; but howsoever, I will never do any thing prejudiciall to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of *Scotland*. After many meetings, she standing still upon her innocency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specialy for yeelding to be tryed by the *English* Laws; of which, One (she said) had lately been made of purpose for her destruction: It was at last told her plainly, by the Chancellour and Treasurer, That if she refused to answer to such crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at last with much ado to consent, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Estate was set for the Queen of *England*, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against which, was placed a Chair for the *Q.* of *Scots*; on both sides of the Cloth of Estate stools were set, upon which on the one side sate the Lord Chancellour, the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Cumberland*, *Warwick*, *Pembroke*, *Lincoln*, and Viscount *Mountacute*: On the other side sate the Lords *Aburgaveny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, St. *John* of *Bletsho*, *Compton*, and *Cheyney*; Next to these sate the Knights that were Privy Counsellors, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Ralph Sadler*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, and Sir *Amias Paulet*; Forward, before the Earls, sate the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barons, and the other Justices; *Dale* and *Foord* Doctors of the Civil Law; at a Table in the midst, *Popham* the Queens Attorney-General, *Egerton* her Solicitor, *Gawdie* her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of *Scots* was come, and had placed her self, silence being made, *Bromley* Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Crimes laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had proved her self innocent. Upon this she rising up, said, That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocency, she was now content to appear. Then *Gawdie* opened every speciality of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) shewing by *Babingtons* Confession, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of *Ballard* and *Savage*, by the Confessions of her Secretaries *Nave* and *Curle*, that she was privy to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of *England*, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted; the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confess that which was not true: In this she stood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queens Person; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of *Scots*; At last, she requested, that she might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Councel. But this request prevailed not; for on the Twenty fifth day of *October* following, at the Star-Chamber in *Westm.* the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of *June*, in the seven and twentieth year of our Soveraign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*, divers matters were compassed and imagined in this Kingdom, by *Anthony Babington* and others, with the privity of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, pretending Title to the Crown of *England*, tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Soveraign Lady the Queen.

Commissioners are sent to the Qu. of *Scots*, to acquaint her with the resolution.

But she stood upon her Innocency, and upon her exemption from answering as being an absolute Prince.

Yet at last she was brought to consent.

And the Queens Councel open the Crimes with which she was charged.

Upon which afterward, in the Star-Chamber, Sentence was pronounced against her.

After a few dayes, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*, the which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Derby*; and the same, not without some Presidents. At this Parliament, the Proscriptions of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chydiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney*, and other the Complices, was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom, with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence passed against *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, might according to Law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in minde of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture, upon King *Saul*, for sparing of *Agag*;

Hereupon she appears before the Commissioners.

And in a Parliament presently following, the Lords petition the Queen, That the Sentence passed against her might presently be promulged.

and upon *Ahab*, for not putting *Benhadad* to death. But the Queen answereth them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affection towards her, for whose sakes only she desires to live: Otherwise, when she calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that she accounts them most happy, who go soonest hence. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of *Scots* is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to ensnare her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have been more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time signifie my minde unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

And the Queens Answer:

Twelve dayes after, having deeply weighed the matter in her minde, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and *Puckering* to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to bethink themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of *Scots* might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queens life could not be in safety, while the Queen of *Scots* lived, unless she either repented and acknowledged her Crimes, or were kept in straight custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave Hostages; or lastly, departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies, it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not so much as acknowledg her self faulty: Close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queens life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go about to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and *Puckering* the Speaker of the Lower House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pawse, spake at last to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now propounded; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her destruction, is in a more deplorate estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned so many Rebels, have neglected so many Treasons (either by connivence, or silence) should now at last exercise cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say I will not grant your Petition, I shall happily say what I meant not; If I should say, I will grant it, then cast I my self into destruction headlong, whose safety you so earnestly desire; And that I know, you in your Wisdoms would not I should do.

A while after, the Queen intreats the Lords to think of some way, by which the Queen of *Scots* life may be saved, and her own not endangered.

The Lords return Answer, That there can be no way of her safety, but the Queen of *Scots* death.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued, and then were the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beal* sent to the Queen of *Scots*, to let her understand that Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perswaded her, that before her death, she would make acknowledgement of her offences, against God and the Queen; intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in *England*, could not subsist. Hereupon, she was taken with an unwonted alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity, That she should be accounted an Instrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholick Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denyed, which some deemed, not inhumane only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, she utterly rejected, and jeered at the *English* Nation, saying, The *English* were ever and anon wont to murther their own Kings, and therefore no marvell, they should now thirst after her destruction. In *December* following the Sentence against her was proclaimed in *London* first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen *Elizabeth* seriously protested, that this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of *Scots* being told hereof, seemed not a whit dejected with it: but writing to the Queen, never maketh intercession for her self, nor expostulateth her death, but only makes three small requests; one, That she might be buried in *France* by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but her servants to be present; the third, That her servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requests, she desireth the Queen to vouchsafe her an answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen *Elizabeth*, is uncertain.

Upon this the Queen of *Scots* is made acquainted with the Lords Petition to have the Sentence executed, at which she seemed to rejoyce.

This condemnation of the Queen of *Scots*, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as intercessions came thick in her behalf to Queen *Elizabeth*, but specially from the King of *Scots*, and the King of *France*, who sent their severall Ambassadors, using all the reasons that naturall affection in the one, and likeness of condition in the other, could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State, seemed to obstruct all ways of clemency, the *French* Ambassador *L'Aubespine*, falleth from reasons to action, and thinketh no way so effectuall for saving of the Queen of *Scots* life, as to take away Queen *Elizabeths* life; and thereupon, first, he dealeth covertly with *William Stafford*, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen *Elizabeth*, and his Brother at that time, Ambassador Lieger in *France*) and afterward, more openly by *Trappe* his Secretary, to murther the Queen. *Stafford*, though not daring to act such a villany himself

The King of *Scots* and the King of *France* solicite for her life.

L'Aubespine the *French* Ambassador, ser Agents awork to kill Queen *Elizabeth*.

himself, yet commended one *Moody* to him, a resolute fellow, and one that for money would be sure to do it. Upon this, *Stafford* brings *Trappe* to *Moody*, being then in the common Goal, who upon *Trapps* offer, undertakes it: But then the consultation was, by what way it should be done? *Moody* propounded poyson, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed, and suddenly fire it. But *Trappe* liked of neither of these ways, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of *Orange*. But while they are thus consulting about the way of doing it, *Stafford* discovers all to the Lords of the Councel. Whereupon *Trappe* who was now bound for *France*, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter. Upon this, the Ambassadour himself was sent for to *Cecils* house, the twelfth of *January*; where met him by the Queens appointment, *Cecill* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlain, and *Davyson* one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassadour every particular which *Stafford*, *Moody*, and *Trappe* his Secretary had confessed. Assoon as *Stafford* was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassadour interrupted him, and reviling him, made asseveration, that *Stafford* first propounded it; when *Stafford* falling on his knees, made fearfull imprecations, that the Ambassadour first propounded it himself. But whosoever propounded it (saith *Burleigh*) it appears, that you were made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replyed; That if he had known of any such thing, yet, being he was an Ambassador, he ought not to give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord *Burleigh* admonished him to beware how he offended hereafter in this kinde; and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

Queen *Elizabeth* terrified with many rumors, seals a Warrant for executing her.

But upon this Treason, the Queen of *Scots* Adversaries put many terrors into Queen *Elizabeths* minde, giving out, That the *Spanish* Navy was come to *Milford* Haven, That the *Scots* were broken into *England*; That the Duke of *Guyse* with a great Army was landed in *Sussex*; That the Queen of *Scots* was escaped out of Prison, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other such feigned suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That she sealed Letters, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*; and one of her greatest perswaders to it (as the *Scots* reported it) was one whom the King of *Scots* had sent to disswade her from it; namely *Patrick Grey*, who sounded often in her ears, *Mortua non mordet*; when she is dead, she cannot bite.

The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her; many practicall reasons, and those pressed both by Courtiers and Preachers, were presented to her; so as long holden in suspence, she would oftentimes sit speechlesse, and her countenance cast down; At last, her fear prevailing, she delivered to Secretary *Davyson*, Letters under her hand and Seal, to get the Commission made under the Great Seal of *England*, for the Execuion of the Queen of *Scots*, which might be in a readinesse upon any fear of danger; charging him not to disclose the matter to any whomsoever. But the next day her mind was altred and sent Sir *William Killegrew* to *Davyson*, to countermand the making of the Commission. Whereupon *Davyson* goes to her, and lets her know, That the Commission was already made, and the Seal put to it; Whereat, the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his hastinesse; yet *Davyson* imparteth the matter to Privy Counsellors; and perswades them, That the Queen commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon, *Beale* Clerk of the Councel, is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law; with which proceeding, the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more than this, although she had intimated to *Davyson*, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of *Scots*, yet did not he stay *Beale* from going.

But being long in suspense about it, at last she commanded Secretary *Davyson* to get the Commission made: but not disclose the matter to any.

Yet *Davyson* acquaints divers of the Privy Councel with it. Hereupon *Beal* is sent down to give authority to the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and others to see her executed.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of *Scots* Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to *Fotheringay*; they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drurie*, with whom she was then in custody; go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare her self for death, for that she must die the next day. Whereto, without any change of countenance or passion of minde, she made answer; I had not thought that my Sister the Queen would have consented to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then she requesteth, that she might confer with her Confessor, and *Melvyn* her Steward, which would not be granted: The Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hastened, where she eat (as she used to do) soberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, she comforteth them, and bid them rejoyce rather, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After Supper, she looketh over her Will, read the Inventory of her Goods and Jewels, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; at her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awaking, spent the rest of the Night in her devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the Eighth of *February*, she getteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Closet to Almighty God, imploring his assistance with deep sighs and groans; untill *Thomas Andrews* Sheriff of the County gave notice, that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princely Majesty, and Chearful Countenance she came out, her head covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand; In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where *Melvyn* her Servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune, that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into *Scotland*; whom she comforted, saying, Do not lament *Melvyn*, Thou shalt by and by see *Mary Steward* freed from all cares. Then

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The Commissioners acquaint her with it; with which she was not a whit daunted.

She makes her Will.

Her devout Carriage at her death.

turning

turning her ſelf to the Earls, ſhe requeſted that her Servants might ſtand by her at her death, which the Earl of *Kent* was very loth to grant, for fear of ſuperſtition; to whom ſhe ſaid, Fear nothing, theſe poor wretches deſire only to give me my laſt farewell. I know the Queen my Siſter would not deny me ſo ſmall a requeſt. After this, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, ſhe came to the Scaffold, which was ſet up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Cuſhion, and a Block, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of *Peterborough* going to Prayers, ſhe falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in *Latine*, out of the Office of the bleſſed Virgin. Prayers being ended, ſhe kiſſed the Crucifix, and ſigning her ſelf with the ſign of the Croſs, ſaid, *As thy Arms, O Chriſt, were ſpread forth upon the Croſs, ſo embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my ſins.* Then the Executioner asking her pardon, ſhe forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into ſhrieks and cries, ſhe kiſſed them, ſigned them with the Croſs, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her ſorrowes was at hand; and then ſhadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Block, ſhe repeated the Pſalm, *In te Domine ſperavi, ne confundar in æternum*; at which words ſhe ſtretching forth her Body, her head at two blowes was taken off. Her Body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; but ſince that, her Noble Son *James*, King of Great *Brittain*, erected a Royal Monument for her, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Weſtminſter*. This end had *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in the ſix and fortieth year of her age, and of her Impriſonment in *England* the eighteenth; a Lady ſo compleat in all excellent parts of body and mind, that it muſt needs have made her a happy Woman, if ſhe had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if ſhe had not been Heir to the Crown of *England*: For why did all her Endeavours want ſucceſs, but only from the fear of that Succeſſion? and no innocency of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealouſie made the Aſſault.

She is beheaded.

Her age when ſhe dyed.

As ſoon as it came to the Queens knowledge, that the Queen of *Scots* was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her ſpeech failed her; inſomuch that all in mourning weeds, ſhe gave her ſelf over to ſorrow, commanded her Counſellors from her Preſence, and cauſed *Davyſon* to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as ſoon as grief would ſuffer her, ſhe wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of *Scots*, and ſent it by Sir *Robert Cary*, to this effect; That her minde was infinitely diſquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, againſt her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if ſhe had commanded it, ſhe would never have denyed it, and withall proteſting her true affection towards him, and her aſſiduous watchfulneſs for the proſpering of his affairs.

Queen Elizabeth hearing of her death, is infinitely dejected.

And ſoon after writes to the King of Scots to ſatisfie him in it, that it was done againſt her meaning.

While *Cary* was on his journey, *Davyſon* is cited to the Star-chamber before theſe Delegates, Sir *Chriſtopher Wray* Chief Juſtice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbiſhops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Cumberland*, and *Lincoln*, the Lords *Gray*, and *Lumley*, Sir *James Croft*, Comptroller of the Queens Houſe, Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *Edmund Anderſon*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and Sir *Roger Manwood*, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that *Bromley* Lord Chancellor, *Burleigh* Lord Treaſurer, *Leiceſter*, and *Hatton*, who were indeed more guilty of the fact than *Davyſon*, were none of the number,) Before theſe Delegates, *Popham* the Queens Atturney layeth to *Davyſons* charge Contempt of the Queens Majeſty, violating of his truſt, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fact; which after *Egerton* the Queens Solicitor, *Gandy*, and *Puckering*, Serjeants at Law, urged alſo againſt him with great aggravation: To which *Davyſon* mildly anſwered, That he would not conteſt with the Queen; only Proteſts, That if he had done any thing otherwiſe than he ought, it was out of ignorance and miſtaking, and not out of any purpoſe, to diſobey her Majeſty. It ſeems the Queen had carried her ſelf, as one that would have it done, and yet was loath to do it, ſcarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of miſtaking, rather then of Purpoſe, that ſo at leaſt ſhe might leave ſome place of ſatisfaction to her ſelf, that it was not abſolutely of her doing.

And his anſwer.

Davyſon is cited in the Star-Chamber, and charged with violating her Majeſties Truſt.

The pleadings ended, the Commiſſioners went to cenſure; *Manwood* began, and gave his Opinion, That *Davyſon* for the inconſiderateneſs of his fact, ſhould be fined ten thouſand pounds, and Impriſonment during the Queens pleaſure; the reſt went on in that Sentence, only the Lord *Gray* excuſed *Davyſon* ſo far, That he thought him worthy of reward rather than of puniſhment: The concluſion was, the firſt Sentence for his Fine and Impriſonment, was by *Wray* Keeper of the Privy Seal confirmed; and *Davyſon* never after recovered the Queens favour, though ſhe relieved him ſometimes in his neceſſity. A man ingenious indeed, but not throughly acquainted with the ways of the Court; and thought to have been raiſed to this place, of purpoſe to act this part, and for nothing elſe.

His Cenſure in the Star-chamber.

By this time Sir *Robert Cary*, Son to the Lord *Hunſdon*, who was ſent to excuſe the Queen, was come to the Borders; but being come thither; was not ſuffered to ſet foot in *Scotland*; The King would ſcarce hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambaſſador out of *England*, and thought of nothing but revenge.

The King of Scots will not admit the Queens Meſſenger, and threatens revenge.

But the Queen ſtill laying the fault upon *Davyſon*, and the unadviſed credulity of her Counſellors, by little and little allayeth his paſſion; and expecting till time had ſomewhat aſſwaged his grief, that it would indure to be touched, at length by her Agents in *Scotland*, and ſoon after by the Lord *Hunſdon* Gouernour of *Berwick*, ſhe admoniſhed him, How dangerous it would be for him, to break out into War againſt *England*, and what little help he could juſtly expect from either *Spain* or *France*; but if he perſiſted in amity with *England*, he might be ſure the Queen of *England* would moſt lovingly account him for her Son. And to the end that he ſhould aſſure himſelf, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, ſhe ſent him the ſentence againſt *Davyſon*,

Queen Elizabeth ſeeks to pacifie him, and by what reaſons.

son, under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attested under the Great Seal of *England*; and another Instrument likewise signed with the hands of the Judges of *England*; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of *Scots*, could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Drake is sent to the Coast of *Spain*, and what mischiefs he did the King.

Having now by these and the like courses somewhat assuaged the King of *Scots* indignation; to prevent the War which they foresaw was imminent from the King of *Spain*, they send forth *Drake* with four of the Queens Ships and others, unto the Coast of *Spain*, to set upon their Ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition. *Drake* entring into the Port of *Cales*, sunk, took, and fired about an hundred Ships, wherein was great store of Munition and Victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St. *Vincent*, he set upon three Forts, and compelled them to yield. Thence setting sail to the Western Islands, called *Azores*, under the great Meridian; by great good fortune he happened upon an huge and wealthy Carack, called St. *Philip*, returning from the *East-Indies*, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of *Philip*, portended no good luck to *Philip* King of *Spain*.

And the like also did *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*.

At the same time, *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk*, in the other part of the World, who two years before had set sail from *England* with three Ships, passing through the Straights of *Magellan*, in the Coast of *Chily*, *Peru*, and *Nova Hispania*, fired a great number of *Spanish* Towns, took and pillaged Nineteen great Ships, and amongst them a wealthy Ship of the Kings nigh unto *Caliphornia*, in North *America*; and so by the *Philippine* Isles, the *Molucces*, the Cape *de Bone Esperance*, and the Island of St. *Helene*, returned home the next year, being the third after *Magellan*, that sailed about the World.

York and *Stanley* in the *Low-Countries* perfidiously deliver up Towns to the *Spaniards* and their ends.

As *Drake* and *Cavendish* at this time gained great fame and renown; so two other men in the *Netherlands* (*Stanley* and *York*) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This *York* was a *Londoner*, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing first into *England*, the manner of turning the point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the *English* till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of *Leicester*, fled away, and for a time, served under the *Spaniards* in the *Netherlands*, till at length being reconciled to *Leicester*, he was set over the Fort near *Zutphen*; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one *Stanley*, who with great valour had served in an *Irish* Expedition, to yield up *Daventry* to the *Spaniards*, a Wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The *Spaniards* set *York* and *Stanley* at variance, they poyson *York*, and seize upon his goods, his Carcass was three years after digged up by the States Commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; *Stanley* went into *Spain*, where there was no credit given to him; for the *Spaniards* have a saying, It is lawful to give honour to a Traytor sometimes, but never to trust him.

Upon the complaint of the *States*, against the Earl of *Leicester*, the Lord *Buckhurst* is sent to examine his doings.

These late Treacheries wrought the Earl of *Leicester* much Envy with the Confederate *Netherlands*, because the Traytors were very intimate with him; whereupon the *States* in large letters to the Queen, accuse *Leicester* for his ill managing of the Weal publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accrewed by *York* and *Stanley*. The Queen, for the narrow sifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither *Thomas Sackvile*, Lord *Buckhurst* (lately taken into her Privy Councel in *Leicesters* absence) *Norris*, and *Bartholomew Clerk*: But when the officious diligence of *Buckhurst*, seemed to trench upon *Leicesters* Reputation; his grace with the Queen proved so forcible, that *Buckhurst* at his return, was for certain moneths confined to his house.

Afterward *Sluce* being beleaguered by the Prince of *Parma*, *Leicester* was by the *States* sent for out of *England*, to succour it; the Town was furiously assaulted with Seventeen thousand great shot, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless *Roger Williams*, *Francis Vere*, *Nicholas Baskervile*, with the Garrison of the *English* and *Walloons*, valiantly defended for a while, but at last were enforced to yield it up; *Leicester*, that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the *States* would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize *Leyden*, and some other Towns into his own hands, and had a purpose to surprise the absolute Government. Whereupon the *States* used means, that *Leicester* was called home; give up the Government to the *States*, and in his room succeeded *Maurice* of *Nassaw* Son to the Prince of *Orange*, being now but twenty years of age. *Peregrine* Lord *Willoughby*, was by the Queen made General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, to whom she give command to reduce the *English* Factions into the *States* obedience; the which, with the help of Prince *Maurice*, he easily effected.

Leicester is called home, and gives up the Government to the *States*.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusation was preparing against him by *Buckhurst* and others, for his unfaithfull managing of Affairs in *Holland*; privately with tears he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreating her, that she should not receive him with disgrace at his return, whom she had sent forth in honour; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeling down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick Instructions which he had received, were limited with private restriction; and making his appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole crimination, with the secret indignation of his Adversaries.

Being called to examination before the Lords of the Councel, how he eludes it.

How the Honour of *Abergavenny* came to the Family of *Nevil*.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Personages: In the moneth of *February*, dyed *Henry Nevill* Lord of *Aburgaveny*, great Grandchild to *Edward Nevil*, who in the Reign of King *Henry* the Sixth, got his Title in the right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to *Richard Beauchamp* Earl of *Worcester*, and Lord of *Aburgaveny*;

gaveny; In which right, when as the only Daughter of this *Henry*, Wife to Sir *Thomas Fane*, challenged the Title of Baroneſs of *Aburgaveny*, a memorable Contention aroſe concerning the Title between her, and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the ſame confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Caſtle of *Aburgaveny* was bequeathed. This queſtion being a long time debated; at laſt in a Parliament holden in the Second year of King *James*, the matter was tryed by Voyces; and the Heir male carried the Lordſhip of *Aburgaveny*; and the Barony *Le Diſpencer*, was ratified to the Female. This year alſo in the moneth of *April*, dyed *Anne Stanhope*, Dutcheſs of *Somerſet*, Ninety years old, who being the Wife of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerſet* and Protector of *England*, contended for Precedency with *Katherine Parre*, Queen Dowager to King *Henry* the Eighth. There dyed alſo Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, the laſt Banneret of *England*, with which Dignity he was adorned at the Battel of *Muſſelborough* in *Scotland*. After him dyed *Thomas Bromley* Lord Chancellor of *England*; and ſix days after, he, whom the Queen meant ſhould have ſucceeded him, *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*; but he now failing, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* was made Lord Chancellour, who though he were a Courtier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honeſt man, thought him not unfit for the Place, where Conſcience hath, or ſhould have more place than Law: Although ſome were of Opinion, That it was not ſo much the Queens own choice, as that ſhe was perſwaded to it by ſome that wiſht him not well; both thereby to be a cauſe of abſenting him from the Court, and thinking that ſuch a ſedentary place, to a corpulent man that had been uſed to exerciſe, would be a means to ſhorten his life; and indeed he lived not full out three years after.

Anne Stanhope Dutcheſs of *Somerſet* dyes, of great age.

Sir *Ralph Sadler* dies, the laſt Banneret of *England*.

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* is made Lord Chancellor.

This year Sir *John Perrot* was called home out of *Ireland*, and left all in great quiet to *Fitz Williams* his Succeſſor. For hitherto the *Engliſh* found it no hard matter to vanquiſh the *Iriſh*, by reaſon of their unskilfulneſs in Arms; eight hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe, was held an invincible Army: but after by *Perots* command, they were exerciſed in Feats of Arms, and taught to diſcharge Muskets at a Mark, and had in the *Low-Countries* learned the Art of Fortification, they held the *Engliſh* better to it, and were not ſo eaſily overcome.

1588.

And now we are come to the one and twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, being the year 1588, long before ſpoken of by Aſtrologers, to be a wonderfull year, and even the Climacterical year of the World. And yet the greateſt Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that *Spain* provided for invading of *England*, if the defeat of that wonderfull Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*, the King of *Spain* ſends his great Armado againſt *England*.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Spain*; and the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Crofts*, *Dale* and *Rogers* Doctors of Law, Commiſſioners for the Queen; for the Prince of *Parma*, the Count *Aurenberg*, *Champignie*, *Richardot*, *Mais*, and *Garvyer*, Doctors, had many meetings about it, neer to *Oſtend*; but it ſeemed on the part of *Spain*, rather to make the *Engliſh* ſecure, that they ſhould not make proviſion for War, than that they had any purpoſe of reall proceeding ſeeing they accepted not of any reaſonable Conditions that were offered, but trifled out the time, till the *Spaniſh* Navy was come upon the Coaſt, and the Ordinance heard from Sea, and then diſmiſſed the *Engliſh* Delegates.

Of what number of Ships the Armado conſiſted: and who was General.

The *Spaniſh* Navy conſiſted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereof Galeaſſes and Galleons ſeventy two, goodly Ships, like to floating Towers; in which were Souldiers 19290; Mariners, 8350; Gally ſlaves, 2080; Great Ordnance, 2630; For the greater holineſſe of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apoſtles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was *Don Alphonſo*, Duke of *Medina*; and next to him, *John Martine Recalde*, a great Sea-man. The twentieth of *May* they weighed Anchor from the River *Tagus*, but were by Tempeſt ſo miſerably diſperſt, thtt it was long ere they met again: but then they ſent before to the Prince of *Parma*, That he with his Forces, conſiſting of fifty thouſand old Souldiers, ſhould be ready to joyn with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into *England*, and to land his Army at the Thames Mouth.

The Queens preparation both by Sea and land to reſiſt it.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord Admirall, with all her Navy, and Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral, were to be ready at *Plimouth*; and the Lord *Henry Seymer*, (ſecond Son to the Duke of *Somerſet*) with forty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Ships, to keep the Coaſts of the *Netherlands*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma*'s coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coaſt, twenty thouſand Souldiers, and two Armies beſides of Trained men were levyed; over one of which, conſiſting of a thouſand Horſe, and two and twenty thouſand Foot, the Earl of *Leiceſter* commanded, and pitched his Tents at *Tilbury*, near the *Thames* mouth: Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Perſon, and conſiſting of four and twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe, the Lord *Hunſdon* was Generall. *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Frances Knolles*, Sir *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, Sir *Roger Williams*, and other Military men, were choſen to make a councel of War, and conſult how the Land ſervice ſhould be ordered. Theſe declared amongſt other things, That the places which lay fitteſt for the Enemies landing, as *Milford*-haven, *Falmouth*, *Plimouth*, *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, the *Downs*, the *Thames* mouth, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*, and ſuch other, ſhould be fortified with Works and Gariſons; the Trained Souldiers of thoſe Shires, which lay near the Sea Coaſt, ſhould defend thoſe places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to ſpoil the Conntry round about, that he might find no Food; and by continual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no reſt, but yet ſhould not give Battel, till good ſtore of Commanders were come together.

Many Papiſts are committed to cuſtody in *Wisbych* Caſtle.

At this time many fearing the Papiſts at home, no leſſe than the *Spaniards* abroad, perſwaded the Queen to take off the heads of ſome of the greateſt of them; but ſhe deteſting ſuch cruelty, took order only, That ſome of them ſhould be committed to cuſtody to *Wisbych* Caſtle.

And

And now all things on both sides prepared, the *Spaniſh* Navy ſet forth out of the *Groyn* in *May*, but was diſperſed and driven back by weather. The *Engliſh* Navy ſet forth ſomewhat later out of *Plimouth*, bearing up towards the Coaſt of *Spain*; but partly by occaſion of contrary winds, partly by advertiſement that the *Spaniards* were gone back, and upon ſome doubt alſo that they might paſs by towards the Coaſt of *England*, whileſt they were ſeeking them afar off, they returned to *Plimouth*: At which time, a confident (though falſe) advertiſement came to the Admiral, That the *Spaniards* could not poſſibly come forward that year: whereupon the *Engliſh* Navy was upon the point of diſbanding, and many of the men were gone on ſhore, when ſuddenly the invincible *Armada* (for ſo it was called in a *Spaniſh* oſtentation) was diſcovered upon the Weſtern Coaſt; whereof the Lord-Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queens Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he haled it forth. The next day, the *Engliſh* beheld the *Spaniſh* Ships, in height like to Caſtles, ſayling ſlowly along, whom they ſuffered peaceably to paſs by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of *July*, the Admiral of *England* ſent a Pinnace before, called *The Defiance*, which by a great ſhot, challenged the *Spaniards* to fight, and by and by they fell to it. Then *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbiſher*, let fly againſt the outmoſt Squadron, which *Recalde* commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for ſuccour. The night following, a mighty *Byſcayner* of *Oquenda*'s (in which the King of *Spains* Treaſure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other Ships ſent to her ſuccour; one of which Ships, was the Galeon of *Don Pedro*, whom Sir *Francis Drake* took Priſoner, and ſent him to *Dartmouth*. The *Biskayner* it ſelf (the Treaſure being taken out by the *Spaniards*) they left behind them, which the *Engliſh* brought into the Haven at *Weymouth*.

The two Fleets encounter; and the paſſages and events of it.

The three and twentieth day of this Moneth they had a ſecond fight, in which moſt of the *Spaniſh* ſhot flew over the *Engliſh* Ships, and never hurt them; Only *Cock* an *Engliſh* man, being with his little Veſſel in the midſt of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they reſted on both ſides; in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The firſt he ruled himſelf, *Drake* the ſecond, *Hawkins* the third, and *Forbiſher* the fourth.

The five and twentieth day (which was Saint *James*'s day) they fell to it the third time; in which Fight, the *Engliſh* had again the better, ſo as after this time, the *Spaniards* would no more turn upon the *Engliſh*, but holding on their courſe, diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Prince of *Parma*; requiring him forthwith to joyn himſelf to the Kings Fleet, and withall to ſend them Bullets.

The day following, the Lord Admiral Knighted *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Sheffield*, *Roger Townſend*, *John Hawkins*, and *Martin Forbiſher*; and holding a Councel of War, they decreed not to ſet again upon the Enemy, till they came to the ſtraight of *Calice*, where the Lord *Henry Seymor* and Sir *William Winter* waited for their coming. And now ſo far were the *Engliſh* from being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of ſpecial note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecill*, *Henry Brook*, Sir *Charles Blunt*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *William Hatton*, Sir *Robert Cary*, Sir *Ambroſe Willoughby*, Sir *Thomas Gerard*, Sir *Arthur Gorge*, and others.

The ſeven and twentieth of *July*, towards the Evening, the *Spaniards* caſt Anchor near unto *Calice*, and not far from them rode the *Engliſh* Admiral, within ſhot of a great Ordnance, to whom *Seymor* and *Winter* joyned themſelves: ſo as by this time there were in the *Engliſh* Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and ſerviceable for fighting or Sayling, yet only Fifteen of them bore the ſtroke of the Battell. And now again the *Spaniards* ſent Poſt after Poſt to the Prince of *Parma* to ſend them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmiſh with the *Engliſh*, by reaſon of the greatneſs and unwieldineſs of their Ships, and importune him preſently to put to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks, and leaked; and beſides, the *Hollanders* hovered before the Ports of *Dunkerk* and *Newport*, in ſuch ſort, that he durſt not look forth.

The Prince of Parma is unprepared to put to Sea.

The eight and twentieth day, the Lord-Admiral made ready eight of his worſt Ships, on the out-ſide dawbed with Wilde-fire, Rozin and Brimſtone, within full of combuſtible matter, and under the Conduct of *Young* and *Prouſe*, ſent them down with the winde in the ſilent time of the night, towards the *Spaniſh* Fleet; the which when the *Spaniards* ſaw approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire; imagining withall, that thoſe Fire-ſhips might carry in them ſome murthering Engine; they made a hideous noiſe, took up Anchors, cut Cables, ſpread Sailes, and betook themſelves to their Oars, but more to flight: One of the *Spaniſh* Galeaſſes having loſt her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by *Amias Preſton*, *Thomas Gerard*, and *Harvie*, who ſlew Captain *Hugh Moncada*, caſt the Souldiers over boord, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Veſſel and Ordnance was wreck to the Governour of *Calice*.

A ſtratagem uſed by the Engliſh Admiral.

Drake and *Fenner* in the mean while perceiving the *Spaniſh* Fleet to gather together again before *Graveling*, ſet upon them with great violence, to whom ſtraightwayes *Fenton*, *Southwell*, *Beeſton*, *Croſſe*, and *Riman* joyn themſelves, and ſoon after the Admiral himſelf, Sir *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*; the Galeon called Saint *Matthew*, was ſorely battered by *Seymor* and *Winter*, driven toward *Oſtend*, and ſet upon again by the *Zealanders*, and at laſt was taken by the *Fluſhingers*.

And now the *Spaniſh* Navy having want of many neceſſaries, and no hope of the Prince of *Parma*'s coming, they reſolved to return Northward for *Spain*; in which paſſage they loſt both many Ships and men, the *Engliſh* Navy ſtill following them cloſe, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powder. Whileſt theſe things paſſed at Sea, the Queen in Perſon came to *Tilbury*, to view the Army and Camp there, where

The Spaniſh Navy returns home.

The Queen in perſon comes to Tilbury to the Army.

where she shewed such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the spirits of them all.

And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the space of a Moneth was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being slain, more than half of their Ships taken and sunk (of the *English* not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but *Cocks* little Vessel) and sayling about all *Brittain* by *Scotland*, the *Orkeneys* and *Ireland*, they returned into *Spain* with as much dishonour as they came out with boasting, for indeed *Mendoza* in *France* by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

Queen *Elizabeth* comes to *Pauls*, and gives publick thanks to God for this Victory.

For the happy successe of this Action, Queen *Elizabeth* appointed Prayers and Thanksgiving over all the Churches in *England*, and she (as it were in Triumph) came in Person, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God. And that which increased the publick joy, was the News which Sir *Robert Sidney* brought out of *Scotland*, That the King had over-past all injuries, was lovingly affected towards the *English*, and desired to imbrace sincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of *Spain*, he wittily told the Embassadour, that he expected no other curtesie from him, but such as *Polyphemus* promised *Ulysses*, that he should be the last whom he would devour.

The King of *Scots* is reconciled to the Queen.

The Earl of *Leicester* dies.

And now dyed the great Earl of *Leicester* the fourth day of *September*, at his Mannor of *Killingworth*, of a violent Feaver; I may well say the great Earl, considering the many great Honors he injoyed, which are extant in the Story; yet one honour greater than he had before, he effected even then when he was ready to go out of the World, and that was, To be Vice-gerent in the high Government of *England* and *Ireland*, for which the Patent was already drawn, and had been sealed, but that *Burleigh* and *Hatton* shewed the Queen how dangerous a thing it might prove, for so great Authority to reside in one Subject. He was while he lived in so great favour with the Queen, that some thought (and himself not the least) that she meant to marry him; yet when he dyed, his Goods were sold at an Out-cry to make payment of the Debts he oved her.

Philip Earl of *Arundel* is cited to be tryed by his Peers, by whom he is condemned, but the Queen spares his life.

About this time *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, who three years before had been cast in prison, was now cited in *Westminster*-Hall, to the Judgment of his Peers, and *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made High Steward of *England* for the time. The matters laid to his Charge were these: That he had contracted friendship with Cardinal *Allen*, *Parsons* the Jesuite, and other Traytors, exciting divers both abroad and at home to restore the *Romish* Religion, promising his assistance thereunto: and for that reason had a purpose to depart the Kingdom. That he was privy to the Bull, in which Pope *Sixtus Quintus* had deposed the Queen, and given *England* to the *Spaniard*; That being imprisoned in the Tower, he caused Masse to be said for the prosperous successe of the *Spanish* Fleet, and for that purpose had framed peculiar Prayers for his own private use. Being demanded whether he were guilty of these things; turning himself to the Judges, he asked them these questions: First, whether it were lawful to heap up so many Crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answered, that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from presumptions were of force? They answered, that it was lawful for him to interpose exceptions, if he saw cause. Then again, if he might be Arraigned for those things which were Capital, by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expressed in the Act was expired? They promised, they would proceed against him by no Law, but the old Statute of Treason, made in the Reign of King *Edward* the third. But now again asked, if he were guilty or not? he pleaded, Not Guilty; whereupon *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law, *Popham* Attorney-General, *Shuttleworth* Serjeant at Law, and *Egerton* the Queens Sollicitor, in their turns, urged and proved the Crimes objected; some whereof he denyed, some he extenuated; but in conclusion, was by his Peers found guilty, and condemned; yet the Queen spared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the Papists.

1589.

Norris and *Drake* undertake an expedition into *Spain*, to set D. *Antonio* in his Kingdom of *Portugal*, but prevailed not, and why.

It was now in the year 1589. and the two and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when to be in some sort revenged of the *Spaniards* for their Invasion, she gave leave to Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* to undertake an Expedition at their own private Charges, requiring nothing of her but a few Ships of War, who took along with them *Anthony* the Bastard, laying Claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and of Souldiers to the number of eleven thousand, of Seamen about fifteen hundred: setting sayl from *Plimouth* the fifth day of *April*, they arrived at the Groyne in *Galizia*; whereof with great valour they took first the Lower Town, and afterward the Higher, and from thence Sayling towards *Portugal*, they met *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, who without the Queens leave had put to Sea: After two days they arrive at *Penycha* a Town of *Portugal*, which they took; and left the Castle to *Don Antonio*, and from thence they march by Land towards *Lisbon* threescore miles off: The Foot Companies led by *Norris*, whom *Drake* promised to follow with the Fleet; being come to the West Suburbs of *Lisbon*, they found no body there but a few poor disarmed *Portugals*, who cryed out, *God save King Antonio*. The day following the *Spaniards* made a sally out, in which Skirmish, *Bret*, *Caresly* and *Carre* (stout Commanders) were slain; yet did the Earl of *Essex* drive the *Spaniards* to the very Gates of the City. And now having tarryed here two days, and seeing no sign of the *Portugals* revolting; which *Don Antonio* had assured them would be, finding fresh Supplies come into the Town, their own Army sickly, Victuals and Powder failing; and which was most of all, Sir *Francis Drake* not bringing the great Ordnance as he promised, they departed from the Suburbs of *Lisbon* towards *Cascais*, a little Town at the mouth of the River *Tagus*, which Town *Drake* had taken this mean while, who excused his not coming to *Lisbon*, by reason of the Flats he must have passed, and the Castle of Saint *Julian* Fortified with fifty pieces of great Ordnance. Near this place they found three-

threescore Hulks of the Hanse Towns of *Germany*, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize towards their Charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Victuals or Munition to the *Spaniard*. From hence they set sayl to *Virgo*, a forlorn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all along that Quarter, returned for *England*, having lost in the Voyage of Souldiers and Mariners about six thousand; yet not so much by the Enemy, as by eating of strange Fruits, and distemper of the Climate.

It concerns the state of *England*, to look at this time into the state of *France*, for while those things were in doing between *Spain* and *England*, the Popish Princes of *France*, under pretext of defending the Catholick Religion, entred into a Combination, which they called, *The holy League:* The purpose whereof was, to root out the Protestants, and to divert the Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*; For they bound themselves to each other by Oath, to suffer no person but a Catholick to be King of *France*; which was directly to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*, if the present King without Issue-male should fail. The head of this League was the Duke of *Guise*, who having given some overthrows to the *German* Forces that came into *France* in aid of the Protestants, was immeasurably extolled by the Clergy and others; and grew to such a height of reputation, that entring into *Paris*, he made the King glad to leave the City, and in an Assembly at *Bloys*, to make him great Master of the *French* Cavallery, and to consent by Edict, to the cutting off the Protestants. So as the King standing now in fear of him, used means at last, even in the very Court, to have him murthered; and soon after, the Cardinal his Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a confusion followed, that the people every where disobeyed the Magistrates, and spoyled the Kings very Palace at *Paris*. Some Cities affected a Democracy, others an Aristocracy, but few liked of a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean while made a new Seal, usurped the Royal Authority, seized into their hands the best fortified places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in *Spanish* Souldiers, and in all places denounce war and violence against the King. And the King in this case being forced to fly to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one *James Clement* a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor, but the Confederates would exclude him as an open Heretick; and yet whom to make choice of they cannot well agree; some would have the Duke of *Lorrain*, as being descended from the ancient Kings of *France*; some the Duke of *Savoy*, as born of the *French* Kings Daughter, a Prince Potent and Couragious; others would have the Duke of *Guises* Brother that was murthered; others the King of *Spain*; but the greatest part gave their Voyces for the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was one degree nearer allyed to the slain King, than the King of *Navarre* his Nephew. He therefore was proclaimed King of *France*, with the Title of *Charles* the Tenth; but he being a Priest, the King of *Navarre* also was at the same time proclaimed King of *France*, who abode at *Diepe*, a Sea-Town in *Normandy*, and doubted not to drive the Cardinal easily out of *France*.

A combination, called the Holy League, is made in *France*.

The head of this League was the Duke of *Guise*.

Whom the King for his insolent carriage, caused to be murthered in the very Court.

The Confederates make a New Seal, and usurp the Royal Authority.

The King is murthered by a Monk.

Being ready to die, he declareth the King of *Navarre* to be his lawful Successor.

The Cardinal of *Bourbon* is proclaimed King of *France*, and at the same time also, the King of *Navarre*.

The King of *Navarre* is aided by Queen *Elizabeth*, both with money and men.

The King of *Navarre* being thus raised in Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the Queen of *England*, offering to make a League Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a pious respect to a King of her own Religion, sent him presently two and twenty thousand pound sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he professed he had never seen at one time before) and withall supplyed him with four thousand Souldiers, under the Command of *Peregine* Lord *Willoughby*; for Colonels, she appointed Sir *Thomas Wilford*, who was made Marshal of the Field, *John Boroughs*, Sir *William Drury*, and Sir *Thomas Baskervyle*, and gave them a moneths pay in hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the King had vanquished a little before at *Argues* beyond all expectation) began to quail, and the day before the arrival of the *English*, they vanished away: with this addition of Forces, the King marcheth to *Paris*, and being ready to enter the City, caused a retreat to be sounded, as loath to have spoil made of a City, which he hoped shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the assistance of the *English* he won many Towns, and then having marched at least five hundred miles on foot, he gave them leave after a long Winters service, to return into *England*. In which Voyage of men of note, died Captain *Hunnings*, but of a natural death, also *Stubbs* (he whose right hand was cut off for writing the Book against the Queens marriage) and Sir *William Drury* slain by Master *Boroughs* in a single Combat, where the quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would take place of *Boroughs* that was the younger Son of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the *English* Gentry.

Sir *William Drury* is slain by Mr. *Boroughs* in a single combar, upon a quarrel of taking place, the one being a Knight, the other a Barons younger Son.

About this time, *James* King of *Scots* (with Queen *Elizabeths* good liking) espoused *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick* the second King of *Denmark* by his Deputy; but she afterward sayling for *Scotland*, was by tempest cast upon *Norway*, and there, through continual storms forced to stay, so as the King in the Winter-season set sayl thither, that the marriage according to his vow might be accomplished within the year: some were of opinion, that those storms were caused by witchcraft, and was confirmed indeed by some Witches taken in *Scotland*; who confessed they had raised those storms to keep the Queen from landing in *Scotland*, and that the Earl *Bothwell* had asked Counsell of them concerning the Kings end; who was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time breaking loose, occasioned new stirs in *Scotland*.

James King of *Scots* marries *Anne* the King of *Denmarks* Daughter.

This year many Noble personages dyed; *Frances* Countess of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor and Vice-Treasurer of the Exchequer, *William Somerset* Earl of *Worcester*, so numerous in his off-spring, that he could reckon more children of both Sexes, than all the Earls of *England*. Also *John* Lord *Sturton*, *Henry* Lord *Compton*, and at *Bruxels* the Lord *Paget*.

Many great Personages die.

William Somerset Earl of *Worcester*, his numerous issue.

At this time, the Queen who was alwayes frugal, strained one point of Frugality more than ever she had done before; for upon the information of one *Caermarden*, (though *Leicester*, *Burleigh*, and *Walsingham* were offended, that credit

Customer *Smith* is raised in his Farm of the Customs, and how much.

should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected) she raised *Thomas Smith* the Customer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, & at last to fifty thousand.

1590.

It was now the year 1590, and the three and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, in which the Earl of *Cumberland* made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Fort of the Isle of *Fiala*, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of great Ordnance.

Many Noble Personages die.

This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first dyed *Ambrose Dudley* Earl of *Warwick*, (Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland* without Issue. After him Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, than in the Oeconomicks; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State, than of his own private estate, which he left so mean, and dyed so much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedral Church of Saint *Paul*; leaving behind him one only Daughter, famous for her three Husbands, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first, Sir *Philip Sidney*; the second, *Robert* Earl *Essex*; the third, *Richard Burgh* Earl of *Clanriccard*, by King *Charles* made Earl of Saint *Albans*. Within two Moneths after *Walsingham*, died Sir *Thomas Randoll*, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassage to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Postmastership of *England*. Soon after him dyed Sir *John Crofts*, who had done good service in *Scotland*, in *Edward* the Sixths time; in Queen *Marie's* time was condemned of High Treason; in Queen *Elizabeths* time set at liberty, and made Comptroller of her house. After him died *George Talbot*, the seventh Earl of *Shrewsbury* of this House; He was made Earl-Marshal of *England*, and left behind him a memorial of Wisdom and Integrity. Lastly died *Thomas* Lord *Wentworth*, the last of the *English* that had been Governour of *Calice*.

Sir *Francis Walsingham* dies.

Some disturbances in *Ireland*, but soon composed.

In *Ireland* at this time *Hugh Gaveloc* (so called, because he had been long kept in Fetters) the natural Son of *Chain O Neale*, accused *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, for holding private consultations with certain *Spaniards*, who in 88 were by Ship-wrack cast upon the coast of *Ireland*: *Tir-Oen* to prevent the Accusation, took the said *Hugh*, and when others refused to do it, took a cord, and with his own hands strangled him. Hereupon he was sent for into *England*, and came, and upon pardon obtained, solemnly undertook in presence of the Queen at *Greenwich*, to maintain the peace with *Turlogh Leynigh*; Not to usurp the Title of *O-Neale*, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of *Tir-Oen* to the form of a County, and civil behaviour, and many such matters; giving Hostages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, *Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon*, a Potentate in the Territory of *Monagan*, compelled those under his jurisdiction to pay him Tribute; whereupon the Deputy caused him to be taken, and tryed by a Jury of common-Souldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain *English*, and some of the *Mac-Mahons*, reserving a certain yearly Rent to the Crown of *England*, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Title of *Mac-Mahon*. But hereupon, *O Rork* fearing that he should be served in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom *Bingham* President of *Connaght* soon distressed, and drave into *Scotland*, and at the Queens request, was by the King delivered up into his hands.

1591.

It was now the year 1591. and the four and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when she, careful lest *Britany* should come into the *Spaniards* hands, sent *Edmund York* into *France*, to advertise the King to take care thereof; and promising to send him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named *Cherburg*, *Granvile* or *Brest*, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand *English* should be sent into *Britany* and *Picardy*; but in the mean time, *Henry Palmer* was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who seized upon thirteen *Spanish* Ships, as they were returning from *Nova Francia*. And now *Roger Williams*, with a Company of six hundred Souldiers, passeth over to *Diepe* in *Normandy*; and Sir *John Norris*, with the rest of the Forces, hasted into *Britany* soon after. *Roger Williams* with his own six hundred, and the help of *Charter* Governour of *Diepe*, put to rout the Confederates, that had blocked up the passages; whose valour, the *French* King in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more couragious, and not minding his Charge, which was to stay at *Diepe*, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of *Paris*, where, in honour of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the *Spaniards*, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the *English*, and a hundred Musque-teers, with as many *Spaniards*, in open Field.

Sir *Roger Williams* extolled by the King to *France*.

After this, the King of *France* acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpose to set upon *Roan* or *New-haven*, before the Prince of *Parma* should come into *France*, and thereupon requested her, to send four thousand *English* into *Normandy*, which upon certain conditions she willingly did, and sent them under the Command of *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, accompanied with Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *William Killegrew* as his Counsellours. When the Earl came into *France*, he found that the King was at *Noyon*, and in *Normandy* no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by Sir *Roger Williams* comes to him from the King, requesting him to come to *Noyon*, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey, and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into *Champagine*; but promiseth to send Marshall *Biron*, and the Duke of *Montpensier* forthwith to him, to lay siege to *Roan*. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expecting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before; so as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to *Roan*, where his Brother *Walter Devereux* was unfortunately slain. Indeed the affairs of the King of *France* were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something still intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen

Robert Earl of *Essex* is sent with an Army to aid the King of *France*.

Queen of *England*, and by the mediation of the Earl, and *Mornay* Lord *du Pleſſie*, whom to that end he ſent into *England*, obtained new ſupplies, and then beſieged *Roan*.

Hackets prodigious carriage.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriage of one *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, a mean fellow of no learning, whoſe firſt prank was this; That when, in ſhew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his Noſe, and the man deſiring to have his Noſe again, that it might be ſowed on, while the wound was green, he moſt villanouſly eat it up, and ſwallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a ſudden, he took upon him a ſhew of wonderful holineſs, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Miniſters, and ſpecially of one *Edward Coppinger*, (a Gentleman of a good Houſe) and one *Arthington*, a great admirer of the *Geneva* Diſcipline; that they accounted him as ſent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than *Moſes* or *John Baptiſt*; and finally, that he was Chriſt himſelf, come with a fan in his hand, to judge the World. And this they proclaimed in *Cheapſide*; giving out that *Hacket* participated of Chriſts glorified body, by his eſpecial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Goſpel over *Europe*, and to ſettle a true Diſcipline in the Church of *England*; and that they themſelves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment; with many other ſuch incredible Blaſphemies; whereupon *Hacket* was apprehended and arraigned; and at laſt, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time, and at his death, his blaſphemous Aſſertions, *Coppinger* a while after ſtarved himſelf to death in Priſon, *Arthington* repented, and made his Recantation in a publick writing.

He takes upon him to be Chriſt.

The calling of Biſhops at this time cryed down by ſome; but maintained by the Queen.

Beſides theſe, others alſo at this time oppoſed the eſtabliſhed Government of the Church of *England*, crying down the calling of Biſhops, with whom ſided ſome Common Lawyers alſo, affirming, that the Queen could not depute, nor theſe men exerciſe any ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, and that the Oath *Ex Officio* was unchriſtian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the ſides of the Prelates, ſhe her ſelf was ſhot at, ſuppreſſed them what ſhe could, and maintained the Government formerly eſtabliſhed.

The great ſhip called the *Revenge*, is taken by the *Spaniards*.

About this time, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, ſix of the Queens ſhips having waited at the *Azores* ſix whole Moneths, for the coming of the *Spaniſh* Fleet from *America*, was at laſt ſet upon by *Alphonſo Baſſano*, with three and fifty ſhips, ſent out for the Convoy of the *American* Fleet, where *Richard Greenvile* Vice-Admiral, being in the *Revenge*, and ſeparated from his company, was ſo hemmed in by the *Spaniſh* ſhips, and ſo battered with great ſhot, that moſt of his men being ſlain, his Main-maſt cut off, himſelf ſore wounded in the head, he commanded to ſink the Ship, that it might not come into the *Spaniards* hands; but this being countermanded by moſt voyces, it was agreed, to yield it to the *Spaniards*, upon condition that the men ſhould be ſet at liberty. *Greenvile* himſelf was carried into the *Spaniſh* Admiral, where within two dayes he dyed, not without praiſe of his very enemies; Thus the great Ship called the *Revenge*, was yielded, but had ſo many leaks in the Keel, that ſoon after it was caſt away in a ſtorm; and the loſſe of this one Ship ſoon made good upon the *Spaniards*, by taking many of theirs.

Sir *Richard Greenviles* valour.

Cavendiſh caſt away in the Straits.

About this time alſo, *Cavendiſh*, who in the year 1578. had ſailed round about the World, now with five Ships bent his courſe towards the *Magellan* Straits; but by reaſon of foul weather, was not able to paſſe them, and being driven to the coaſt of *Braſile*, was there caſt away.

And now, enmity increaſing daily between *Spain* and *England*, two Proclamations were ſet forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treaſon, to carry Victuals or Munition into any of the King of *Spains* Dominions: Another, forbidding all perſons to entertain any in their Houſes, till enquiry made, what they were, leſt they might entertain Popiſh Prieſts, who at this time came ſwarming into *England*, by reaſon the King of *Spain* had lately founded a Seminary at *Valadolid* for the *Engliſh*.

A Seminary for the *Engliſh* founded at *Valadolid* by the King of *Spain*.

At this time died Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Lord Chancellour, whom of a mean Gentlemans houſe, the Queens favour raiſed to this height of Dignity; a goodly perſonage of body, of Noble, but no aſpiring ſpirit; the onely of all the Queens ſpecial Favourites, that died a Batchelour; and therefore left *William Newport* his Siſters ſon his Heir, who erected for him in Saint *Pauls* Church, a ſumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Moneths committed to the Lord *Burleigh* Treaſurer, *Hunſdon*, *Cobham* and *Buckhurſt*: Afterward *Puckering* the Queens Serjeant at Law was elected, not Chancellour, but Keeper of the great Seal.

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* Lord Chancellour dies.

Puckering the Queens Serjeant at Law is made Lord-Keeper.

At this time alſo, *Brian O-Rork*, the *Iriſh* Potentate, was arraigned at *Weſtminſter*; his Indictments were, for raiſing Rebellion againſt the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horſe-tail, for giving the *Spaniards* entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he underſtood no *Engliſh*) he ſaid, He would not be tryed, unleſs the Queen her ſelf in perſon ſate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law, he only ſaid, If it muſt be ſo, let it be ſo; and ſo condemned, was executed at *Tyburn* as a Traytor, whereof he ſeemed to make as little reckoning, as if it had been but in jeſt. And now this year, the Queen made the Colledge of *Dublin* in *Ireland*, an Univerſity, which was formerly the Monaſtery of *All-Saints*, endowing it with power to confer Scholaſtical Dignities.

Brian O-Rork an *Iriſh* Potentate, condemned and hanged; and why.

The Colledge in *Dublin* made an Univerſity.

At this time, Sir *John Perot*, who had been Deputy of *Ireland*, and done good ſervice there, was yet by the malice of his Adverſaries, of whom *Hatton* was one, called in queſtion, before the Baron *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Robert Cecill* (lately made a Counſellour) Sir *John Forteſcue*, Sir *John Wolley*, and ſome of the Judges: His Accuſations were; Firſt, that he had ſpoken opprobrious words againſt the Queen, ſaying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had foſtered notorious Traytors, and Popiſh Prieſts; Thirdly, that he held correſpondence with the Prince of *Parma*, and the Queens enemies. To the firſt of which he confeſſed, that in his paſſion he had ſpoken of the Queen unadviſedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the reſt he denyed: And all men knew,

Sir *John Perot* arraigned, and condemned; and why. Yet his life was ſpared, and he died in the Tower.

knew, he was never Popishly affected. His Accusers were one *Philip Williams*, sometime his Secretary; *Denys O-Roghan* an *Irish* married Priest, whose life he had saved; and one *Walton*, a fellow of no worth or reputation. Yet the crimes being urged against him by *Popham* and other Lawyers, till eleven a clock at night; he was at last condemned of High-Treason, but Sentence was not pronounced till twenty dayes after; and yet was not put to death, but dyed a natural death in the Tower; he was a man of a goodly personage, stout and cholerick, and one whom (many thought) the Queen had the more reason to respect, for her Father King *Henry* the Eighths sake.

The Earl of *Essex* challengeth Monsieur *Villerse* to a single combat, but is refused.

The Earl of *Essex*, after a tedious Winters Siege in *Normandy*, challenged Monsieur *Villerse* Governour of *Roan* to a single combat; who refusing to meet him, he then returned into *England*, being called home by the Queen, whose favour, by his long absence, might else have suffered prejudice.

The Prince of *Parma* dies.

And now the King of *France*, hearing that the Prince of *Parma* was coming into *France*, once again was fain to flie to the Queen for succour, to whom, upon certain conditions, she granted an Army of four thousand men, and some great Ordnance, with which Sir *John Norris* was sent into *France*; whom yet the *French* King imployed not, as was agreed, to the great displeasure of the Queen. But as for the Prince of *Parma*'s coming into *France*, he was prevented by death, when he had governed the *Netherlands* under the *Spaniards* fourteen years; a Prince of many excellent parts, and whom Queen *Elizabeth* never mentioned but with honour.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* sent with 15 Ships against the *Spaniards*; and what he did.

And now Queen *Elizabeth* considering that the King of *Spains* chief strength was in his Gold of *America*, sends forth Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a Fleet of fifteen Ships to meet with the *Spanish* Fleet; who passing by a Promontory of *Spain*, received certain intelligence, that the *Spanish* Fleet was not come forth that year: Whereupon dividing his Navy into two parts; whereof the one he committed to Sir *John Boroughs*, the other to Sir *Martin Forbysher*; he waited other opportunities, when, soon after, a mighty Carque came in view, called *The Mother of God*, which from the Beak to the Stern, was a hundred threescore and five foot long, built with seven Decks, and carrying six hundred men, besides rich Merchandize. This great Vessel they took, and in it, to the value of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, over and above what the Commanders and Sea-men pilfered.

The Queen in her Progress goes to *Oxford*; her entertainment there, and her Counsel to the University.

This year, the Queen going in Progress, passed through *Oxford*, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Orations, Stage-Playes and Disputations; and by the Lord *Buckhurst* Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a *Latine* Oration, wherein she vowed a Vow, and gave them counsel: Her Vow was, That as she desired nothing so much, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, so she as much wished to see the Universities and Schools of learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would not prevent the Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already Enacted.

Anthony Brown Viscount *Montacute* dies, and how this honour came to his Family.

This year dyed *Anthony Brown* Viscount *Montacute*, whom Queen *Mary* honoured with this Title; because his Grand-mother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of *John Nevill* Marquess *Montacute*; who, though he were a great *Roman* Catholick, yet the Queen finding him faithful alway, loved him, and in his Sickness went to visit him. There dyed at this time also, *Henry* Lord *Scroop* of *Bolton*, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governour of the Western Borders toward *Scotland*.

Henry Barrow a seditious Sectary is put to death.

At this time *Henry Barrow*, and his Sectaries, condemning the Church of *England* to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in matters Ecclesiastical; he the said *Barrow*, as Ring-leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

About this time, by reason of the Queens correspondence with the *Turk*, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that she had excited the *Turk* to a War against the Christians; which caused the Queen to write to the Emperor, shewing him the falseness of this report, wherein she gave him full satisfaction.

The King of *France* embraceth the *Romish* Religion: and acquaints the Queen with the necessity of his doing it.

And now a constant report came into *England*, That the King of *France* had already embraced, or was ready to embrace the *Romish* Religion: which so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent *Thomas Wilkes* into *France*; with Reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before *Wilks* came, the King indeed had openly professed the *Romish* Religion at the Church of Saint *Denis* in *Paris*, of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to *Wilks* at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thrust out of the Kingdom. And the *French* Ambassadour signifying as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, she writ to him to this effect:

The Queens Letter to him, out of her sorrow for it.

Alas, what grief? what anxiety of minde hath befallen me, since I heard this news? was it possible that worldly respects should make you lay aside Gods fear? could you think, That he, who had hitherto upheld and kept you, would now at the last, leave you? It is a dangerous thing to do evil, that good may come thereof. But I hope your mind may alter; In the mean while, I will pray for you, and beg of God, That the hands of Esau, *may not hinder the blessing of* Jacob.

And the Kings Answer.

To this the King answered, That though he had done this in his own person out of necessity; yet he would never be wanting to those of the Reformed Religion, but would take them into his special care and Protection.

Richard Hacket condemned, and executed: and why.

And now was *Richard Hacket* condemned, and executed for Treason, being sent from the *English* Fugitives beyond Sea, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*, Son to *Henry* newly deceased, to assume the Title of the Kingdom, by right of Descent from *Mary*, Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh; and threatning him, that unless he undertook this enterprize, and withall, concealed him the Abbettor, he should shortly die in most wretched manner. But the Earl fearing a trap was laid for him, revealed the matter; yet the

Ferdinand Earl of *Derby* his horrible death.

fellows threatning proved not altogether vain, for the Earl within four Moneths dyed a most horrible death. This year, Death had his tribute paid from the Nobility; for there dyed *Henry Ratcliffe* Earl of *Sussex*, and three renowned Barons, *Arthur Grey* of *Wilton*, *Henry* Lord *Cromwel*, and *Henry* Lord *Wentworth*; besides Sir *Christopher Carlile*, whose Warlike Prowesse at Sea and Land, deserves to be remembred.

Tir-Oen in *Ireland* assumes to himself the title of *O-Neale*, more esteemed, than to be called Emperour.

In *Ireland*, at this time, divers great men in *Connaght* Rebelled; and *Turlogh Leynigh* being dead, *Tir-Oen* assumed to himself the Title of *O-Neale*, (which in *Ireland* is more esteemed, than to be called Emperour;) but upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the Deputy, and promised all Obedience.

1594.

It was now the year 1594. and the seven and thirtieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when the good correspondence between the King of *Scots* and Queen *Elizabeth*, gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to restore the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they began to bethink themselves of some *English* Papist, that might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of *Essex*, who alwayes seemed a very moderate man; and him they devised to have some right to the Crown, by Descent from *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, King *Edward* the Thirds Son. But the *English* Fugitives were for the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and desiring to set the King of *Scots* and the Earl of *Essex* at odds, they set forth a Book, which they Dedicated to *Essex*, under the name of *Doleman*, but was written indeed by *Parsons* (*Dolemans* bitter Adversary) Cardinal *Allen*, and *Francis Englefield*. The scope of which Book was, to exclude from Succession all persons whatsoever, and how near soever allied to the Crown, unless they were *Roman* Catholicks; Contending further, for the right of *Isabella*, *Infanta* of *Spain*, as being descended from *Constance*, Daughter of *William* the Conqueror; from *Eleanor* eldest Daughter to *Henry* the Second, married to *Alphonso* the ninth King of *Castile*; from *Beatrix*, Daughter to King *Henry* the third: Titles obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Heraldry to discusse. This year, the nineteenth of *February*, was *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* born, to whom the Queen was Godmother, and sent *Robert* Earl of *Sussex* for her Deputy.

The Papists think upon a Successor to the Queen. Some would have the Earl of *Essex*; and frame a Right to him by Descent.

The most are for the *Infanta* of *Spain*, as having divers just Titles.

Prince *Henry* of *Scotland* is born.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queens life; some *Spaniards* thinking to make her away by Poyson, and not daring to trust any *English* man in such a business, they treat to that purpose, with *Roderick Lopez* a *Jew*, and Physitian to the Queen, with *Stephen Ferreira*, *Emmanuel Loysie*, and other *Portugals*; for divers of that Nation came into *England* at this time, in relation to *Don Antonio*; who being discovered by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were Arraigned at *Guild-hall*, and by their own confessions convinced, to have conspired against the life of the Queen: they were all condemned, and Executed at Tyburn; *Lopez* professing that he loved the Queen as well as Jesus Christ: which was the cause of laughter to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned *Patrick Cullen* an *Irish* Fencer, sent hither by the *English* Fugitives, to kill the Queen, who was straightway executed, though he were at that very time sick and ready to die.

The *Spaniards* sent *Lopez* a Jew, and Physitian to the Queen to kill her, and how the matter was carryed.

He is executed at *Tyburn*.

About this time, Sir *John Norris* having been in a hot conflict at Sea against the *Spaniard*, where Sir *Martin Forbysher* received his deaths wound, was now called home, with a purpose to send him into *Ireland*. In which mean while, *Richard Hawkins* son of Sir *John Hawkins* the famous Sea Captain, had been set forth a year since, with three of the Queens ships, and two hundred men in them; whereof one of them at the Isle of St. *Anne* was by chance fired, another of them separated by tempest, returned into *England*; himself in the third, passed the Straights of *Magellan*, being the sixth man in the *Spanish* accompt, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five ships laden with Merchandize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered to redeem themselves for two thousand Duckats: But at last being set upon by *Bertrandus a Castro*, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those parts, with eight ships against him, after three days battery, he yielded, and though upon composition, yet was nevertheless sent into *Spain*, and there for divers years kept prisoner.

Richard Hawkins taken prisoner by the *Spaniards*.

But *James Lancaster* in another part of *America*, had better success; for being set forth by some *London* Merchants (whose goods the *Spaniards* had seized) with three Ships and a long Boat, he took nine and thirty *Spanish* Ships, and at *Fernanbucke* in *Brasile*, where the wealth of an *East-Indian* Caraque was lately unloaden; he desperately venturing upon the shoar, loaded fifteen ships with the wealth of the *Indian* Caraque: Sugar, Reed, Red-wood called Brasil, and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously returned home.

James Lancaster takes nine and thirty *Spanish* ships, and much rich Merchandize.

At *Rome*, about this time died Cardinal *Allen*, born in *Lancashire*, of an honest Family, brought up in *Oxford*, in *Orial* Colledge. In Queen *Maries* days he was Proctor of the University, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at *York*. Upon the change of Religion in *England*; he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at *Doway* in *Flanders*, and made Canon of the Church at *Cambray*. He procured a Seminary to be set up in *Doway* for the *English*; another at *Rheims*, and a third at *Rome*; and through zeal of the *Romish* Religion, forgot whose Subject he was born.

Cardinal *Allen* dies, and of his Education.

At home, at this time, died *John Peers* Archbishop of *York*, in whose place, succeeded *Matthew Hutton*, translated from the See of *Durham*. There died also *Ferdinand Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, being in the flower of his age, miserably tormented, and vomiting stuffe of a dark rusty colour, being thought to have been poysoned or bewitched. There was found in his Chamber a little Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thrust into the belly: which some thought was done of purpose, that men should not suspect him to be poysoned; his vomit so stained the silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in searclothes, and wrapped in lead, did so stink and putrifie, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Master of the Horse was much suspected, who the same day the Earl took his bed, took one of his best Horses, and fled away. About this time also died *Gregory Fines*, Lord

The strange death of *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby*.

Lord *Dacres*, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres*, hanged in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight.

William Russel is sent Deputy into *Ireland*, to whom *Tir-Oen* submits himself but dissemblingly.

And now Sir *William Fitz-Williams* Lord Deputy of *Ireland* was called home, and *William Russel* youngest Son of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, and in humble manner craved pardon of his fault, that he had not presented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. *Bagnal* Marshal of the *Irish* Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleaded for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the subdolousness of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kind messages.

1595.

It was now the year 1595. and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign; when *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who were formerly apprehended, came to their tryal, and were executed at *Tyburn*, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

Edmund York and *Richard Williams* executed for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant rumour was blown abroad from all parts of *Europe*, that the *Spaniards* were coming again against *England*, with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under sayl; whereupon, Souldiers were levyed, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them at home in the Chanel; the other to go for *America*, under *Hawkins* and *Drake*; but when all came to all, it was but certain *Spaniards*, who looosed from the Sea-coast of *France*, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in *Cornwal*, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, *Newlyne*, *Mousehole* and *Pensans*, and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person; And these were the first and last *Spaniards* that in hostile manner ever set Foot upon *English* ground.

A new rumor spread of a new Fleet of *Spaniards* to invade *England*, but false.

And now mischiefs growing daily in *France*, a great number perswaded the King, to conclude a Peace with *Spain*, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially, having lately received Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave; that he was received into the bosome of the Church of *Rome*, with the Popes Benediction, and upon conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs* Voyage to *Guyana*, and what he did.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the *English* against *Spain*; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Captain of the Guard, having defloured a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he married) had lost the Queens favour, and was held in prison for certain moneths; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to *Guyana*; setting sayl from *Plimouth* in *February*, he arrived at *Trinidada*, where he took St. *Josephs* Town, but found not one jot of Mony there. From hence, with Boats, and a hundred Souldiers, he entred the vast River *Orenoque*, ranging up in *Guyana* four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, *Amyas Preston* and *Sommers*, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of *Spains* in the Western parts, and three ships of the Earl of *Cumberland* set upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fired when they were in fight, and these were the enterprises of private persons: but the Queen being informed, that great store of wealth for the King of *Spains* use was conveyed to Port *Rico*, in St. *Johns* Island, sent thither *Hawkins*, *Drake* and *Baskerwile*, with land Forces, furnishing them with six ships out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set sail from *Plimouth* the last of *August*, and seven and twenty days after came upon the Coast of the great *Canarie*, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to assault. A moneth after, they came to the Isle of St. *Dominick*, where five *Spanish* ships being sent forth to watch the *English*, lighted upon one of the small *English* ships which was strayed from the Company, and putting the Master and Mariners upon the Rack, understood by them, that the *English* Navy was bent to *Port-Rico*; whereupon they make all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned, they might accordingly be armed. And thereupon as soon as the *English* had cast Anchors in the Road of *Port-Rico*, the *Spaniards* thundered against them from the shore; Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and *Brute Brown* were wounded as they sate at supper, and two dayes after dyed: *Hawkins* also and *Drake*, partly of disease, and partly of grief for their ill success, died soon after. At the end of eight moneths, the Fleet came home, having done the Enemy little hurt, fired onely some few Towns and Ships, but received infinite damage themselves; lost two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all *Europe* had not their like left. For the *Spaniards* having of late years received great harms by *French* and *English*, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easily to be won.

Hawkins, *Drake* and *Basker ile*, are sent to *Port-Rico*.

Their ill successe, though grief whereof *Hawkins* and *Drake* died.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the *Low-Countries*, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which she requireth some considerable recompence: The States again alledge the great charges they were at in Eighty eight, in repelling the *Spaniards* in her cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hanse Towns in *Germany* make a complaint to the Emperour, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the Kings of *England*, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of *English* Merchants was set up in *Germany*; To which the Queen by Sir *Christopher Perkins*, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen *Maries* prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that those very Hanse-Towns which complained, brought into *England* at this time such store of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have hapned in *London*.

This year many great personages died.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, condemned in the year 1589. The Queen had all this while spared, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and macerated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one onely

Son,

Son, *Thomas* by his Wife *Anne Dacres* of *Gillisland*. He had two Brothers, *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, whom Queen *Elizabeth* made Baron of *Suffolk*; and *William* Lord *Howard* of the North, who yet liveth; and one Sister, the Lady *Margaret*, married to *Robert Sackvile*, afterward Earl of *Dorset*, and father of *Edward* Earl of *Dorset* now living; a Lady so mild, so vertuous, and so devout in her Religion, that if her Brother macerated himself being in prison, she certainly did no lesse, being at liberty; whom I the rather mention, because I had the happinesse to know her living, and the unhappinesse to be a Mourner at her Funerall. There dyed this year also, *William* Lord *Vaulx*, a zealous Papist, and Sir *Thomas Hineage*, Vice-Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, whose only Daughter married to Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was no small advancer of that House. There dyed also *William Whitaker*, Master of St *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Divinity Professor: As likewise Sir *Roger Williams*, and Sir *Thomas Morgan*; so as this year was honoured with the deaths of two great Lords, one exquisite Courtier, one great Scholar, and two famous Souldiers.

In *Ireland* at this time, *Russel* the Deputy doubting a storm of War from *Tir-Oen*, sent into *England*, requiring to have some experienced Souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he desired *Baskervyle* to be the man, yet Sir *John Norris* was sent to him with thirteen hundred old Souldiers, besides a further supply; whom *Tir-Oen* hearing to be coming, set presently upon the Fort of *Blackwater*, and in the absence of *Edward Cornwall* the Governour, took it. But now being doubtfull of his case, in a subdolous manner (as he was a double dealing man) he both offereth his help to the Earl of *Kildare*, against the Deputies servants; and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl of *Ormond*, and Sir *Henry Wallop*, of loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he was forthwith proclaimed Traytor, under the name of *Hugh O-Neal*, bastard Son to *Con O-Neal*. There was at this time with the Rebels in *Ulster* a thousand Horse, and 6280 Foot: and in *Connaght*, two thousand three hundred, all at *Tyr-Oens* command: and the Forces of the *English* under *Norris*, not much fewer, with whom the Deputy himself joyned, and marched together to *Armach*; which so terrified the Rebels, that *Tir-Oen* forsaking the Fort of *Blackwater*, began to hide himself. Whereupon the Deputy returned, leaving *Norris* to follow the War, with the Title of General of the Army. But this satisfied not *Norris*, and therefore out of emulation betwixt himself and the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and seemed to favour *Tir-Oen*, as much as the Deputy hated him; insomuch, as he had private Conference with him (a thing not lawful with proclaymed Traytors) and upon his submission, and Hostages given, a Truce was granted both to him and *Odonell*, till the first of *January*. When the Truce was expired, *Tir-Oen* exhibited certain petitions, protesting, if they were granted, he would then perform all duties of a loyal subject. In consulting about which Petitions, another Truce was concluded, till the first of *April*: during which Truce, *Tir-Oen* dealt secretly with the King of *Spain* for Aid to be sent him, making nevertheless a fair shew of willingnesse to obedience, so far, that by the procurement of *Norris* and *Fenton*, a pardon was granted him; the which he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the Instrument which conferred the Earldome upon him; yet all this was but dissimulation, to win time for his own ends.

Sir *John Norris* is sent into *Ireland* with an Army to ayd the Deputy.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* proclaymed Traytor.

Norris out of emulation to the Deputy favours *Tir-Oen*.

Tir-Oen to win time, dissembles.

In the midst of these *Irish* Affairs, *Albertus* Arch-Duke of *Austria* and Cardinal, whom the King of *Spain* had newly set over the *Netherlands*, mustered together the *Spanish* Forces, upon pretence of raising the Siege of *La Fere* in *Picardy*; but upon a sudden turneth aside, and besiegeth *Calice*; and taking *Newnham* Fort, the very first day became Master of the Haven. The Queen informed hereof, forthwith upon the very Sunday in time of Divine Service, commandeth to levy Souldiers, whom she committeth to the Earl of *Essex*; but before they could be shipped, certain news came, That the Town and Fort were taken by the *Spaniard*: Whereupon, the Queens Army was dismissed, and only some money lent to the *French* King.

Albertus Duke of *Austria* takes *Calice* by a sudden assault.

But a few dayes after, a far greater, and more select Army is raised in *England*, wherein many of Noble Houses served as Volunteers: For the Queen, to divert the King of *Spain* from invading her Borders, thought it the best way to invade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldiers under pay, Six thousand three hundred and threescore; Volunteers of the Nobility and Gentry, One thousand; Mariners, Six thousand seven hundred seventy and two, besides the *Dutchmen*, who brought two and twenty Ships. *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, were made Generals with equal Authority; but the Admiral to hold Prerogative at Sea, *Essex* at Land. To these, for a Councell of War, were joyned the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *Francis Vere*, *George Carew*, and *Conyers Clifford*. The whole Fleet was divided into four Squadrons; The Admirall commanded the first; *Essex* the second; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the third, and *Rawleigh* the fourth. The Officers of the Army were *Francis Vere* Serjeant Major General, or Marshall; *John Winkfield* Quarter-Master General; *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance; *Conyers Clifford* Serjeant Major. Colonels were *Robert* Earl of *Sussex*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Sir *Richard Winkfield*; *William Winkfield* was Commander of the Volunteers, and *Anthony Ashley* Secretary to the Councel of War, was to Register their Acts and Consultations. The Commission being drawn, the Queen gave them private Instructions, and withall, a Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in every Ship.

Robert Earl of *Essex*, and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral, are sent with Forces against *Spain*, who take *Cales*; and the passages of it

This Fleet set forth from *Plymouth* at the beginning of *June*. Nigh unto *Cabo S. Vincent* they lighted upon an *Irish* Barque, which told them, That at *Cales* they were secure, and then in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, Ships of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The twentieth of *June*, they cast Anchor on the West side of the Island; within two dayes they were

agreed to set upon the *Spanish* Ships, whereat the Earl of *Essex* cast up his Cap for joy. This business was allotted to the lesser Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the great. The Galleys quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, shifted away, but the *Spanish* Ships that lay at Anchor at *Puntall*, turned their broad sides; so as the *English* fight with them lasted from break of day till noon; at which time the *Spaniards* having their Galleons miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the ships, or run them on shore. The *Spanish* Admiral being Fifteen hundred Tun of Burthen, was fired by a *Moor*, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were lost likewise. When this Sea-Fight was ended, *Essex* landed Eight hundred Souldiers at *Puntall*, a league from the Town of *Cales*, when half a mile from the Town, the *Spanish* Horse and Foot shewed themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway cometh forth a greater number: Then *Essex* commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat; and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he spyed a passage into the Town, but so high from ground, that they must leap a Spears length to get down. Yet *Evans* the Earl of *Sussex* his Lieutenant, *Arthur Savage*, and others leaped down; and the mean while Sir *Francis Vere* broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the rest with him. In the Market-place *John Winkfield* was shot in the Head, and with stones from the tops of Houses divers were wounded; amongst whom, *Samuel Bagnall* received eight Wounds, and *Arthur Savage* was bloudy all over; which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Castle was yielded, upon condition, That the Inhabitants might depart with the Cloathes on their backs, the rest to be left for spoyl. For five hundred and fourscore thousand Duckets the Castle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be sent Hostages into *England*. Now *Rawleigh* was commanded to fire the Merchants Ships lying at *Port-Reall*, when they promised two Millions of Duckets to redeem them: but this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was sent to destroy Ships, not to dismiss them upon Composition. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great store of Money privately carried away, every one shifting for himself. It was thought by the wiser sort, That the *Spaniard* could not be damnified less by this Expedition, than Twenty Millions of Duckets. None of Note was slain amongst the *English*, but onely *Winkfield*, who also slew a *Spanish* Captain; and now at last, threescore Military men were honoured with Knighthood. After this, having spoyled the whole Island, and demolished the Fort, they returned into *England*, much against the will of *Essex*, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprise.

The Queen receiving them home with much affability, giving many thanks to those of principall Note, but extolling the Earl of *Essex* and the Admiral, above the rest. And now bethinking her self of a fit man to be Governour of the *Bryll*, which was given by the *States* as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of Sir *Francis Vere*, although *Essex* commended other to her for the place: But another thing he took with great indignation, That in his absence she had made Sir *Robert Cecill* Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great instance, commended Sir *Thomas Bodley* to her.

Sir *Robert Cecill* is made Secretary of State.

And now the King of *Spain* to recover his Honour lost at *Cales*, setteth forth a Navy for *England* and *Ireland*, with a great number of *Irish* Fugitives; but being at Sea, most of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; so as this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better security, entred a League of Defence and Offence with the *French* King, against the *Spaniard*, upon certain Conditions; which League she confirmed by Oath, in the Chappel at *Greenwich*, the Nine and twentieth of *August*, laying her hand upon the hand of *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bulloigne*, and Marshal of *France*; the Bishop of *Chichester* holding forth the Evangelists, and a great Company of the Nobility standing round about. In *September* following, *Gilbert Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, was sent on Ambassage into *France*, to take the *French* Kings Oath, and to present Sir *Anthony Mildmay* for the Queens Ambassadour in Ordinary in the room of Sir *Henry Unton* lately there deceased, and to invest the King with the Order of the Garter. Soon after, *Baskervile* wafted into *Piccardy* with Two thousand Souldiers; for no more were by agreement to be sent this year.

Queen *Elizabeth* enters a League Offensive and Defensive with the King of *France*.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* returned into *England*, from the War in *Hungary* against the *Turk*, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperour by his Letters Patents, had created Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all and singular his Heirs and their Posterity, Males or Females, lawfully descended from him, to be Earls and Countesses of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may purchase Lands in the Emperours Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but onely in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Question came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privity, ought to be accepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl stuck in the stomachs of the *English* Barons, who inwardly grudged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both sides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That Sir *Nicholas Clifford* and Sir *Anthony Sherley*, whom the *French* King two years since received into the Order of St. *Michael*, were laid in Prison at their coming home, and charged to resign their Robes of the Order.

1596.

An. Reg. 39. *Thomas Arundel* of *Warder* is by the Emperour made Earl of the Empire; and what the Priviledges of that honour are.

Whether Honours given to the Queens subjects without her privity, are to be admitted.

This

Many great Persons die.

This year many great Persons dyed; *John Puckering* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom *Thomas Egerton* succeeded; *Richard Fletcher* Bishop of *London*, who for marrying the Lady *Baker* (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate) incurred the Queens displeasure; and to cure his Cares, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. *Henry Cary* Baron of *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties House, and her Cousin german. Sir *Francis Knolls*, who married *Hunsdons* Sister, in Queens *Maries* days an Exile in *Germany* for the Gospel, by Queen *Elizabeth* made first Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterward Treasurer of the Houshold, and Knight of the Garter. *Henry Hastings* Earl of *Huntington*, and President of the Councel in the *North*, who spent his Estate upon Puritan Ministers: *Francis* Lord *Hastings*, Nephew to him by his Brother *George*, who succeeded him in the Earldom, and *Margaret Clifford* Countess of *Derby*, (who descended of the Blood Royal, from *Charles Brandon*) consulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excluded from the Queens Favour.

The Earl of *Essex*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* and others are sent to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet, but are distressed by Tempests.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*; whereupon to encounter him, she also prepared a Navy of a hundred and twenty Ships, seventeen of the Queens, three and forty lesser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of provision. They were parted into three Squadrons: *Essex* commanded the first, who was also Chief Commander in the Expedition; the Lord *Thomas Howard* the second, and *Rawleigh* the third. In this Fleet were sundry of the Nobility and Gentry, *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, *Vere*, *Carew*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lords *Grey*, *Cromwell*, *Rich*, and many others. The ninth of *July* they weighed Anchor from *Plymouth*, and were to direct their course to *Ferall* and the *Groyn*, to seize upon the *Spanish* Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called *Azores*, & to intercept the *Indian* Fleet at their return into *Spain*; but this Expedition was crossed and overthrown by Tempests, for they had not sailed forty Leagues from *Plymouth*, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest for four days together, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover *Plymouth*: The Navy being amended, they hoise up Sayl the second time, but the Wind fell presently again so cross, that for a whole moneths time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to *Plymouth*, the seventeenth of *August* they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a side-wind hoise up sayl, but before they came in view of *Spain*, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at *Calice*, one was dashed in pieces, the other wandred no man knew whither. At the Island *Flores* the Fleet met again, where *Rawleigh* being distressed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow *Essex* to *Fayall*: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Councel, the Commanders wished him to set upon the place, and not let slip so fair a Booty. Upon this *Rawleigh* with some of the prime Volunteers, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day *Essex* came thither, whom *Merrick* informeth what *Rawleigh* had done, affirming spitefully, That he had done it only to prevent his Lordship in the honour of the Exploit: whereupon some perswaded the Earl to call a Councel of War and then displace him; others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave; saying, he was never like for to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this *Sidney*, *Brett*, *Berry*, and other of *Rawleighs* Company were displaced, and laid by the heels; *Rawleigh* himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by *Essex* and all his Party; *Essex* rebuketh him angerly, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might do, without the Generals command; *Rawleigh* made answer, That the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the Three prime Commanders, of whom himself was One: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Islanders provoked him to fight. And now the Lord *Thomas Howard* mediated, that no severity might be used against *Rawleigh*, and perswaded him to acknowledg his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Captains were restored to their places, for the Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

Rawleigh, without leave, goes ashore, and takes *Fayall*.

For this he is questioned by the Earl: but his Answer, and the Lord *Tho. Howards* mediation; reconciles all.

From hence they sail to *Gratiosa*, where the Inhabitants craved mercy and obtained it; and here *Essex* would have tarried, in expectation of the *Indian* Fleet; but that *Graves* the Pilot disswaded, because the Harbour was not good: and now see the unluckinesse of ill counsel; for the *English* were not gone above an hour, or two, from this place; when loe, the *American* Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them loaden with treasure) cometh thither; which, hearing that the *English* were thereabouts, directed their course to *Tercera*, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the *English* took: and then were minded to set upon the rest, in the Port; but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to St *Michaels*; where *Southampton*, *Rutland*, *Evers*, *Bredon* and *Dockwray* were Knighted. And then *Essex* landed within six miles of the Town, nigh unto *Villa Franca*, a fair Town, and well furnished with Merchandise, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days: and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espied, coming out of the *East-Indies* which by a warning piece shot off in a *Dutch* Ship, perceiving that the *English* were there; run her self ashore, unloaded her Merchandize, and then fired her self. Thus the *English* had ill luck every where in this expedition: And the ninth of *October* they hoisted sail for *England*: but within two dayes, a terrible tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the *Spanish* Fleet also at the same time, so as they never came in view of one another: one *Spanish* Ship was cast upon *Dertmouth*, the Mariners and Souldiers half starved in her; who intimated, that the *Spanish* Fleet intended to seize upon some Haven in *Cornwall*, which being nigh the mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from

The *English* miss the *Spanish* Fleet, through ill Counsel.

Spain: but the Divine Providence fruſtrated the deſigns both of the *Spaniard* and the *Engliſh*.

But now at his return, the Earl of *Eſſex* found that done in *England*, in his abſence, which infinitely diſcontented him; Sir *Robert Cecill* made Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*; and which was more, *Charles* Lord *Howard*, created Earl of *Nottingham*, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good ſervice at *Cales*: This glory he envied him, and beſides ſtomached it, that he muſt now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdome ſhould have Precedence of all men of their degree, Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marſhal of *England*; by which he recovered his place again.

Charles Howard Lord Admiral is created Earl of *Nottingham*, to the diſcontentment of the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The Earl of *Eſſex* is made Earl Marſhal, of purpoſe to take place of the Admiral.

About this time, an Ambaſſadour came into *England*, from the King of *Poland*; who, when the Queen expected he ſhould give her thanks for having procured a Peace between the King his Maſter, and the *Turk*; he clean contrary expoſtulated unkindneſs, for breach of Priviledges, in trading with *Spain*, requiring a preſent remedy, or elſe the King would otherwiſe right himſelf. The Queen not a little offended, ſuddenly replyed; How was I deceived? I expected an Ambaſſador, and behold a Herald; ſuch a ſpeech I never heard in all my life-time. And after ſome further checking of him for his boldneſs, ſhe referred him to her Councel; and then retired into her Cloſet. The Ambaſſadour afterward, in private Conference with ſome of the Councel, excuſed himſelf, ſaying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To his Meſſage, the Councel gave the like anſwer, as they had given before to the Hanſe-Towns, upon the like occaſion: though now again, the Hanſe-Towns obtain of the Emperour, to prohibit the *Engliſh* from trading in *Germany*, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hanſe-Towns from trading in *England*, and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

The ſawcy ſpeech of a *Polt.* Ambaſſador to the Queen, and her Anſwer.

This year the Chancellor of *Denmark* came into *England* to reſtore the Garter, which ſhe had beſtowed upon the Kings Father, and withall offering the Kings help, to make a Peace for the Queen with the *Spaniard*. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to uſe his help for that which ſhe did not deſire, and eſpecially not now, when he had newly moleſted the King of *France* her Allye, and had taken *Amyens* the ſtrongeſt Town of *Picardy*: Though why ſhould the Queen be ſo tender of the *French* King, when now to get an Aid of Four thouſand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Popes Nuntio a very commodious Peace, if he would but forſake her. But while theſe things were in Treaty, *Amyens* was recovered again by the valour of *Baskervile*; (who dyed at the Siege) and of Sir *Arthur Savage*, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged,

Baskerviles and Sir *Arthur Savages* ſervice in recovering of *Amyens*.

About this time a Parliament was holden at *Weſtminſter*, where Subſidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord *La Ware*, and reſtored to his bloud, which by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth was tainted. Alſo to this Parliament was called *Thomas* Lord *Howard*, by the Title of Baron *Howard* of *Walden*.

The Lord *Tho. Howard* is made Baron of *Walden*.

In *Ireland* at this time, a great part of *Ulſter*, and almoſt all *Connaght* was in Rebellion; Whereupon *Raſſel* the Deputy was called home, and *Thomas* Lord *Burroughs* ſent in his place, a man very ſtout and couragious, but no Souldier: This infinitely diſcontented *Norris*, who thought himſelf ſure of the place, and now to ſee his Rival preferred before him, and himſelf to be under him, Preſident of *Manſter*, drave him into ſuch a melancholy, that in a very ſhort time (and as he thought to himſelf with much diſgrace) he ended his life.

The Lord *Burroughs* is ſent Deputy into *Ireland*.

Norris that expected the place, diſcontented, falls ſick and dies.

And now the Earl of *Tir-Oen* craveth, and obtaineth a moneths Truce of the new Deputy, at the moneths end the Deputy marcheth againſt the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at *Black-water*, when ſuddenly the Rebels ſhew themſelves upon a Hill hard by, againſt whom the Earl of *Kildare* marcheth and puts them to flight; but yet with ſome loſs of his own ſide, as *Francis Vaughan* the Deputies Brother in Law, *Turner* a Serjeant Major, and two *Foſters*, Brothers of the Earl of *Kildare*, whoſe death he took ſo heavily, that within a few days he dyed himſelf.

The Fort of *Black-water* gained by the Deputy.

As ſoon as the Deputy had fortified the Caſtle at *Black-water*, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to beſiege it again; (for this was the main place of their ſtrength) which cauſed the Deputy with all poſſible ſpeed to make thither, but unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels ſet upon the Fort more fiercely than before; but being ſtill repelled, they comforted themſelves with this, that there was not many days proviſion left in the Fort; yet the admirable fortitude of *Thomas Williams* the Captain and the Garriſon Souldiers ſaved the place, who, when their Horſe-fleſh was all ſpent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all kind of miſery. And now the Lord *Burroughs* the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from *England*, was committed to the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Government to two Lords Juſtices, *Adam Loftouſe* Archbiſhop of *Dublin* and Chancellor, and *Robert Gardiner*: To this new Lieutenant, *Tir-Oen* exhibiteth a Bill of his oppreſſions and grievances with requeſt of pardon, and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion in *Leinſter*.

The Lord *Burroughs* dyes.

Tir-Oen complains to the new Lieutenant of his grievances; and at the ſame time ſtirreth up *Mac-Hugh* to a new Rebellion.

In *France* at this time, the *French* King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own ſubjects began to incline to a Peace with *Spain*; which the Queen underſtanding, ſhe ſent into *France* Sir *Robert Cecill*, *Herbert* and *Wilks*, (who dyed at his landing in *France*:) The States likewiſe ſent thither *Juſtine* of *Naſſaw*, and *Barnevelt*, and others likewiſe into *England* to diſſwade the Peace; but notwithſtanding all they could ſay or do, the *French* King ſhortly after concluded a Peace, to the great diſcontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and eſtabliſhment of the *French* Commonwealth.

The King of *France* concludes a Peace with *Spain* againſt Q. *Elizabeths* liking.

And now the Queen providing for her own and her Peoples ſafety, ſent Sir *Francis Vere* to the States, to know if they were willing to joyn in a Treaty of Peace with the *Spaniard*: if not, what

what they would afford toward a War; and to deal earnestly with them about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time, was holden a great Consultation, Whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England*, or no? and many Reasons were on both sides alledged. *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer was for Peace, *Essex* for War, and so vehement in it, that the Treasurer, after a long debating, in a strange manner of Presage, reached forth the Book of the *Psalms* to him, pointing him to that Verse, *The bloody minded man shall not live out half his dayes.* Which made *Essex* afterward to set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his Opinion.

A Consultation, whether a Peace with *Spain* were convenient for *England* or no. *Burleigh* is for it, *Essex* against it.

But now another Consultation was held, about a fit man to be Deputy of *Ireland*; The Queen intended to send Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle; but *Essex* was violent for Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a minde to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means perswade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon she growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; *Essex* laid his hand upon his Sword hilt, and swore a great oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King *Henry* the Eighth his hands; and so in a rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonished by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde, and in a short time returned into the Queens favour.

The Queen gives the Earl of *Essex* a box on the ear, and why: and how he took it.

About this time, *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*, and high Treasurer of *England*, finding himself to droop with age, (for he was now threescore and seventeen years old) sent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to release him of his publick charge; whereupon she went to visit and comfort him; but within a few dayes he ended his life, after he had been the principal stay of the *English* Common-wealth for many years together. One great good he did to his Countrey a little before his death, that he brought the States of the *Low-Countries* to a Composition, for the payment of Eight hundred thousand pounds, by Thirty thousand pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The Lord *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer dies.

The King of *Denmarks* Subjects having lately seized upon some goods of the *English* as Prize, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollars; the Queen sent the Lord *Zouch*, and *Christopher Perkins* Doctor of Law, in Embassage to the *Dane*, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Electors Daughter of *Brandenburg*; and also to crave restitution of the *English* Goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Threescore thousand Dollars were repaid. And now *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland*, having with a Navy of eleven ships, waited for *Portugal* Cariques, and the *American* Fleet, till the season of the year was past (they not daring to stir forth) he at last set upon *Port-Rico* and took it; but seven hundred of his men falling sick of Calentures, and dying within forty days, he was fain to return home with some honour, but little profit.

The Earl of *Cumberland* takes *Port-Rico*.

About this time, one *Edward Squire* was Arraigned of high Treason; he had been at first an ordinary Scrivener, afterwards a Groom in the Queens stable, and going as a Souldier in *Drakes* last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into *Spain*, there he came acquainted with one *Wallpoole* an *English* Jesuite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition for an Heretick, and the fellow tasting of misery, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cause. His ghostly father perswaded him it were meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, and sent him into *England* with a certain poyson, wherewith to anoint the pommel of the Queens Saddle, and the chair in which the Earl should sit, which he acordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon *Wallpoole* suspecting *Squires* fidelity was bent to revenge it, and sent one into *England*, who in generall terms should lay this aspersion upon him; whereupon *Squire* is called in question, and never thinking that his Confessor would detect him, directly denyed all at first; but after seeing himself betrayed, confessed all the matter and was executed.

Edward Squire executed and why.

This whole year the rebellion was hot in *Ireland*; For *Tir-Oen* notwithstanding his pardon lately obtained, all on a sudden besieged the Fort at *Blackwater*, to the raising of which siege, the Lieutenant Generall (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Marshal, *Tir-Oens* sworn adversary, him *Tir-Oen* slew, and put his whole Army to rout, and atchieved such a Victory, with so great losse to the *English*, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in *Ireland*; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Souldiers were slain at this Skirmish, and soon after the Fort of *Blackwater* was yeelded up. And now *Tir-Oens* fame began to resound as the Assertor of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all *Munster* brake forth into Rebellion. For the cherishing whereof *Tir-Oen* sent thither *Ouny Mac-Rorye* and *Tereil* (who originally an *English* man, was grown a deadly enemy to the *English* Nation) with four hundred *Kernes*. Against these, *Thomas Norris* President of the Province, marched to *Killmallock* with a good force; but finding that the *Irish* Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperse his Army and retire to *Corke*. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoyled the Countrey, and in cruel manner put all the *English* to the sword. Furthermore they declare *Fitz Thomas* to be Earl of *Desmond*; but upon condition he should hold of *O-Neale*, that is, of *Tir-Oen*, who now dispatched Letters to the *Spaniard*, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the *English*, and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) proffered some kinde of submission to the Leiutenant, but withall made unreasonable demands.

Tir-Oen breaks openly into Rebellion, and gives the *English* a greatde feat.

Yet at the same time makes some offer of submission.

The State of *Ireland* being thus in combustion, a serious consultation is holden whom to send to quench it: the Queen and most of the Councel thought Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy* the fittest man; but *Essex* covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too Bookish to prove a good Commander: he seem'd to aim at the place for himself, though he made a shew modestly to refuse it, and yet still ready

1597.

A Consultation is held, whom to send against *Tir-Oen*.

with

with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that he (forsooth) was descended of the bloud Royal of *Scotland* and *England*, and had better Right to the Crown, than any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even *Tir-Oen* himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever *Ireland* had seen before, Twenty Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Hundred Horse: with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he passeth into *Ireland*; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards *Munster*, against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of *Cahir*, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoyning. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up; but in the mean time sendeth directions to Sir *Coniers Clifford*, President of *Connaght*, to set upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their forces) while he assaulted them in another; *Clifford* marched toward *Belike*, with 1500 Souldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at unawares, under the conduct of *O-Rorke*, (his Son that was hanged here in *England*) The *English* repel them at first with ease, and march along, but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, *Clifford* and many of the old Souldiers were slain.

At last the Earl of *Essex* is sent with ample authority.

Essex having by this received new supplies out of *England*, and a check for neglecting the Queens Command, setteth forth at length towards the Borders of *Vlster*, with Thirteen hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; being come thither, *Tir-Oen* by a Messenger requested parley, *Essex* refuseth, saying, he might speak with him the next morning, between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to *Essex*, that *Tir-Oen* craved the Queens mercy, and that he might only be heard speak, appointing the shallow of *Balla Clinch* for a most convenient place; thither came *Essex* alone, with whom *Tir-Oen* (riding his Horse up to the girts) had private conference a full hour; A while after, *Con* (*Tir-Oens* base Son) came to *Essex*, requesting in his Fathers name a second parley, and that some of the chief on both sides might be present: *Essex* consented, so there came not more than six. At the day appointed, many words had not passed, but it was agreed, that their Delegates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks, till *May* day.

He hath private Conference with *Tir-Oen*.

A Truce is concluded.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and money spent, in a great anger taxeth the Earls proceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that stood by, that he had other thoughts in his minde, than the good of his Prince and Countrey: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting slip every fair opportunity: with which Letters *Essex* was so netled, and chiefly troubled, that the Queen had now made *Cecil* Master of the Wards, which he expected himself: that he began to cast strange projects within his minde, and held Private consultations of returning into *England* with part of his Forces, to surprize his Adversaries; But from this course, the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *Christopher Blunt* dissuaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a moneth over he went, and came to the Court at *Nonesuch*, to inform the Queen of the State of *Ireland*. By the way the Lord *Gray* of *Wilton* crossed him, but saluted him not; whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contempt: but *Essex* would not suffer him: And made such hast, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont: and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; And soon after, Committed him to Custody, in the Lord privy Seals House; where entring into Consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Contemplation, and writeth wonderfull Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

Essex without leave comes over to the Queen.

Is welcommed with committing him to the Lord Privy Seal.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fortieth of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, when after the departure of the Earl of *Essex*, *Tir-Oen* began to carry himself as Monarch of *Ireland*, and sendeth *Kernes* to make spoil in the possessions of such as continued in their loyalty to the Queen, under *Mac-Guir* their Captain, who lighting casually upon Sir *Warham Saint-Leger*, thrust him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withall. Whereupon the Queen sent Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy*, to take upon him the Deputies place, who loseth no time, but first of all marcheth towards *Vlster*, buildeth a fort within eight miles of *Armagh*, which, in honour of Sir *John Norris*, under whom he had his first military schooling, he calleth by the name of *Mount Norris*; there he placed *Edward Blanye*, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from thence back he goeth into *Leinster*, wherein the *Glynnes* he reduceth into order, *Donel-Spaniah*, *Phelim Mac-Pheoph*, and the rebelling Nation of the *O-Tooles*, taking hostages of them; then back into *Vlster* again, being victor whersoever he cometh, and at *Tredagh*, receiveth into protection *Mac-Henry*, *Mac-Conly*, and other Rebels, who fell at his feet for mercy. All this and more he did in his first year, and no lesse successful was *Carew* president of *Munster*, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and having found *Munster* a turbulent Province in *April*, he overcomed and made it so quiet by *December* following that the Rebels maintained no one Fort in it against the Queen.

1600.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen*, upon *Essex* his departure, carries himself as Monarch of *Ireland*.

Sir *Charles Blunt* Lord *Montjoy* is sent Deputy into *Ireland*.

And now a new Consultation was holden in *England*, touching a peace with the King of *Spain*, the which he sought both by the *French* King, and by *Albertus* the Arch-Duke, who was now returned into the *Netherlands* out of *Spain*, where he was marryed to the *Infanta*, The Queen consenting to a Treaty, left it to the *French* King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the moneth of *May*, and *Bulloign* in *France*; But now foreseeing that a question would arise about Precedency, some were appointed to search Ancient Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the Court

A Treaty of Peace is agreed on with *Spain*.

The Queen writes to *Essex*, blaming his delay.

Court of *Rome*, which (according to the Canons) giveth Rule to the reſt, as the Lady and Miſtreſſe; that amongſt Kings, the firſt place is due to the King of *France*, the ſecond to the Kings of *England*, and the third to the King of *Caſtile*; That the *Engliſh* quietly held this priviledge in the General Councels of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, and others: beſides the Kingdom of *Caſtile*, which is the *Spaniards* firſt Title, (and which is but an upſtart in regard of *England*) had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1017. In like manner, Pope *Julius* the third, gave ſentence for *Henry* the ſeventh of *England*, againſt *Ferdinand*, who was then King of *Caſtile*.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners have a charge not to give Precedence to *Spain*; and why.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at *Bulloign*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Leiger Ambaſſadour, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beal*, & *Thomas Edmunds* for the *Engliſh*, and other for the King of *Spain* and the Archduke. The *Engliſh* had inſtructions, firſt concerning Precedency, in no caſe to give way to the King of *Spain*; yet if they contended, to put the matter to the deciſion of Lots, rather than the Treaty ſhould be diſſolved; and for the reſt, to propoſe and mention the renewing of the ancient *Burgundian* League, freedom of commerce, *&c.*

The *Spaniards* being denyed Precedence, break off the Treaty.

At the meeting, when they had ſeverally ſhewed their Commiſſions; the *Engliſh* challenge the Precedency, the *Spaniards* do the like, and in ſo peremptory a manner that without it they would diſſolve the Treaty, Hereupon the *Engliſh* made a propoſition, to let paſſe the queſtion of Precedency; and to tranſact the buſineſſe by writing, and Meſſengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for threeſcore days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpoſe; and at three moneths end they parted.

The States the mean while were ſo far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coaſt of *Flanders* into their Command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of fourteen thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, under the conduct of *Maurice* of *Naſſaw*; and fifteen hundred of the *Engliſh* under the command of Sir *Francis Vere*, and his Brother *Horatio*, At which time happened the famous Battail of *Newport*, againſt the Archduke, where nine thouſand of the *Spaniards* were ſlain; and the Victory, by the valour of the *Engliſh*, fell to the *Dutch*; for ſo forward were the *Engliſh* in this Battail, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were ſlain and ſore wounded, Eight Captains killed, and of the reſt every man hurt.

The Famous Battail of *Newport*, won by the valour of the *Engliſh*.

All this year, and the year paſt, ſundry quarrels and complaints aroſe between the *Engliſh* and *French*, touching repriſals of goods taken from each other by Pirates of either Nation: Alſo touching Cuſtoms and Impoſitions, contrary to the Treaty of *Bloys*, and deceit in *Engliſh* Clothes, to the great infamy of the Nation. In *Denmark* likewiſe aroſe controverſies touching commerce, and the Fiſhing of the *Engliſh* upon the Coaſt of *Iſland* and *Norway*. The Queen alſo at that time, for the encreaſe of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants, allowing them large Priviledges: but whether this hath proved beneficiall to the Common-Wealth, (there having been by this means ſuch a maſſe of money and great ſtore of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and ſo many Mariners loſt every year) wiſe men make a queſtion.

The Company of *Eaſt-India* Merchants Founded by the Queen.

About this time alſo, Pope *Clement* the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, ſent two Breeves into *England*, the one to the Popiſh Clergy, the other to the Laity, to ſuffer no perſon whatſoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that ſhould promiſe by Oath, to promote with all his might, the *Roman* Catholick Religion, how neer ſoever otherwiſe, he were allyed to the Bloud Royal of the King of *England*.

This year by reaſon of intemperate weather, happened a great ſcarcity of Corn in *England*, and thereby many grievous complaints were occaſioned. The common people caſt out reproachful ſlanders againſt the Lord Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, as the granter of Licences for tranſportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, ſhe forthwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon the Broggers of Corn, and Foreſtallers of Markets, and gave order that the ſlanderer ſhould be reprehended and puniſhed.

The Earl of *Eſſex* upon his penitence is allowed to live at his own houſe.

The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had now been Priſoner ſix moneths in the Houſe of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earneſt, reſolving to put away his perverſe Counſellors *Gilly Merrick* and *Henry Cuffe*, and then he ſhewed ſo much patience and great ſubmiſſion, that the Queen then ſent him to his own houſe, and to be there confined, alwayes proteſting, that ſhe would doe nothing that ſhould be for his ruine, but only that, which ſhould be for his amendment. Nevertheleſſe, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, ſhe could not for the removal of ſuſpition of injuſtice, free her ſelf and her Counſellors, but bring him to trial; not in the Star-Chamber, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall too heavy on him, but in the houſe of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cauſe ſhould have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Councel, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commiſion he had made the Earl of *Southampton* Generall of the Horſe, had drawn his Forces into *Munſter*, neglecting the Arch-rebell *Tir-Oen*, entertained a Parlee with him againſt the Dignity of the Queens Majeſty, and the perſon of a Viceroy, which he repreſented: and that the ſaid Parlee was ſuſpicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawyers added from abrupt ſentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years ſince, as theſe: *No ſtorm is more fierce than the indignation of an Impotent Prince. What? cannot Princes erre? May they not injure their Subjects?* and ſuch like.

Yet he is brought to a private Trial in the Lord Privy Seals Houſe, and what was objected againſt him.

The Earl proteſts his Innocency, and ſheweth his Repentance with tears.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, profeſſed he would not conteſt with the Queen, nor excuſe the faults of his young years either in whole or in part; Proteſting that he always meant well, howſoever it fell out otherwiſe, and that now he would bid the World farewell; withall ſhedding many tears, ſo as the ſtanders by wept alſo, Yet could he not contain himſelf, but began to plead excuſes, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, adviſing him to proceed as he begun, to fly

to

to the Queens Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty, but only for a contempt; and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounceth this Sentence against him; That he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Counsellor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marshall, and Master of the Ordnance, and be imprisoned during the Queens pleasure, She had given expresse charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure in no case should be Recorded. After this he made shew of wonderfull humility and mortification, which so affected the Queen, that shortly she removed *Barkeley* his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, To make his own Discretion his Keeper, and not to come at the Court, or in her Presence.

What his Censure was.

Yet upon his humility he had leave to go at large.

After this Sentence, *Cuffe*, who alwayes perswaded the Earl to stand stoutly in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardize and pusillanimity; that the Earl in anger, commanded his Name to be put out of the Roll of his Servants; yet *Merrick* the Steward did it not, as being of *Cuffes* mind himself.

Cuffe taxeth the Earl for cowardize.

Essex being now ready to go into the Countrey, remembred himself to the Queen, by the Lord *Henry Howard*, in these words; *That he kissed the Rod, and the Queens hands, which had onely corrected, not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed Eyes, which had been his load-stars, whereby he had happily steered his course, while he held on his way at lawful distance; But now he resolved to eat grass with* Nebuchadnezzar, *till it please the Queen to restore his Senses.* She being greatly joyed with these his speeches; *Would to God* (said she) *his deeds be answerable to his words; He hath long tryed my Patience, I must now make tryal of his humility.*

The Earls submissive Letter to the Queen.

1601.

And now the Earl grew so confident of the Queens Favour, that he became a Suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines; but she to try his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulse, made him Answer, That she must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over head; and had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphorism of Physitians, That foul Bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to finde, whether the Ulcer of his Mind were throughly cured or no; for being not throughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every denyal of a courtesie, were an injury that required revenge; his Melancholy was presently turned into Choler, now he began to hearken to *Cuffe* again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as *Job*, that he should live of the Basket, and gathers crums under the Table. Hereupon he returned to *London*, *Southampton* is sent for out of the *Low-Countries*, his doors are set open for all comers, *Merrick* his Steward receiveth to his own Table decayed Souldiers, discontented and audacious persons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signs of Popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queens Ears; alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was despised by him; for (not to say the worst) he had muttered, That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in minde as body.

Being denyed the Farm of sweet Wines, he grows again discontented.

Useth all the wayes of popularity.

And now again, he runneth upon desperate counsels, for the removall of his adversaries from the Court, seeketh to screw himself into the King of *Scots* favour, to whom he traduceth his adversaries, by name *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, *Carew*, *Cecill*, and the Admirall as inclined to the *Spanish* Faction, and at one and the same time, seeketh to win to him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his counsell; and these were the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* Captain of the Garrison of *Plimouth*, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, and some other. With these he met privately in *Drury* House to avoid suspition, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, Whether it were better to set upon the Tower of *London*, or the Queens Palace; this later they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner; *Blunt* should keep the great Gate with a select number of men, and *Davers* seize upon the Presence Chamber: Then *Essex* with his Company should come from the *Mues*, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspitions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary *Herbert* was sent to call him before the Councel, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of seizing upon the Court, which had been four moneths in contriving, was by this means quite dashed, for they had ready at the present, neither Souldiers, nor Munition, so as some speedier course must now be thought on: at which time very opportunely cometh one to them (set on no doubt by *Essex* his Adversaries) as if he had been sent on purpose from the Citizens, to promise him their Aid; which made *Essex* to applaud his own great good fortune.

Who were his chief adherents and Counsellors.

They resolve to set upon the Queens Palace, and in what manner.

But are prevented.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knolles*, and the Lord Chief Justice of *England*, sent by the Queen to *Essex* House, who could hardly be suffered to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confused number of people, and the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton* in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to *Essex*, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the cause of this concourse, promising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. *Essex* with a loud voice cryeth out, They lye in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging *Essex* again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you, Kill them, cast away that Great Seal. *Essex* retireth into the House, the Lords follow him; he chargeth them to make the doors fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (saith he) I must go into the City, to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

The Lord Keeper and three other of the Privy Councel, sent to *Essex* house, to know the cause of this concourse, and his Answer.

But presently giving charge to keep the Lords, he goes into the City.

There

There the Lords are kept prisoners; *Essex* maketh hast into the City, with a Troop of 200 men at his heels; the Earl of *Bedford*, the Lord *Cromwell*, and other Lords meeting him by the way, joyn themselves: coming into *London*, he cryeth out aloud, *For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life.* The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took Arms to take his part. Passing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff *Smith's* house, who shifteth himself forth at a back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time, certain of the Nobility entred the City with a Herald, declaring *Essex* and his adherents Traytors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartned; *George* taketh care for himself, requesteth he might be sent to release the Counsellors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yét doubtful. The Earl content that *Popham* only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then *George* freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

He comes to Sheriff *Smith's* house, looking for aid, but *Smith* was gone.

Essex is proclaimed a Traytor.

George goeth and setteth all the Lords at liberty.

Now when *Essex* thought to return, he found a chain fastened cross the street, at the West end of *Pauls*, and men in Arms on the other side: then he began to draw his Sword; and having once given the word, *Blunt* letteth fly at them, slew one of them incontinent, himself being sorely wounded and taken. *Essex* himself had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at *Queen-Hythe*, and went to *Essex* House; where, finding the Counsellors all dismissed, he grew extreme angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral besiegeth the House, commanding them to yield. *Southampton* offereth, if the Admiral would give Hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth him by *Sidney*, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, *Essex* finding the case desperate, resolved to rush forth; and the Lord *Sands* (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, It were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But *Essex* his mind upon a little deliberation altering, they fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admirall, when it was ten a clock at night. *Owen. Salisbury*, and one or two more were slain with Musket shot, and as many of the Besiegers. The next day, *Thomas Lea*, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in *Ireland*, who to one *Crosse* a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimated, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellows to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to release *Essex* and *Southampton*, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. *Essex* and *Southampton* were carried first to *Lambeth*, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon were sent to the Tower, by the Queens direction; and with them, *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwell*, *Mounteagle*, *Danvers* and *Bromley*, the rest were put in common prisons.

Essex returning and finding the Counsellors all dismissed, grows much dismayed.

At ten a clock at night, *Essex* yields himself to the Lord Admiral.

He is sent to the Tower, together with the Earl of *Southampt.* and other Lords.

On the nineteenth of *February*, *Essex* and *Southampton* were called to their Arraignment, before their Peers in *Westminster*-Hall, where *Buckhurst* Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High-Steward of *England* for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, *Essex* demanded, If it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of *England* was presumed to be such, that in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor are they lyable to any exception. Then were they joyntly indited of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Counsellors of the Kingdom; by exciting the *Londoners* to Rebellion with vain Fictions; by assaulting the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of *Essex* House against the Queens Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty: *Essex* withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature. *Yelverton* aggravateth the specialties; and *Edward Coke* Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excuse himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of *Essex* with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country, he alwayes had and would bear a loyal affection. Then *Francis Bacon* (one that was little expected to speak against *Essex*, by whom he had been raised) in defence of *Cobham*, *Cecill* and *Rawleigh*, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of *England* was sold to the *Spaniard*: whereto *Essex* replyed, That he heard indeed, that *Cecill* the Secretary should say to one of the Lords of the Councel, That the right of the *Infanta* of *Spain* to the Kingdom of *England*, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this *Cecill* (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion: which leave being granted him, he provoked *Essex*, if he durst, to name the Counsellor; but he would not: therefore (saith *Cecill*) it is a Fiction: still *Essex* averreth it. Then *Cecill* turning himself to *Southampton*, besought him by all manner of Obtestations to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to *Cecill* himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirming, He might, *Southampton* nameth Sir *William Knolles*, *Essex* his Uncle. He being sent for, at *Cecills* intreaty, said, That *Cecill* two years since told him, that one *Dolman* in a Book, had asserted the Right of the *Infanta*; and had spoken no otherwise than so.

Essex and *Southampton* are arraigned;

They plead, Not guilty.

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alledged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside: Then the Peers rose, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High Treason. Then the high Steward advising *Essex* to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

But are found guilty by their Peers.

The next day, Sir *Robert Vernon*, Sir *William Constable*, Sir *Edward Baynham*, *Littleton*, *Cluff*, Captain *Whitlock*, *John* and *Christopher Wright*, and *Orell* an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir *Fulk*

Grevill, That moſt of them were drawn unwittingly into the danger) commanded that onely *Littleton*, *Baynham*, and *Orell* ſhould have their Tryal, the reſt to be ſent back to priſon. Theſe were all condemned, but their lives ſpared; which favour (*Rawleigh* for a good ſum of money received of *Baynham*) procured.

Eſſex in the mean while, requeſted he might ſpeak with ſome of the Counſellors, to whom he reconciled himſelf, and to *Cecill* eſpecially; and then intimating that the Queen could not be in ſafety while he lived; he requeſted he might be executed privately in the Tower: He grievouſly inveyeth againſt ſome of the Conſpiracy, and wiſheth to ſpeak with ſome of them, but ſpecially with *Blunt* and *Cuffe*; whom as ſoon as he ſaw, he brake forth into theſe words; *O Cuffe, ask pardon of God and the Queen, for thou haſt chiefly provoked me to this diſloyalty.* Alſo he intimated Sir *Henry Nevill* ordinary Ambaſſadour in *France*, to have been acquainted with the Conſpiracy; and that other in *Scotland*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* Deputy of *Ireland* knew of his purpoſe, and other in *England*; who being many in number, and the Lord *Mountjoy*, ordering the Affairs of *Ireland* in good faſhion, the Queen wiſely would take no notice of it.

Eſſex complains of *Blunt* and *Cuffe*.

The five and twentieth day of *February*, which was to be the fatal day, there were ſent to the Earl divers Miniſters, to give him ghoſtly comfort. The Queen now wavering in her ſelf, one while remembring the ancient kindneſſe ſhe had ſhewed him, ſhe commanded he ſhould not be executed; then again, thinking of his ſtubbornneſs, that he would not once ask her mercy, and had ſaid openly, That he could not live, but ſhe muſt periſh; countermanding her former word, ſhe gave order that he ſhould be executed.

He is executed in the Tower.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard, where a Scaffold was erected, and ſundry of the Nobility preſent, among whom *Rawleigh* alſo; but being told, it was an inhumane thing to ſtand by and behold the death of his Adverſary, he withdrew himſelf into the Armory, and from thence beheld the Tragedy. *Eſſex* being aſcended the Scaffold, uncovered his head, caſt up his eyes towards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the manifold ſins of his youth, but this laſt ſpecially, which he ſaid was a bloody, crying and contagious ſin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Counſellors, commended his Spirit into the hands of God, and had his head taken off at the third blow, though the firſt bereft him both of his ſenſe and motion.

The fifth of *March*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Davers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gyllie Merrick* and *Cuffe*, were brought to their Tryal in *Weſtminſter*-Hall, before the Queens delegates. The Heads of their Inditements, were the ſame which were objected to *Eſſex* and *Southampton*. The others ſaid little in their defence, only *Cuffe* ſtood upon theſe two Anſwers; Whereas (ſaith he) I am challenged of Treaſon, becauſe I was in *Eſſex* houſe the day of the Rebellion; by the ſame Argument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indited; all that day I lamented the Earls fortune, and dealt with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe, it is no more to be called High Treaſon, than an Embryon may be accounted a perfect man. The Lawyers on the other ſide demonſtrated, That no neceſſity lay upon him to tarry in the Houſe; and that the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe was it ſelf a Treaſon, though it had never broke forth into act. *Merrick* ſaid only this, The Earl of *Eſſex* raiſed me, and he hath overturned me.

Cuffe pleading for himſelf at his Tryal.

Merrick and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, and there executed.

The thirteenth of *March*, *Merrick* and *Cuffe* are drawn to *Tyburn*, where *Cuffe* entring into a long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and then, after prayers to God, and deſiring God and the Queen to pardon him, he was caſt from the Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but of a boyſterous and turbulent diſpoſition. In the ſame manner dyed *Merrick*.

Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* beheaded at the Tower-Hill.

The fifteenth of *March*, Sir *Charles Davers* and Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt* were beheaded on the Tower-Hill; albeit *Davers* offered ten thouſand pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual impriſonment. The Earl of *Southampton* and the Sheriff *Smith* were kept priſoners; though *Smith*, after ſome time, was upon ſureties ſuffered to go at large. The eighth of *July*, Sir *Henry Nevill* was cited before the Lords of the Councel, where it was laid to his Charge, That he was preſent at the Conſultation in *Drury* Houſe, yet had not revealed their ſiniſter purpoſes; and had imparted to *Eſſex* the ſecrets of his *French* Embaſſage. He confeſſed, That at the Earls intreaty, he ſhewed him the Commentaries of the *French* proceedings, was preſent at one of their Conſultations only; but contemned their counſels, yet durſt not be an Informer againſt ſo great Perſonages. Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and was committed to priſon.

One act of the By, is not here to be omitted. *Eſſex* at his Arraignment had complained, That his hand-writing was counterfeited. It happened the Counteſſe of *Eſſex* being fearful in her Husbands behalf, gave a Letter which ſhe had received from him, to the cuſtody of one *Rhihove*, a *Dutch* woman that waited on her: this *Dutch* womans husband named *Daniel*, lighted by chance upon the Letter, and perceiving ſome paſſages in it which might bring the Earl of *Eſſex* into danger, got a cunning Fellow to draw a counterfeit Copy of the ſaid Letter; with this he cometh to the fearful Lady, who was newly brought to bed, threatning to give the ſame to her husbands Adverſaries, unleſs ſhe would preſently give him three thouſand pounds. She to ſhun the danger, paid him eleven hundred and ſeventy pounds at the very inſtant; yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy onely, meaning to make uſe of the true one, to get another ſum of the Earls Adverſaries. This impoſture being found out, he was cenſured to perpetual impriſonment, condemned in three thouſand pounds (two of which were to go to the Counteſſe) and his Ears nailed to the Pillory, with this Writing over his head; *A notorious Cheater.*

The Queen ſets forth a Proclamation, declaring all Monopolies to be void.

Soon after a Parliament was aſſembled, wherein grievous complaints being tendred to the lower Houſe touching Monopolies; the Queen, by way of prevention, ſendeth out Proclamations, declaring the ſaid Licences and Patents to be void in part, leaving ſome part to the diſcuſſion of the Laws: which thing was ſo acceptable to the lower Houſe, that they preſently ſent

eighty

eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and she on the other side gave them thanks, for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recal her from an error, whereinto, through ignorance, not wilfulness, she was fallen.

1602.

In *Ireland*, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth *Tir-Oen* from where he had fortified himself; *Carew* President of *Munster*, taketh the titular Earl lurking in a Cave, and receiveth intelligence, That the *Spaniards* invited by *Tir-Oen*, had a purpose to land in *Munster*, yet could not perswade the Deputy they had any design for *Ireland*; but in the midst of *September*, certain News was brought, the *Spaniards* were in sight, who wanting wind to carry their Fleet to *Cork*, put into *Kinsale* the three and twentieth of *September*, and land their Souldiers without resistance. *Richard Percy* having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave *Kinsale* to the *Spaniards*, into which they enter with Ensignes displayed, and by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, were bidden welcome.

The Spaniards land in Ireland, and take Kinsale,

Tir-Oen joyneth his Forces with the *Spaniards*, which together make a great Army, but in a battail are defeated.

D' Aquila, who commanded the *Spaniards*, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he sheweth, That Queens *Elizabeth* was deposed from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her Subjects absolved from their Allegiance; And that the *Spaniards* were now come to deliver *Ireland* from the jaws of the Devil. *Tir-Oen* joyneth his Forces with them, so as they were now six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the *English* being not near so many. The four and twentieth of *December* a Battel is joyned; where, after long fight, the Victory inclined to the *English*. *Tir-Oen*, *Odonell*, and the rest cast away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. *Alphonso O Campo* chief Ruler of the *Spaniards*, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belonged to the *Spaniards*: of the *English* not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

Alphonso O Campo their chief leader is taken prisoner.

D' Aquila who commanded the *Spaniards*, requires a Composition, and departs.

After six dayes, *D' Aquila* sendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requesting that some person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; Sir *William Godolphine* is sent, to whom he complained of the cowardise, and (he feared) treachery of the *Irish*; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to hold out the Seige, and did daily expect great Forces from *Spain*, yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The *Spaniards* should yield up *Kinsale* to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bere-Haven*, and *Castle-Haven*, and should depart with life and goods, and Colours displayed. The *English* at a reasonable price, should furnish them with ships and provision into *Spain*; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of *England*, till they were arrived in *Spain*, *&c.*

Sir *Richard Levison* sets upon the *Spanish* Fleet of Treasure, but cannot prevail.

And now the *Spaniards* being driven out of *Ireland*, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, sendeth out Sir *Richard Levison* and Sir *William Monnson*, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships of War, to attempt something upon the Coast of *Spain*. On the nineteenth of *March*, *Levison* hoiseth Sayl, and *Monson* afterward, having in vain tarryed behind for some *Dutch* ships to joyn with them. *Levison* in the mean time lighted upon the *Spanish* Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from *America*, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When *Monson* was come with the rest of the Fleet, they had certain notice, That a mighty *Indian* Caraque of sixteen hundred Tun, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of *Portugal*. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies; and the Caraque it self appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marquesse of St. *Crosse*, together with the *Portugal* Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the *Low-Countries*. And now *Levison* signified to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech to and fro, it was at last agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandize should be yielded up. Thus the *English* having a fair wind returned home with a Booty, to the value of a Million of Duckets, by the *Portugal* account, and not past five of their men lost in the Voyage.

But he takes a Caraque of 16. hundred Tun, worth a Million of Duckets.

At this time there arose a Contestation amongst the Popish Clergy here in *England*; for the Jesuites and Secular Priests made bitter Invectives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That *Blackwell*, one wholly at the beck of the Jesuites, was set over them as Arch-Presbyter, who first of all despoyled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caused them to be declared Schismaticks and Hereticks. They in sundry Books extolled the Queen very highly, as one that dealeth mildly alwayes with the Catholicks, till such time as they set all in a combustion in *England*; and by their Treasons, caused most severe Laws to be enacted against the Catholicks. *Parsons* they traduced as a Bastard, an Equivocator and a Traytor. Whether they contended thus in good earnest, or in jest only, is hard to say; but the Bishop of *London* politickly nourished the contention, and all he gained, was this, That the Queen and her Councel, finding them dangerous to the Common-wealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

The Jesuites and the secular Priests contend against one another;

Both of them are commanded to depart the Realm.

In *France*, the Marshal *Biron*, for entring into dangerous attempts against the publick Peace, was arraigned, and lost his head. His confession brought some other into danger; and amongst them, the Duke of *Bulloign*, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he durst not appear, but fled into *Germany*. Hereupon the King of *France* sendeth to Queen *Elizabeth*, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth, pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had destined the Prince of *Conde* to the Succession of the Crown, and conspired the Destruction of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her

The King of *France* complains to the Queen against the Duke of *Bulloign*, and her Answer to it.

Legier Ambassadour, adviseth the King not too credulously to entertain those reports, as doubting these suggestions might proceed from some of the *Spanish* Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deserved, and that he was one of the chief Architects of *Essex* his Treason; and being questioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also, the Duke of *Savoy*, by cunning sleights, and open force, practised against the State of *Geneva*; and the Queen relieved them with a great sum of money, gathered amongst the Clergy and Laity all over *England*.

Tir-Oen yields himself to the Deputy absolutely without any condition.

And now the Earl *Tir-Oen*, preceiving himself in a desperate estate, resolved to sue for mercy, and promised at last to submit his life and fortunes to the Queens pleasure, absolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then passing on a few steps, prostrated himself again, saying, I confesse and crave pardon for my great fault against God, and a most bountiful Prince my dread Soveraign; I fly to the Queens mercy, as a sacred Anchor, permitting her to dispose of my life and fortunes at her pleasure. Upon this his submission, the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to *Dublin* with him, meaning to bring him into *England*, that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleasure: But before he could come into *England*, the Queen dyed.

Her Taxations.

IN a Parliament holden the first year of her Reign, a Subsidy was granted, of two shillings eight pence the pound of Goods, and four shillings of Lands, to be paid at two several Payments, of every person Spiritual and Temporal. In her sixth year, in a Parliament holden at *Westminster*, one Subsidy was granted by the Clergy, and another by the Laity, together with two Fifteenths and Tenths. In her eighth year, in a Parliament then holden, there were offered to her four Subsidies, upon condition, she would declare a Successor; but she refused their offer, and directly remitted the fourth Subsidy which they had granted, saying, It was all one, whether the money were in her Subjects Coffers, or in her own. In her thirteenth year, in a Parliament then holden, towards her charges of repressing the Northern Rebellion, there was granted her by the Clergy, a Subsidy of six shillings in the pound; and by the Temporality, two Fifteenths, with a Subsidy of two shillings and eight pence in the pound. In her six and thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein was granted by the Clergy, two whole Subsidies, and by the Laity three, besides six Fifteenths and Tenths; but it was put into the Act, That this great Contribution, the like whereof had not been known in former Ages, should not be drawn into example. In her fortieth year, in a Parliament at *Westminster*, were granted her by the Clergy, three entire Subsidies; and by the Laity as many, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. In her two and fortieth year, to furnish her with money towards the *Irish* War, she delegated certain Commissioners, to confirm the Crown Lands to the Possessors, that held any of controverted Titles, and to take money for the Confirmation, thereby to take away the troubles by concealers, who at this time were very busie.

She refuseth to burden her Subjects with Subsidies.

Controverted titles of Crown Lands confirmed by her.

Of her Laws and Ordinances.

IN a Parliament holden in her first year, an Act was made, That every person should go, to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, or else pay twelve pence to the poor. Also it was enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Successors. In her third year, a Proclamation was made, That the Teston coyned for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King *Edward* embased to six pence, should not be current but for four pence; the Groat, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the said base moneys were called in, and fine Sterling money was allowed for them after the Rate. For *Ireland* also, she coyned Sterling money; where nine pence in *England*, went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the first that brought certain Countries to deliver Provision at a certain rate, that so they might be freed from the Purveyors: Also the first that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuit. In her sixth year, in a Parliament then holden, it was made Treason to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood should not be dishonoured, nor goods confiscate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Also this year, by a Common-councel in *London*, it was enacted, That all such Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrained to sell their Houshold-stuff, Leases of Houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cryed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Outcryer appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his pains. In her three and twentieth year, she represseth by Proclamation excess in Apparel, Gold Chains, and Cloaks which men wore done to their heels. The length of Swords was limited to three Foot, and Daggers to twelve Inches, besides the hilts. Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrained, In-mates forbidden, and expres charge set forth, That no dwelling house should be new built within three miles of any City Gates, under pain of imprisonment, and loss of the materials. In her time was set on foot by Sir *Thomas Smith*, the Law made for the serving of Colledges with provision, to the great benefit of those Scholastical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, she setteth forth Proclamations against the Transportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that case provided. This year also she founded the Company of the *East-India* Merchants, and allowed them ample Priviledges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, severe Laws are made against Papists, some inflicting death, some fine and imprisonment. In her eight and twentieth year, a Proclamation was set forth, prohibiting to sow

Bishops limited for letting their lands.

All base moneys called in. Provision for the Queens house first ordained.

Allowance to Judges for their Circuit first ordained.

Our-crys for sale of Goods first ordained.

Buildings in *London* restrained.

Colledge Rents to be paid part in provision, first ordained.

The Company of *East-India* Merchants first set up.

All Monopolies called in by Proclamation.

Woad not to be sowed near the Queens houses.

sow Woad within eight miles of any of the Queens Houses, and four miles of any Cities or Towns Corporate. In her five and twentieth year, was first instituted and founded a publick Lecture in Chirurgery: to begin to be read in the Colledge of Physitians in *London*, and the Reader to have a stipend no lesse than those of the Universities erected by King *Henry* the eighth.

Affairs of the Church in Her time.

The Protestant Religion is by degrees established.

ON Sunday the first of *January* next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by vertue of her Proclamation, the *English* Letany was read accordingly as was used in her Graces Chappel, in all Churches through the City of *London*, and likewise the Epistle and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Masse-time in the *English* Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenths were restored to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the state Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the *English* Tongue was restored, and by degrees the Protestant Religion was established. The Bishops that refused the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons should go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy days, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the same to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope *Pius*, to send her Oratours to the Councel of *Trent*, which she refused, as not acknowledging it a lawful Councel. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general consent declared, That the Election of the Archbishops and Bishops in *England*, together with their Consecration, Confirmation, and Investiture (which some persons slanderously called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the Kingdom, chosen and consecrated. In her eleventh year, there arose in *England* two contrary factions in Religion: on the one side, *Thomas Harding*, *Nicholas Sanders*, and other Divines that had fled out of *England*, began to exercise the Episcopal Jurisdiction upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of *Rome*: On the other side, *Coleman*, *Burton*, *Hallingham*, *Benson*, and other, making profession of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of *England*, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as savouring too much of the *Roman* Religion, Protesting in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of *Rome*, and used all diligence to have the Church of *England*, reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of *Geneva*. These, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Prison, yet it is incredible how upon a sudden their followers encreased, known by the envious name of Puritans. This Sect so mightily encreased, that in her sixteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out nothing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclesiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with *Roman* dregs) and setting forth Books likewise, Intituled, *The Admonition to the Parliament*, and the *Defence of the Admonition*: they refused to resort to the Divine Service publickly in use, and framed to themselves other Rites. Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the severity of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, to be put in execution, and those Books, upon pain of Imprisonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or some of the Queens Councel. And this year were taken at Masse in their several houses, the Lord *Morley*'s Lady and her Children, the Lady *Guilford*, and the Lady *Brown*, who being thereof indited and convicted, suffer the penalty of the Law in that case provided. Untill the twentieth year of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, the Papists in *England* were mercifully connived at, while they solemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that also were against the Laws) but when as that Thunderbolt of excommunicating the Queen came abroad, then was the Law enacted against those who brought into the Kingdom any *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of *Rome*; yet for six whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papist, till *Cuthert Mayn* a Priest, and an obstinate maintainer of the Popes authority against the Queen, was executed at *Launceston* in *Cornwall*, and the Gentlemans goods that harboured him confiscate, and himself adjudged to perpetual Imprisonment. In her three and twentieth year, divers Priests and Jesuites came into *England*; amongst whom, *Robert Parsons* and *Edmund Campian*, *English* men and Jesuites, being now bound for *England*, to promote the Catholick Cause, at which time a Proclamation was set forth, That whosoever had any Children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person should receive or harbour any Seminary Priest or Jesuite. At this time also, there arose up in *Holland* a certain Sect, naming themselves, *The Family of Love*, who perswaded their followers, that those onely who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all Reprobates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath whatsoever they pleased, before any Magistrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed, under these titles, *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, *The Lords Sentences*, *The Prophesie of the spirit of love*, *The publication of Peace upon earth*, by the Author *H. N*, but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at last he was found to be *Henry Nichols* of *Leyden*, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twentieth year of her Reign, some out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy, desiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Ecclesiastical Censure, and the Oath *Ex Officio*. They complained likewise of the non-residency of

Puritans how encreased.

Severe laws against Papists, when and why enacted.

Parsons and *Campian* come into *England*.

The Family of Love, where and when it began.

of Ministers, and the like. But the Queen, who alwayes hated Innovation (which for the most part changeth for the worse) would give no ear unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament in Ecclesiastical Affairs, derogated from her Prerogative. In her six and twentieth year, the Queen gave a special charge to *Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Laws, which through the connivence of Bishops, and perverseness of the Puritans, lay now almost gasping: Whereupon, he provided three Articles, to which every Minister should subscribe.

Parliaments not to meddle in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Three Articles to which every Minister must subscribe.

The first, *That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Realms and Dominions.*

The second, *That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they will use that and no other.*

The third, *That the Articles agreed on in the Synod holden at* London *in the the year* 1562, *and published by the Queens Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.*

It is incredible what Reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles, both from factious Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility; yet by his patience and constancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his Motto, *Vincit qui patitur*. Neither did these at home onely disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also from abroad, as *Robert Brown*, a young Student of Divinity in *Cambridge*; from whom came the Sectaries called Brownists; and *Richard Harrison* a petty Schoolmaster. These presuming to judge matters of Religion by their own private spirit, by Books set forth in *Zealand*, and dispersed at this time over *England*, condemned the Church of *England* for no Church, and ensnared many in the Nets of their new Schism. Neither could they be restrained, though their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and soundly confuted by sundry learned men; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at St. *Edmunds Berry*. In her one and thirtieth year, these Puritans flames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of *Martin Mar-Prelate*, and *A Demonstration of the Discipline*, by *Penry* and *Udal* against the Government of Bishops; and nothing would please them, but the Discipline of *Geneva*: Many Abettors they had, *Knightly* and *Wigstone*, Knights, besides *Cartwright* (the father of them) *Snape*, *King*, *Pardlow*, *Payn*, and others; who though called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and thirtieth year, the Queen caused the severity of the Laws to be executed upon *Henry Barrow* and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church, and the publick Peace, by scattering of their monstrous Opinions, condemning the Church of *England* as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical.

The Brownists Author, who.

Martin Mar-Prelate writeth against Bishops.

Works of Piety in Her time.

THis Queen converted *Westminster* Abbey into a Collegiate Church, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Master, Usher, and forty Scholars, Vicars, Singing-men, and twelve Alms-men. In her third year, the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Grammar-Shool in the Parish of St. *Lawrence Pountney* in *London*. Also this year, *William Harper* Mayor of *London* founded a Free-School in the Town of *Bedford*, where he was born. In her seventh year, on the seventh of *June*, Sir *Thomas Gresham* laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange in *Cornhil*, which in *November* the year after, at his own charges was finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of *London* builded a new Conduit at *Walbrook* corner, near to *Dowgate*, the water whereof is conveyed out of the *Thames*. Also this year, Sir *Thomas Roe* Mayor of *London*, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick one Acre of ground near unto *Bedlam*, without *Bishops-Gate*, to be a place of Burial for the dead of such Parishes in *London* as lacked convenient ground within their Parishes: He also builded a convenient Room in *Pauls* Church-yard, on the South-side of the Crosse, to receive a certain number of Hearers at Sermon time. Sir *William Peter* having himself been born at *Exceter* in *Devonshire*, he gave to *Exceter* Colledge in *Oxford*, a hundred pounds Lands a year: He also builded at *Ingerstone* in *Essex*, Alms-houses for twenty poor people, and giving them some competent maintenance. Sir *Thomas Gresham* had his dwelling-house in *Broad-Street*, *London*, which he dedicated to the profession of the Liberal Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Physick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick and Rhetorick, allotting to the Professors very competent allowances. In her seventeenth year died *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who founded a Grammar-School in *Roehdale*, in the County of *Lancaster*: He also procured to *Corpus Christi* Colledge in *Cambridge*, thirteen Scholarships, and built two Chambers for Scholars, and the inward Library of the same Colledge, and procured to it the Patronage of St. *Mary Abchurch* in *London*, with many other works of like kind. Sir *Nicholas Bacon* Lord Keeper gave for six Scholars to be found in *Benet* Colledge in *Cambridge*, three pounds six shillings and eight pence for ever. *Edmund Grindall* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a Free-School in *Camberland*, where he was born, and gave many Pensions to both Universities. *Frances* Countesse of *Sussex*, Sister to Sir *Henry Sidney*, founded *Sussex-Sidney* Colledge in *Cambridge*: As likewise Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, founded *Emanuel* Colledge in the same University. Sir *Thomas Bodley* erected and furnished the famous publick Library at *Oxford*. *Alexander Nowell* Dean of *Pauls*, endowed *Brase-nosen* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he was brought up with two hundred pounds *per annum*, and dyed in the year 1602. Sir *Roger Manhood* chief Baron of the Exchequer, built seven

The Royal Exchange, when and by whom built.

Gresham Colledge in *Broadstreet* given to Professors of the Sciences.

Sussex-Sidney Colledge in *Cambridge* Founded.

Emanuel Colledge in *Cambridge* Founded.

The publick Library in *Oxford* erected.

seven Almſ-houſes in *Canterbury*, giving to every Almſ-man four pounds yearly: and our worthy Countryman *William Lambard*, built an Almſ-houſe at *Greenwich*, which he called, *The Colledge for the poor of Queen Elizabeth*. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1595. *Bevis Bulmar* Gentleman, builded a large houſe of great height, called an Engine, at the Bridge-foot, for the conveying and forcing of Thames water to ſerve in the middle and weſt parts of the City. Alſo in her time, namely, in the year 1596. *Ralph Rokeby* one of her Maſters of Requeſts, then dying, gave by his Will, to Chriſts Hoſpital in *London*, 100 *l.* to the Colledge of the poor of Queen *Elizabeth* in Eaſt *Greenwich*, 100 *l.* to the poor Scholars in *Cambridge*, 100 *l.* to the poor Scholars in *Oxford*, 100 *l.* to the priſoners in the two Compters in *London* 100 *l.* to the priſoners in the Fleet 100 *l.* to the priſoners in Ludgate 100 *l.* to the priſoners in Newgate 100 *l.* to the priſoners in the Kings Bench 100 *l.* to the priſoners in the Marſhalſey 100 *l.* to the priſoners in the White-Lyon 20 *l.* a liberal and pious Legacy; and worthy not to be forgotten.

Caſualties in Her time.

IN the firſt year of her Reign, dyed Sir *Thomas Cheyney*, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulſe did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as ſtrongly as if he had been ſtill alive. In her third year there was found near *Keſwick* in *Cumberland*, a moſt rich Vein of pure and native Braſs, which had lain neglected a long time: Alſo the ſtone called *Lapis Calaminaris*, which is of great uſe in Braſs-Works, was firſt brought into *England* at this time, and in moſt plentiful manner. Likewiſe this Queen was the firſt that cauſed Gun-powder to be made in *England*, which before was had from forrain parts, and at dear rates. In her third year, the Spire of the Cathedral Church of *Pauls*, being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and ſixty from the ſquare Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lightning burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the ſpace of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thouſand Marks in Money, and a thouſand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteenths; and the Clergy alſo contributed to it. Alſo this year there was many monſtrous Births: A Mare brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A Sow farrowed a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-child was born at *Chicheſter* in *Suſſex*, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Breſt and Belly monſtrous big, about the Neck a great collar of fleſh and skin, growing like the ruff of a ſhirt. In her ſixth year, upon the returning of the Army from *Newhaven*, the Peſtilence was brought into *England*, but eſpecially into *London*; where, in one year there dyed one and twenty thouſand and five hundred. This year alſo, in the Moneth of *December*, was driven on the ſhore at *Grimſely* in *Lincolnſhire*, a monſtrous Fiſh, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and ſix yards between the eyes. Twelve men ſtood upright in his mouth to get the Oyl. In her ſeventh year, on the one and twentieth of *December*, began a Froſt, ſo extreme, that on *New-years* Even people paſſed over the Thames on foot; ſome played at Foot-ball, ſome ſhot at pricks, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Froſt, the third of *January* at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day, there was no Ice at all to be ſeen; which ſudden thaw cauſed great Inundations. In her eighth year, within the ſpace of ten Moneths, there dyed in *London* ſeven Aldermen, namely, *Edward Banks*, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sir *Martin Bowes*, Sir *Richard Mallory*, Sir *William Hewet*, Sir *Thomas White*, and *Richard Lambert*, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The ſame year alſo, in the Town of *Oſſeſtry* in *Wales*, two hundred houſes, in the ſpace of two hours, were conſumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in *Suffolk*, at *Downham* Bridge near to *Ipſwich*, ſeventeen monſtrous Fiſhes; ſome of them being ſeven and twenty Foot in length: And in the ſame year, many *Dutch* flying into *England*, to avoid the perſecution of the Duke *D' Alva*, were the firſt that brought into *England* the Art of making Bayes, Sayes, Serges, and ſuch woven ſtuffs both Woollen and Linnen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of *Northumberlands* Grounds, which ſhe by her Prerogative ſeized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earth-quake happened in the Eaſt parts of *Herefordſhire*, a little Town called *Kinnaſton*. On the ſeventeenth of *February*, at ſix of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at firſt a great bellowing noiſe, which was heard a great way off) lifted it ſelf up a great height, and began to travell, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheeps-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the ſame time. In the place from whence it was firſt moved, it left a gaping diſtance forty foot broad, and fourſcore Ells long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Paſſing all along, it overthrew a Chappel ſtanding in the way, removed an Ewe-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the Weſt into the Eaſt; with the like force it thruſt before it High-wayes, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled-ground Paſture, and again turned Paſture into Tillage. Having walked in this ſort from *Saturday* in the evening, till *Munday* noon, it then ſtood ſtill. In her fifteenth year, in the moneth of *November*, a new Star, or rather a Meteor (but that it was found to be above the Moon) was ſeen in *Cathedra Caſſiopeæ*, exceeding *Jupiter* in brightneſs, and in that place was carried with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens ſixteen moneths together, though after eight moneths it was perceived to grow leſs and leſs. In her ſixteenth year, was a great Dearth, ſo as Wheat was ſold at five and ſix ſhillings the Buſhel, and other things in proportion. In her ſeventeenth year, a vaſt mighty Whale was caſt upon the Iſle of *Thanet* in *Kent*, twenty Ells long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with ſix Horſes could draw; the

The pulſe to beat of one that was dead.

A vein of Braſs found: alſo the ſtone called *Lapis calaminaris*.

Gun-powder firſt made in *England*.

The Spire of *Pauls* Church burnt down with lightning.

Many monſtrous Births.

A monſtrous Fiſh taken in *Lincolnſhire*.

An extreme Froſt.

The art of making Bayes and Serges, when and by whom brought firſt into *England*.

A prodigious Earth-quake.

A mighty Whale taken in *Thanet* in *Kent*.

Oyl

Oyl being boyled out of the head, was *Parmacittee*. This year alſo, the River *Thames* ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the moneth of *November*, the Heaven ſeemed to be all on a fire. Alſo on the four and twentieth of *February*, being a great Froſt, after a Flood which was great, there came down the River of *Severne* ſuch a ſwarm of Flyes and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quarters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with them for the ſpace of four dayes, and then were cleanſed by digging them out with Shovels. In her two and twentieth year, a ſtrange apparition happened in *Somerſetſhire*, threeſcore perſonages all cloathed in black, a furlong in diſtance from thoſe that beheld them; and after their appearing, and a little while tarrying, they vaniſhed away, but immediately another ſtrange company, in like manner, colour and number appeared in the ſame place: and they encountred one another, and ſo vaniſhed away. And the third time appeared that number again, all in bright armour, and encountred one another, and ſo vaniſhed away. This was examined before Sir *George Norton*, and ſworn by four honeſt men that ſaw it to be true. In her three and twentieth year, in the beginning of *April*, about ſix a clock after noon, happened an Earthquake not far from *York*, which in ſome places ſtrook the very ſtones out of Buildings, and made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night following, the earth trembled once or twice in *Kent*, and again the firſt day of *May*. In this year alſo, in the Town of *Walſham* in *Suſſex*, a childe of eleven years old, named *William Withers*, lay in a trance for the ſpace of ten dayes without any ſuſtenance; and at the laſt coming to himſelf, he uttered to the ſtanders by, many ſtrange ſpeeches; inveighing againſt Pride, Covetouſneſs, coldneſs of Charity, and other enormous ſins. In her ſix and twentieth year, being the year 1588, the like Prodigy happened in *Dorſetſhire*; as in the year 1571 had happened in *Herefordſhire*; A Field of three Acres in *Blackmore*, with the Trees and Fences, moved from its place, and paſſed over another Field, travelling in the High-way that goeth to *Herne*, and there ſtayed. In her eight and twentieth year, Tobacco was firſt brought out of the *Weſt-Indies* into *England* by *Ralph Lane*. In her five and thirtieth year, there was ſo great a drought, that not onely the Fields, but the Springs themſelves were dryed up, and many Cattel every where died for want of water. The River of *Thames* likewiſe did ſo fail, that a Horſeman might ride over at *London-Bridge*. In her ſix and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in *London*, ſo as there dyed this year in *London* and the Suburbs, ſeventeen thouſand eight hundred and ninety, beſides the Lord Mayor, and three Aldermen; and *Michaelmas* Term was holden at St. *Albans*. For the prices of Victuals in her time, we may take a pattern of the reſt by one kind: for *John Stow* reporteth, that in his youth he fetched many a half peniworth of Milk from a Farm by the *Minories*, and never had leſs than three Ale Pints for a half peniworth in the Summer, nor leſs than two Ale pints for a half peny in the Winter. Alſo in the year 1533, a fat Ox was ſold at *London* for twenty ſix ſhillings at the moſt; a fat Weather for three ſhillings four pence; a fat Calf the like price; a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three pound of Beef for a peny.

Another prodigious Earthquake.

Tobacco firſt brought into England, and by whom.

Of Her Perſonage and Conditions.

SHe was of ſtature indifferent tall, ſlender and ſtraight, fair of Complexion, her hair inclining to pale yellow, her fore-head large and fair, her eyes lively and ſweet, but ſhort ſighted; her Noſe ſomewhat riſing in the midſt; the whole compaſs of her countenance ſomewhat long, yet of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her mind was far more admirable: She had been a ſubject, which taught her to Rule; ſhe had been in miſery, which taught her to be merciful; and indeed, never Prince ruled with more juſtice, and with her juſtice mingled more mercy: She had more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but that ſhe was Ruler over men; and more Humility in her than was fit for a Prince, but that ſhe meant to be a Preſident to women. She delighted in nothing ſo much, as in the love of her people, which ſhe procured by ordaining good Magiſtrates, and forbearing Impoſitions. Her way not to need them, was frugality; and her way to have them when ſhe needed them, was liberality. She made honour in her time the more honourable, by not making it common; and indeed, knowing it to be an influence from her ſelf, ſhe kept it, as her ſelf, a Virgin, and would not proſtitute it to unworthy perſons. She declined being a Mother of Children, to the end ſhe might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed, no mother ever loved her children more, than ſhe did her people; and therefore never children loved a mother more, than her people did her. She coveted not ſo much to be an owner of riches, as of rich Subjects; for ſhe thought money did as well in their Coffers, as in her own: and indeed, ſhe never wanted it, when they had it; and they alwayes had it, when ſhe needed it. Never Prince had a wiſer Councel than ſhe, yet never Prince needed it leſſe; for ſhe was her ſelf a Counſellor to her Councel. In ſum, whatſoever may in flattery be ſaid of a wiſe, juſt, merciful, religious, and learned Prince, may truly be ſaid of her: in all which, if ever ſhe had an equal, yet ſhe never certainly had a ſuperiour. In playing her game of Fortune, ſhe loved not an after-game; for ſhe liked Preventions better than Remedies. She was admirable in expreſſing her mind, both by ſpeech and writing: and if collection could be made of her Apophthegms, and extemporal Orations, it would certainly excell any thing extant in that kind: And for her writing, Sir *Henry Savile* affirms; That he had ſeen ſome Tranſlations of hers, which far exceeded the Originals. Never Prince kept greater State with leſſe ſtatelineſſe: Her Penſioners and Guard were alwayes the talleſt and goodlieſt Gentlemen and Yeomen of the Kingdom: her Maids of Honour and other Women about her, the faireſt and moſt beautiful Ladies of the Realm; and yet her ſelf a *Diana* amongſt her Nymphs; inſomuch that a great Lord of *France* being entertained at Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked her Ladies, made anſwer, It was hard to judge of Stars, in the preſence of the Sun.

Of her Death and Buriall.

IT was now the Year 1602, when she feeling some Infirmities of Old Age and Sickness, retired her self at the end of *January*, to *Richmond*; at which time, in a sad Omen, she commanded the Ring to be filed off her finger, wherewith she was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off, it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filing. At the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Jawes began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withall she gave her self wholly to sadness and heaviness, which some imputed to her care for the losse of the Earl of *Essex*; Others, because she heard, That divers of the Nobility sought the favour of the King of *Scots*, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: but howsoever, in *March* a kinde of benummedness seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, so as she would sit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her a day before she dyed. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her minde concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this Answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean Person should succeed me. The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of *Scots*, my neerest Kinsman? After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God; That do I (said she) nor do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fixed upon him. And so on the four and twentieth day of *March*, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her Soul to God, when she had lived Threescore and nine years, six moneths, and seven dayes; Reigned Four and forty years, four moneths, and seven dayes. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to *White-Hall*; from whence on the eight and twentieth of *April* following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Vault of her Grand-father, King *Henry* the Seventh, in his Magnificent Chappell, where our Renowned Soveraign King *James* hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternall glory. At her Funerall were said to be Mourners in black, to the number of One thousand and six hundred persons.

Men of Note in her Time.

THE Ocean is not more boundless, than the number of Men of Note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with Statesmen: An exquisite Statesman for his own ends, was *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*; and for his Countries good, Sir *William Cecill* Lord *Burleigh*; as also Sir *Francis Walsingham*, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, were the Earl of *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, afterward Earl of *Suffolk*: and of meaner Rank, Sir *John Hawkins*, Sir *Martin Forbysher*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, *Cavendish*, *Preston*, *Ryman*; and, to name the worthiest last, Sir *Francis Drake*, who though he were but a short square bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the *Spaniards* believe that he was some goodly Personage. Great Commanders by Land, were *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *Roger Williams*, *Baskervile*, *Savage*, and the Honour of his Family, and our *English* Nation, Sir *John Norris*. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, employed by Queen *Elizabeth* as her Leiger in *Spain*, who wrote five Books of the restoring of the *English* Common-wealth, in Elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a Stove in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: *Roger Askam*, born in *Yorkshire*, notably skilfull in the *Greek* and *Latine* Tongues, who had sometime been School-master to Queen *Elizabeth*, and her Secretary for the Latine Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and dyed in mean estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Industry. Sir *Thomas Smith* born at *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*, sometime Secretary to King *Edward* the Sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the *English* Common-wealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the *English* tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the *Greek*; the first man that set on foot the Law for serving the Colledges with Provision. Sir *Henry Savill*, Provost of *Eaton*, and Reader to Queen *Elizabeth*, who set forth all St. *Chrysostoms* Works in *Greek*, and by translating of *Cornelius Tacitus*, deserved as much of the *English* Tongue, as he of the *Latine*. But above all, the admirable Sir *Philip Sidney*, who by writing in a light Argument, shewed how excellently, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were *John Jewell* born in *Devonshire*, a Student in *Corpus Christi* Colledg in *Oxford*, in Queen *Maries* time an Exile, by Queen *Elizabeth* made Bishop of *Salisbury*, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and dyed at scarce Fifty years of age, in the Fourteenth year of Queen *Elizabeth*. *John Whitaker*, Master of St. *Johns* Colledg in *Cambridge*, who learnedly answered all the Books of *Bellarmine*. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, sometimes Fellow of New Colledg in *Oxford*, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christs descent into Hell. *Richard Hooker*, Preacher at the *Temple*, who with too much meekness smothered his great

Roger Askam his delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting.

Learning, yet hath ſomething diſcovered it in his five Books of Eccleſiaſticall Diſcipline, and died in the year 1599. *Alexander Nowel* Dean of *Pauls*, who forbearing deeper Works, ſet forth a Catechiſm, according to the Doctrine of the *Engliſh* Church, and dyed in the year 1620. After ſuch men, it might be thought ridiculous to ſpeak of Stage-players; but ſeeing excellency in the meaneſt things deſerve remembring, and *Roſcius* the Comedian is recorded in Hiſtory with ſuch commendation, it may be allowed us to do the like with ſome of our Nation. *Richard Bourbidge* and *Edward Allen*, two ſuch Actors as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like: and, to make their Comedies compleat, *Richard Tarleton*, who for the Part called the Clowns Part, never had his match, never will have. For Writers of Playes, and ſuch as had been Players themſelves, *William Shakeſpeare* and *Benjamin Johnſon*, have ſpecially left their Names recommended to poſterity.

Famous Players, and Play-makers.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in her Reign.*

In her firſt year,
Sir *William Hewet* was Mayor.
Thomas Lodge, *Roger Martin*, Sheriffs.

In her ſecond year,
Sir *William Cheſter* was Mayor.
Chriſtopher Draper, *Thomas Rowe*, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir *William Harper* was Mayor,
Alexander Avenon, *Humphrey Baskervile*, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir *Thomas Lodge* was Mayor.
William Allen, *Richard Chamberlain*, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir *John White* was Mayor.
Edward Banks, *Rowland Heyward*, Sheriffs.

In her ſixth year,
Sir *Richard Mallory* was Mayor.
Edward Jackman, *Lionel Ducket*, Sheriffs.

In her ſeventh year,
Sir *Richard Champion* was Mayor.
John Rivers, *James Hawes*, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,
Sir *Chriſtopher Draper* was Mayor,
Rich. Lambert, *Amb. Nicholas*, *Job. Langley*, Sher.

In her ninth year,
Sir *Roger Martin* was Mayor.
Thomas Ramſey, *John Bond*, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,
Sir *Thomas Rowe* was Mayor.
John Oliph, *Rob. Harding*, *James Bacon*, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,
Sir *Alexander Avenon* was Mayor.
Henry Beecher, *William Dane*, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* was Mayor.
Francis Barneham, *William Roxe*, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,
Sir *William Allen* was Mayor,
Henry Milles, *John Branch*, Sheriffs.

In her fourteenth year.
Sir *Lionell Ducket* was Mayor.
Richard Pipe, *Nicholas Woodroffe*, Sheriffs.

In her fifteenth year,
Sir *John Rivers* was Mayor,
James Harvey, *Thomas Pulloccel* or *Pulliſon*, Sher.

In her ſixteenth year,
Sir *James Hawes* was Mayor.
Thomas Blancke, *Anthony Gamage*, Sheriffs.

In her ſeventeenth year,
Sir *Ambroſe Nicholas* was Mayor,
Edward Osborne, *Wolſtane Dixie*, Sheriffs.

In her eighteenth year,
Sir *John Langley* was Mayor,
William Kempton, *George Barne*, Sheriffs.

In her nineteenth year,
Sir *Thomas Ramſey* was Mayor,
Nicholas Backhouſe, *Francis Bowyer*, Sheriffs.

In her twentieth year,
Sir *Richard Pipe* was Mayor,
George Bond, *Thomas Starkie*, Sheriffs.

In her one and twentieth year,
Sir *Nicholas Woodroffe* was Mayor,
Martin Calthrop, *John Hart*, Sheriffs.

In her two and twentieth year,
Sir *John Branche* was Mayor,
Ralph Woodcock, *John Allot*, Sheriffs.

In her three and twentieth year,
Sir *James Harvey* was Mayor,
Richard Martin, *William Webbe*, Sheriffs.

In her four and twentieth year,
Sir *Thomas Blancke* was Mayor,
William Rowe, *John Haydon* deceaſed, *Cuthbert Buckle* ſucceeded, Sheriffs.

In her five and twentieth year,
Sir *Edward Osborne* was Mayor,
William Maſham, *John Spencer*, Sheriffs.

In her ſix and twentieth year,
Sir *Thomas Pulloccell* was Mayor,
Stephen Slaney, *Henry Billingſley*, Sheriffs.

In

In her Seven and twentieth year,
Sir *Wolſtane Dixie* was Mayor.
Anthony Ratcliffe, Henry Pranell, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and twentieth year,
Sir *George Barne* was Mayor.
Robert Houſe, William Elkin, Sheriffs.

In her Nine and twentieth year,
Sir *George Bond* was Mayor.
Thomas Skinner, John Catcher, Sheriffs.

In her thirtieth year,
Sir *Martin Calthrop* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Hugh Offley, Richard Saltonſtall, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Hart* was Mayor.
Richard Gurney, Stephen Some, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Allot* ſerved one part,
Sir *Rowland Heyward* the other.
Nicholas Moſley, Robert Brook, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Webbe* was Mayor,
Will. Rider, Benet or *Benedict Barnham*, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,
Sir *William Rowe* was Mayor,
John Garret or *Gerrard, Robert Taylor*, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,
Sir *Cuthbert Buckle* ſerved one part,
Sir *Richard Martin* the other.
Paul Banning, Peter Haughton, Sheriffs.

In her ſix and thirtieth year,
Sir *John Spencer* was Mayor,
Robert Lee, Thomas Bennet, Sheriffs.

In her ſeven and thirtieth year,
Sir *Stephen Slaney* was Mayor.
Thomas Lowe, Leonard Hallyday, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,
Sir *Thomas Skinner* ſerved one part,
Sir *Henry Billingſley* the other.
John Wats, Richard Godard, Sheriffs.

In her nine and thirtieth year,
Sir *Richard Saltonſtall* was Mayor.
Henry Row, John More Sheriffs.

In her fortieth year,
Sir *Stephen Some* was Mayor.
Edward Holmedon, Robert Hampſon, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortieth year,
Sir *Nicholas Moſley* was Mayor.
Humphrey Walde, Roger Clerke, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortieth year,
Sir *William Rider* was Mayor.
Thomas Smith, Tho. Cambell, Will. Craven, Sheriffs

In her three and fortieth year,
Sir *John Garret* or *Gerrard* was Mayor.
Henry Anderſon, William Glover, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortieth year
Sir *Robert Lee* was Mayor,
James Pemberton, John Swinnerton, Sheriffs.

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

Anno Dom. 1603.

JAMES the Fourth King of *Scotland*, married *Margaret* eldeſt Daughter of *Henry* the Seventh King of *England*, by whom he had *James* the Fifth, who had one onely Child *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, who had one only Son *James* the Sixth, who from *James* the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdome of *Scotland*; and from *Margaret*, King *Henry* the Seventh's eldeſt Daughter, (the Male line being clean extinct) unqueſtionable Title to the Crown of *England*: whereupon Queen *Elizabeth* being dead about Ten a clock in the morning the 24th of *March*, King *James* the Sixth, King of *Scotland* was the very ſame day (Mr. Secretary *Cecill* himſelf reading his Title, and Queen *Elizabeths* Will) proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by ſound of Trumpet, firſt at *White-Hall*, and then in *Cheapſide*, in preſence of all the Lords of the Councel, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all ſorts of people, that we may truly ſay, Sorrow was never more deceived than at this time; for where upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but ſorrowing and lamenting; now that very ſorrow was ſwallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other points in a manner the ſame, the like Wiſdome, the like Learning, the like Juſtice, the like Religiouſneſs in them both: onely bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

King *James* is proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Queen *Elizabeth* was no ſooner dead, but Sir *Robert Cary* a younger Son of the late Lord *Hunſdon*, poſted away unſent, to King *James* in *Scotland*, informing him of the accident: for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him a Baron of the Realm, and Lord of *Leppington*. But though it were ſufficient for the Kings information, that he heard the news by Sir *Robert Cary*; yet it was not ſufficient for the Lords of the Councel in diſcharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them, and therefore within a very few dayes, as ſoon as they could provide fit men, they ſent firſt Sir *Charles Piercy*, and Mr. *Thomas Somerſet*, and after them Sir *Thomas Lake* Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general applauſe of all the Realm, to receive him for their Soveraign, and alſo inform him in what terms the ſtate of the Kingdom ſtood, that ſo he might not come altogether a ſtranger when he came into it.

Sir *Robert Cary* acquaints him with the Queens death.

Queen *Elizabeth* indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only ſo, but a Kingdom furniſhed with all the fruits of Peace, plenty of all things neceſſary, and of all neceſſary things; the chiefeſt a Wiſe Councel, for ſhe left Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt* Lord Treaſurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral, and Sir *Robert Cecill* Principal Secretary: Four ſuch men that the meaneſt of them were ſufficient to ſit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to theſe and divers others beſides (all whom the King now by his Letters authorizeth to exerciſe their ſeveral places, as formerly they had done) he addeth certain new ones of his own chooſing, as namely the Earls of *Northumberland*, and *Cumberland*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and then after the Lord *Henry Howard*; the one the brother, the other the ſon of the late Duke of *Norfolk* who had ſuffered ſo much, that at laſt he ſuffered for the Queen his mother. But although the calling of theſe two laſt to ſuch place, was don (no doubt) out of favour to that houſe; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papiſt, it was preſently apprehended, as a favour to that ſide; and the Catholicks were not a little confident of his

The King addes new Counſellors.

his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a conceit, for in the late Queens sickness, a little before her death, Pope *Clement* the eight, had written two Brieves to the Catholicks in *England*, to admit of none to succeed in the Kingdom, when that miserable woman should happen to die (so he pleased to style the most glorious Queen that ever lived) but such a one, of whose good inclination to the See of *Rome*, they should at least be well perswaded. And now King *James* having setled the Goverment of his Kingdom of *Scotland*, & made convenient preparation for his journey: on the fifth of *April* 1603, he set forward and rode that day from *Edenburgh* to *Dunglasse*, and from thence the next day to *Bernick*, where having stayed two days the eighth of *April* he rode to *Withrington* a house of Sir *Robert Caries*, from thence the ninth to *Newcastle* where he staied Sunday and heard the Bishop of *Durham* preach, and so joyfull were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of his stay they bore the charge of his household. The thirteenth of *April* he set forward to *Durham* and from thence the fourteenth to *Waltworth*, the fifteenth towards *York*, where his train encreased to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an inhibition of the peoples resorts, and flocking to him. At *York* it was a question to whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King in that place, for both the Earl of *Cumberland* claimed it as hereditary to his House, and the President of the North claimed it as belonging to his place, but it was adjudged to *George* Earl of *Cumberland*; who accordingly did it. From *York* the eighteenth day the King rode to *Grimston*, to a house of Sir *Edward Stanhops*, the nineteenth to *Pomfret*, and so to *Doncaster*, where he lodged at the sign of the Bear and Sun: The twentieth of *April* he rode towards *Worsuppe*, a house of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*; from thence the twenty one to *Newark* upon *Trent*, where a Cutpurse being taken in the fact, was by the Kings warrant hanged; a most unseasonable delinquent, who would force the King to a work of Justice at a time when he intended nothing but mercy: the 22, to *Beaver* Castle, a house of the Earl of *Rutlands*, hunting all the way as he rode: From *Beaver* the 23 to *Burleigh*, where having stayed two or three days, the 27 he removed to *Hinchinbrook*, a house of Sir *Oliver Cromwels*, where the heads of the University of *Cambridge* met him. From thence he rode towards *Royston*, and as he passed through *Godmanchester*, a Town close by *Huntington*, the Bailiffs of the Town presented him with 70 Teem of Horse all traced to fair new Ploughs, at which the King wondring, they said, it was their ancient custom so to do when any King of *England* passed through their Town, and by which as being the Kings tenants, they held their land. At *Royston*, he lodged that night at Mr. *Chesters* house, at his own charge, which he had not done before, since his coming into *England*. The 30 of *April* he rode to *Standon*, a house of Sir *Thomas Sadlers*, where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of *London* Preach. The second of *May* he removed to *Brosbourn* a house of Sir *Henry Cocks*, cofferer to the late Queen, and now to the King, where met him the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and divers other Lords: The third of *May* he came to *Theobalds*, a house of Sir *Robert Cecils*; when all the Lords of the late Queens most honourable Privy Councel presented themselves, and there the Lord Keeper made a grave Oration. At this house, the fourth of *May*, the King made divers Noblemen of *Scotland* of his Privy Councel here in *England*; namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and Sir *George Hume* Treasurer of *Scotland*, Sir *James Elpingston* his Secretary, and the Lord of *Kinlosse*, made afterward master of the Rolles. Saturday the seventh of *May*, he rode towards *London*, where by the way, the Sheriff *Swinnerton*, and the Aldermen met him; and by their Orator Mr. *Richard Martin*, made him an Eloquent Oration; and then he rode on to the *Charter-house* near *Smithfield*, a house belonging to the Lord *Thomas Howard*, where he stayed four days; and at his departing from thence made the Lord *Zouch*, and the Lord *Burgley*, of his Privy Councel. But wee must not here omit, that from the Kings first setting forth of *Scotland*; as he was in all places received with Royal entertainment and rich presents; so he again carried himself most affable, and distributed his favours in most plenteous manner: in some places discharging all prisoners but such as lay for Treason or Murther; but especially in conferring the order of Knighthood, of which sort the first he made, was Mr *John Peyton*, son to Sir *John Peyton*, Lieutenant of the Tower. After him divers *Scots* in sundry places; at *Theobalds*, eight and twenty; (of which number the compiler of this work, though the unworthiest, was one;) at the *Charter-house* above fourscore: and not many days after, no fewer than at least a hundred; and before the year went about God knows how many hundreds, that one would wonder what the King would do with so many *Milites*, having no war toward: But it was indeed fit to give a vent to the passage of Honour, which during Queen *Elizabeths* Reign had been so stopped, that scarce any County of *England* had Knights enow to make a Jury.

Before we go further, it will not be amisse, to shew what great men attended King *James* out of *Scotland*; as namely the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Hume*, and many other great Lords; and many other whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his speciall favour: first Sir *George Hume*, made afterward Earl of *Dunbarre*: then Sir *Thomas Erskin*, made Earl of *Kelly*; then Sir *John Ramsey* made Earl of *Holderneſſe*; (which two last had the fortune to come first in to his rescue against the *Gowries*) then Sir *James Hay*, made afterward Earl of *Carlile*; and then Sir *Richard Preston* made Earl of *Kildare* in *Ireland*; but whose great fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of *Ireland*, he was unfortunately cast away and drowned.

But though King *James* was now safely come himself to *London*; yet he accounted himself but half come, untill his Queen and children were come to him, and therefore there are now appointed to go to conduct them; of Lords, the Earl of *Sussex*, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, and Sir *George Carew* Knight Lord President of *Munster*: of Ladies, the Counteſſe of *Worcester*, the Counteſſe of *Kildare*, the Lady *Anne Herbert* Daughter to *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*;

Divers Noblemen of *Scotland* made of his Privy Councel.

The King sets forward into *England*.

To whom it belonged to bear the Sword before the King at *York*.

What number of Knights the King made.

At *Godmanchester* the King is presented with 70 Teem of horse, and why.

With what great Lords the King came attended out of *Scotland*.

Sir *Richard Preston* Earl of *Kildare* unfortunately drowned.

What Lords and Ladies were sent to attend the Queen at her coming.

broke; the Lord *Scroopes* Lady, the Lady *Rich* wife to the Lord *Rich*, and the Lady *Walsingham*, one of the late Queens Bed-chamber: But although these only were appointed to go, yet many other Lords and great Ladies went of themselves to attend her Majesty, as the Countesse of *Bedford*, the Lady *Hastings*, the Lady *Cecill*, the Lady *Hatton*, the Lady *Harrington*, and divers other: & with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her children, namely Prince *Henry* of the age of nine years, and the Lady *Elizabeth* on the eleventh of *June* came to *York*: where resting themselves some few days, on the seven and twentieth of *June* they came to *Easton* in *Northamptonshire*, a house of Sir *George Fermors*, where the King met them at dinner: and afterward they rode together to a house of Sir *John Forteſcue*, and so to *London*. The Kings younger son, *Charles* Duke of *Albany* came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey, but the year following falling sick of a Feaver, Doctor *Atkins* one of the Kings Physitians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his feaver; and the first week of *October* brought him safe to *Windsor*, where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gains of his usuall practise, he grew to a greater wealth than was usuall for Physitians.

Lords made by the King.

King *James* had distributed the meaner Order of *Knighthood*, very plentifully; now he thinks fit to raise his *distributions* to a higher degree, and thereupon the twentieth of *May*, he made Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Essindon*; Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*; Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greyes*; and Sir *Edward Wooton* Baron of *Morley*; and not long after he made the Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*; and *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckhurst*, he made Earl of *Dorset*.

Ambassadors from all Princes of Christendome come to congratulate the Kings happy coming to the Crown.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affection of neighbouring Princes towards him stood yet in suspence, when now to take away that doubt came first in the beginning of *June*, an Ambassador from the *Palsgrave of Rhine*; presently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*; another from the Archduke of *Austria*; another from the King of *Spain*; from the Seigniory of *Venice* another; another from the Duke of *Florence*; and lastly on the eight of *June* Mounsieur *de Rosny* from the King of *France*: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of *England*; for entertainment of which Ambassadours, and all other that should come after; the King had erected an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fee, and the first that had the place was Sir *Lewis Lewkenor*: a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skilfull in the neighbouring languages.

The Office of Master of the Ceremonies erected.

Fourteen Serjeants of Law made.

Upon the seventeenth of *May* this year, were made fourteen Serjeants at Law: whereof eleven had received Writs the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*: namely, *Thomas Coventry*, *Robert Haughton*, *Lawrence Tanfield*, *John Crook*, *Thomas Foster*, *Edward Philips*, *Thomas Harris*, *James Altham*, *Henry Hubbard*, *Augustine Nicholls*, and *Robert Parker*; to whom the King added three new; *John Sherly*, *George Snygge*, and *Richard Hutton*, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple Hall.

Valentine Thomas for offences against Queen *Elizabeth*, is hanged and quartered.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Queen *Elizabeth* had been forgotten; but King *James* more tender of wrongs done to her than to himself, would not suffer *Valentine Thomas* so to escape; who after he had lyen many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the fourth of *June* arraigned at the Kings *Bench Bar* and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Councel, was on the seventh of *June* after six a clock at night, drawn to St. *Thomas Watrings*, and there hanged and quartred.

The Lord *Montjoy* brings *Tir-Oen* into *England*, who is fully pardoned.

About this time the Honourable *Charles* Lord *Montjoy* returned out of *Ireland*; bringing along with him *Hugh O-Neal*, Earl of *Tir-Oen* at whose coming to the King, the Lord *Montjoy* was sworn of the Kings Privy Councel; and the Earl of *Tir-Oen*, who had been the cause of so much *English* bloud shed, was yet pardoned, and proclamation made, that by all men he should be used with respect and honour.

The Earl of *Rutland* sent with the Garter to the King of *Denmark*; The Lord *Spencer* to the Duke of *Wirtenberge*.

All this while the King had moved within his own Sphear, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Imployment abroad was now in *June*, to his brother the King of *Denmark*, to whom he sent in Ambassage the Earl of *Rutland* upon two occasions: the one to be Godfather to his Son, who was named *Christianus*, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like imployment, soon after, he sent the Lord *Spencer* to *Frederick* Duke of *Wirtenberg*; which Lords saw the said Princes invested with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

A Treason of a strange composition.

It was now a time that every man might sit under his Vine, and enjoy the happinesse of a peaceable Goverment: when suddenly like a storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treason of a strange Composition: for where in all Treasons commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this, there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protestants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen; that one would think it should be a well managed Treason, and yet was the shalloweſt that was ever set on foot; so shallow, that it could scarce be observed, either what the Authors of it ailed, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King *James* at his first coming to the Crown, shewed to the Earl of *Southampton*, was like to breed no good blood in those that were his opposites; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlarge the Earl of *Southampton*, and appointed him to meet him upon the way: so when he heard of an intention that the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had to meet him; he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complices; and by this means was the composition of this Treason made up, and thereupon were apprehended *Henry* Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his brother, *Thomas* Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, and Sir *Edward Parham* Knights, *Bartholomew Brookesby*, and *Anthony Copley* Gentlemen, *William Watson* and *William Clerk* Priests: But though they were apprehended in *July*, yet they came not to their arraignment till

November following; for by reason of the sickness, which was then hot in *London*, the Term was put off till *Crastino Martini*, and, then to be kept at *Winchester* in *Hampshire*, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Wards & Liveries, and the Dutchy of *Lancaster* were kept in the Kings Manor at *Richmond* in the County of *Surrey*; and so in the fourth of *November* following, all the foresaid Delinquents were removed from the Tower of *London* and other Prisons, by strong Guards to *Winchester*, and there arraigned; whose Indictment was for Conspiring

The Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and others arraigned at *Winchester*; and why.

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved, that the Lord *Grey* intended to obtain the levying of 2000 men, for defence of the *Low-Countries*, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Councel in their Chambers. For the other Points, It was proved, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and there consulted about raising Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady *Arbella* And particularly for the Point of subverting the State; it was proved, that *Watson* was designed to be Lord Chancellor, *George Brook* Lord Treasurer, Sir *Griffith Markham* Secretary, and the Lord *Grey* to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of *England*. And for effecting of these Treasons, It was proved, that *Watson* the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last point, It was proved, that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for six hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord *Cobham* to go to the Archduke and to the King of *Spain*, to perswade them to assist the Lady *Arbella*. These things being proved against them; on the days in which they were severally Indicted, the most which was replyed in mitigation of their fault, was first by *Watson*, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord *Grey*, that it was but a verbal matter, and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason: but these assertions being both refuted, they were all (except Sir *Edward Parham*, who only was acquitted) on their several days of indictment, found guilty of Treason; and had Judgement accordingly. The Priests *Watson* and *Clerk* were executed at *Winchester*, the nine and twentieth of *November*: *George Brook* was beheaded the fifth of *December*; but then the hand of Justice stayed, and this was the course which the King held in shewing mercy. After the death of the three before named, he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord *Colham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Griffith Markham*, on a certain day then following; but before that day came, he privately framed another Warrant written with his own hand to the Sheriffe, (who was then Sir *Benjamin Titchburn*) by which he countermanded the former Warrants, and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. *John Gybbe*, a *Scotch*-man, and one utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it so, that it might not take effect, till after their several confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed. At which time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling upon their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unspeakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Grey* not long after dyed, and in him was extinct that *Barony*, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. Sir *Griffith Markham* after some time was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord *Cobham* likewise was afterward discharged of Imprisonment, but deprived of his Estate, lived divers years in great penury; and in him ended that Noble Family, which had flourished in great honour many Ages. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was kept in the *Tower*, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been released. But such is our state, that no mans fortune is understood, whether it be good or bad, untill it be discovered by the Event.

And all condemned but Sir *Edward Parham*.

Watson and *Clerk* executed. *George Brook* beheaded.

The rest spared, and the course the King held in it.

The Lord *Grey* dies in the Tower, in whom that *Barony* was extinct. The Lord *Cobham* discharged of Imprisonment but lived in great penury: in him that *Barony* also was extinct. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is kept in the Tower: where, and how he spent his time.

But in this mean time many things had passed, for his Majesty having deferred the Feast of St. *George* untill his being at some of his own Houses, held now the said Feast at *Windsor*, the second of *July*; where the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter; as also the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Marre*, and the Earl of *Pembroke*; and at the same time were elected the King of *Denmark*, and the Duke of *Wirtenberg*: though their investing have been spoken of before.

The Prince and others made Knights of the Garter.

And now was preparation made for the Kings Coronation, and for a preparative unto it, he first restored the Earl of *Southampton*, and then raised in honour these following: Sir *Thomas Egerton* Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of *Elsmere*; Sir *William Russel*, Baron of *Thornaugh*; Sir *Henry Grey*, Baron of *Groby*; Sir *John Peter*, Baron of *Writtle*; Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*; Sir *Henry Denvers* Baron of *Dantsey*; Sir *Thomas Gerrard*, Baron of *Gerard Bromley* in the County of *Stafford*; and Sir *Robert Spencer*, Baron of *Wormeleyton*. After this he conferred inferiour Orders; and made Knights, all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers others: and lastly made Knights of the *Bath* threescore and two, most of them Noblemens sons, and the rest Gentlemen of speciall worth. These things done, on the five and twentieth of *July*, being St. *James* day, the King and Queen were together crowned, and anointed at *Westminster*, by the hands of *John Whitegift*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, in presence of the Nobility and other, namely Sir *Robert Lee* Lord Mayor of *London*, in a Gown of Crimson Velvet, his Brethren the Aldermen in Gowns of Scarlet, and 12 principal Citizens admitted to attend on them: all other Citizens stayed from passing thither either by water or land by reason of the sickness; and the first of *August* following all suiters were by Proclamation forbidden to repair to the Court till the Winter following.

Divers Lords made.

The King and Queen are Crowned together.

At

The fifth of *August* kept holy-day, for the Kings deliverance from the *Gowries*.

At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had, which though it were had in *Scotland*, yet he would have notice of it taken in *England*, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the *Gowries* on the fifth day of *August* three years before and thereupon Friday being the fifth of *August* was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonefires at night; which was then and after, during his life solemnly observed.

King *James* had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of *Scotland*; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of *Spain*; another as he was King of *England*, and in this he had some difference with *Spain* but he, as *Rex pacificus*, took the best from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch, and thereupon when at his coming into *England*, he found letters of Mart granted against the *Spaniards*, he first caused them all to be called in, and then consented to a Treaty of perfect reconcilement: In which Treaty handled at *London*, the 18th of *August*, 1604, the Commissioners for the King of *England* were *Tho.* Earl of *Dorset*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, *Charles* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Robert* Viscount *Cranburn*: For the King of *Spain*, *John de Valasco* Constable of *Castile*, *John de Tassis* Earl of *Villa Mediana*, and *Alexander Robidius* Professor of the Law in the College of *Millain*: For the Archdukes, *Charles* Count of *Aremberg*, *John Richardot* President of the Privy Councel, and *Lodowick Verreiken* principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and contained in many Articles; the Summer following, the King of *Spain* sent Don *John de Valasco* Constable of *Castile* and Duke of *Fryas*, also *Pedraca de lay Syerra*, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marquesses, Earls and Barons, who coming into *England*, were by the Earl of *Devonshire* on the nineteenth of *August* Brought to the Court, where the King in his Chappel in the presence of the Commissioners and other *English* Lords, (the Duke of *Fryas* holding the Kings hands between his) took his Oath upon the holy Bible, religiously to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon: and in *March* following, being now the third year of King *James*, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord high Admiral of *England* was sent into *Spain* to take in like manner the King of *Spain's* Oath: who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen & other, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of *April* arrived at *Groyne*, from whence he was conducted to *Valledolid*, three hundred miles off, where the King of *Spain* then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he passed, at the King of *Spain's* charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladnesse, that it plainly shewed the *Spaniards* were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Ambassador being come to the Court, he caused *Thomas Knoll* Esquire, to deliver the presents sent from the King of *England*, which were six goodly Horses, with saddles and saddle clothes very richly imbroidered, whereof three for the King, and three for the Queen: two Crosse-bows with sheafs of arrows: four fowling pieces inlaid with plates of gold: and a couple of Lyme-hounds of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted; and then on the thirtieth of *May*, the Lord Ambassador being sent for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix: the Archbishop of *Toledo* read the Oath, at the reading whereof, the Lord Ambassador held the Kings hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Book, and after his Oath, subscibed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilest the Earl of *Nottingham* was thus imployed in *Spain*, the right honourable *Edward* Earl of *Hertford*, was likewise sent Ambassador to *Albertus* and *Isabella*, Archdukes of *Austria*, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at *Brusels* the first of *May* with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes servants, to the full sum of three thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departrue, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arras worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at *Bruxels*. And now was King *James* truly *Rex pacificus*, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

All Letters of Mart called in.

A Treaty of Peace with *Spain*, and who were Commissioners.

A Peace concluded, and the solemn manner of confirming it.

Charles Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral, is sent into *Spain* to take the Kings Oath, and his entertainment.

The Kings Presents to the King and Queen of *Spain*.

Ostend taken by the Marquess *Spinola*.

A little before this, in the Moneth of *August*, in the year 1604, the strong Town of *Ostend* in *Flanders*, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men of both sides, and in defence whereof, Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his brother Sir *Horatio Vere* had shewed great Valor, was by the Marquess *Spinola* taken; for which service, the King of *Spain* made him Duke of *Santa Severina*, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the *Low-Countries*.

An. Reg. 3.

1605.

It was now the third year of King *James* his Reign, when he kept Saint *Georges* Feast at *Greenwich*, and their made two new Knights of the Garter; namely the High and Mighty Prince Duke *Ulrick*, heir of *Norway*, and brother to our gracious Queen *Anne*: and the right Noble Lord *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*. And upon the Saturday following in the Hall at *Greenwich*, being richly hanged with Arras, he created three Earls, one Viscount and four Barons: namely Sir *Robert Cecill* Viscount *Cranburn*, he created Earl of *Salisbury*: *Thomas Cecill* Lord *Burley* his eldest brother, he created Earl of *Exceter*, and Sir *Philip Herbert*, younger brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, he created Earl of *Montgomery*, then *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst* Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount *Lisle*: Sir *John Stanhope*, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord *Stanhope* of *Haringten*: Sir *George Carew* Vicechamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord *Carew* of *Clopton*: Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonshire*, he made Lord *Arundell* of *Warder*: and Mr. *William Cavendish*, he made Lord *Cavendish*, of *Hardwick*.

Earls and Barons created.

Richard Haidock his pretending to preach in his sleep.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a professed Physitian, one *Richard Haidock* of new Colledg in *Oxford*, who pretended to preach at night in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud or stirred and pull'd by the hands or feet, yet would make no shew of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came

came to hear him, so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the sleeping Preacher. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty sate up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last *Haidock* making a shew to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division; applying it to his purpose, for in his Preaching his use was to invey against the Pope, against the Cross in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of *England*, and having ended his Sermon, seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage; after a few dayes, called the said *Haidock* before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable sagacity in discovering of Fictions) made him confesse, that all he did was but imposture: and thereupon to fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he should openly acknowledge his offence; because many were brought into belief, that his nightly preaching was either by inspiration, or by vision.

Discovered by the King.

The King tries the nature of the Lyon, with a Cock and a Lamb.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King *James* thought it not unworthy the seeing, thereby to observe the nature of the *Lyon*, and make a solemn matter of it; for on Munday the third of *June* (taking with him the Duke of *Lenox*, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyons Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to be cast before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his blood. Then a live Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then the King caused those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Mastifs to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turned him upon his back, and though the Lyon were superior to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first assailants, with whom otherwise, perhaps the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

Charles the Kings younger Son is created Duke of *York*, and the solemn manner of it.

On Fryday the 4th. of *January* in the Kings second year, *Charles* Duke of *Albany*, the Kings second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of *York*; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. First were appointed Knights of the Bathe, the Duke of *Albany* himself, then the Lord *Willowby*, the Lord *Chandois*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, *William Cecill* Son and heir to the Viscount *Cranburn*, *Allen Percy* Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Somerset* second Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, *Francis Mannors* Brother to the Earl of *Rutland*; *Thomas Howard* second Son to the Earl of *Suffolk*, and *John Harington* Son and heir to the Lord *Harington*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* were Esquires to the Duke of *Albany*; all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first Gate-house going to *Kings-street*; where they supped, and had Bathes provided for them. The next morning being Saturday, they went out into the Park in their Hermits weeds, the Minstrels playing, and the Heralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chappel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chappel, in a rich Cope, holding the Bason.) After this they went up into their lodgings, and there new attired themselves in Robes of Crimson Taffaty, with Hats and white feathers, and so went back to the great Chamber: where, by the King, they were girded with the Sword, and had guilt spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chappel, and there offered their Swords. The next day being Sunday, and *Twelfth* day, in Robes of purple Stattin, with Doctors hoods on their shoulders, and Hats with white feathers, they issued out of the Revestry with the Duke of *Albany* (being then to be made Duke of *York*) into the Hall, where the King sate under the Cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bathe followed, and then the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain came alone, then followed *Henry Howard* Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles Blunt* Earl of *Devonshire*, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of *York*; after whom *Wriothsley* Earl of *Southampton* carried the Coronet, *George Clifford* Earl of *Cumberland* the Golden Rod, the Earl of *Worcester* the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of *Nottingam* bore the Duke of *Albany* in his Arms, supported by the Earls of *Dorset* and *Northumberland*, who all coming in this order before the King; the Duke of *Albany* was after the Patent read, created Duke of *York*, with the Robes and Coronet put on him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed, they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

Thomas Douglas a *Scotch*-man hanged in *Smithfield*, and why.

About this time, on the fifteenth of *June*, *Thomas Douglas* a *Scotch*-man, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent hither but three dayes before from the Count *Palatine* of *Rhyne*. His offence was, that he had counterfeited the Kings Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*; One to the Archbishop of *Cullen*, another to the Archbishop of *Tryer*, another to the Duke of *Cleve*, another to the Archbishop of *Moguntia*, and a fifth to the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*; whereof being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a Hurdle into *Smithfield*, and there hanged and quartered.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at *Westminster*, on the nineteenth of *March* following, when four dayes before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of *London*, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Presents given, Orations made, and all demonstrations of love and observance; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified the causes of his calling it; but in the time when it should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot of Treason (so damnable and foul, that posterity will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it) the Plot was to blow up with Gun-powder both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince, and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper-House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the lower.

The Gun-powder Treason.

By whom first plotted.

The principal contriver of this Plot was *Robert Catesbie*, a Gentleman of great account in *Northamptonshire*, descended from that *Catesbie* who had been a special Counsellor of King *Richard* the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a diastrous period. This *Catesbie* not able to perform the work himself alone, draws in many to assist him, as namely, *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Grant*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *John Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guido Fawks*, and at last Sir *Everard Digby*, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret; For effecting of this plot, they hired a house close adjoyning to the Upper House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About *Candlemasse* they had wrought the Wall half through: when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending *Guy Fawks* (who went now under the name of *John Johnson*, as Master *Percies* man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and were now a letting, and the Room offered to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Master *Percy* presently went and hired, laying into it twenty Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the plot was put in good readiness. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of *York* and the Lady *Elizabeth* should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surprizing the Duke of *York*, *Percy* undertook, and for surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*, they agreed upon a match of hunting near to *Dunchurch*, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord *Harringtons* house in *Warwickshire*, where she then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be sure to have all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their bloody Plot went fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloody; but now a tenderness of heart took some of them, least their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter, a Letter was framed, and sent to the Lord *Monteagle*, Son and heir to the Lord *Morley*, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man in the street; The Letter was this: *My Lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time: And think not slightly of this Advertisement: for though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.*

And with what Assistants.

By what means first discovered.

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at *White-hall*, (the King being then a hunting at *Royston*) and delivered it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, principal Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it: the Earl of *Salisbury* telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or mad man, because of those words, (*for the danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter*) for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with powder; and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoyning: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord *Mounteagle*, who entring the Cellar under the Upper House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. *Percie's* own provision: but then (it being considered why such store should be laid in for Mr. *Percie*, who used to make but little stay in Town) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose, and then spying the said *Fawks* to stand suspiciously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touch-wood, a Tynder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. *Percie* had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at *Dunchurch*, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withall, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause; hoping thereby to have many to joyn with them in their Rebellion: but this availed them nothing: for first Sir *Richard Verney* high Sheriff of *Warwickshire* chased them from thence; and Sir *Richard Welsh* Sheriff of *Worcestershire*, knowing them to be entred into Master *Littletons* house at *Walbach*, beset them round, where *Catesbie* and *Percie* issuing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them, both the *Wrights*, *John* and *Christopher*, were likewise slain outright; *Thomas Winter* was taken alive: all which time, *Francis Tresham* remained still about the Court, offering his service for their suppression: but being suspected, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few dayes after dyed of the Strangury. On the seven and twentieth of *January* following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for tryal of the rest of the Confederates: namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Guydo Fawks*, *Robert Keyes*, *Thomas Bates*, *Robert Winter*, late of *Hoodington* in *Warwickshire* Esquire, *John Graunt*, late of *Yorthbrook*, in the County of *Warwick* Esquire, *Ambrose Rookwood*, late of *Staningfield*

Fawks first apprehended.

Catesbie and *Percie* slain.

The rest of the Conederates arraigned, condemned and executed.

in

in *Suffolk* Esquire, Sir *Everard Digby*, late of *Gothurſt* in *Buckinghamſhire*, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgment to dye, and on the Thurſday following Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *Graunt* and *Bates*, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered, at the Weſt end of *Pauls* Church in *London*, and the Friday the other four; namely, *Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawks* were executed in the Parliament yard at *Weſtminſter*. Of all whom, none was ſo much lamented as Sir *Everard Digby*, and indeed worthily; for he was a goodly perſonage, and of excellent parts, and had it ſeems been cunningly drawn in, and bound to ſecrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any ſuch Treaſon.

The Earl of *Northumberland* committed to the Tower, and why.

The ſeventh of *November* the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon ſuſpicion of being acquainted with the plots, was firſt commanded to his Houſe, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great Plot diſcovered, and the Plotters puniſhed; to the great rejoycing of all people: inſomuch, that even the King of *Spain*'s and Arch-dukes Embaſſadors made Bonefires, and threw money among the people in token of joy. And at this time, on the fourth of *January*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour delivered a Preſent to the K. from the King his Maſter: namely, ſix Jennets of *Andaluſia*, with Saddles very riches imbroydered, & Saddle-clothes of cloth of *Tiſſue*: One of which Jennets was ſnow-white, and had a main which reached to the ground. But this was a Preſent ſent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treaſon: but as ſoon as that was known, there was preſently another Preſent ſent from the Queen of *Spain* to the Queen of *England*, of purpoſe to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder-Treaſon; and the Preſent was brought by *Don John de Mendoſa*, which was a Roab of Murrie Sattin, imbroydered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every ſeam and skirt twice imbroydered about with Gold; the fore-part whereof were ſet with eight and forty tagges three inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-greece, alſo two large Chains of Amber-greece; Two Carkanets of Amber-greece. a Velvet Cap with gold Buttons, curiouſly enameled, and a girdle ſutable to the Buttons; all which were preſented together in a large Veſſel of Gold, in form of a Baſon; ſo as it ſeems there was none rejoyced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick cauſe, than the Catholick King himſelf. And now King *James*, not to be unmindful to the Lord *Monteagle*, for being the means of diſcovering this Treaſon, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crown-land 200 *l.* to him and his heirs, and 500 *l.* a year beſides during his life: and not to be unthankful to God for the deliverance, he cauſed the fifth of *November*, being the day of the diſcovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thankſgiving to God, which was then ſolemnly performed, and hath been ſince, and is likely for ever to be continued.

A Preſent from the K. of *Spain* to K. *James*.

Another from the Q. of *Spain* to the Q. of *England*.

The Lord *Monteagle* reward for being a means of diſcovering the Treaſon.

The fifth of *November* kept holy in thankfulneſs for this deliverance.

A rumour ſpread, that the King was ſlain at *Oking*, but falſe: and the joy upon the hearing the truth.

But in the midſt of this great joy, there was ſuddenly ſpread a rumour of great ſorrow, for on Saturday the two and twentieth of *March*, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was ſlain at *Oking*, twenty miles from *London*, ſtabbed with an invenomed knife; whereupon the Court gates were preſently ſhut, and double guard ſet in all places about *London*, and all mens minds were infinitely diſtracted; but within two hours all theſe clouds were ſlain and diſperſed, and the Sun began to ſhine out again; and it was certainly known, that the King was ſafe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was preſently ſent forth to ſignifie it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himſelf to *Whitehall*, where thouſands of people raviſhed with joy came flocking to ſee him; and ſo general was the rejoycing, that the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour gave Sir *Lewis Lewknor*, Maſter of the *Ceremonies*, a chain of Gold of good value, for bringing him the news: Though afterward it was thought by ſome, that this rumour was but politickly deviſed to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings ſafety, and by making them more ſenſible what a treaſure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treaſure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subſidies than are uſual.

Henry Garnet a Jeſuite executed, and why.

The eight and twentieth of *March* following, *Henry Garnet* Provincial of the *Engliſh* Jeſuites, was arraigned in *Guild-hall*, for concealing the foreſaid treaſon, where he had Judgment to be hang'd, drawn and quartered, and accordingly on the third of *May*, was drawn from the Tower to the Weſt end of *Pauls* Church, & there executed. At his death, he confeſſed his fault, asked forgiveneſs, and exhorted all Catholicks never to attempt any treaſon againſt the King or State, as a courſe which God would never proſper.

On Tueſday the twentieth of *May* were enſtalled at *Windſor* Knights of the Garter, *Robert Cecill* Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Thomas Howard* Viſcount *Byndon*; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of *Salisbury* beyond ordinary proportion.

Henry Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton* fined, and why.

There was yet a Fag end of the late Powder-Treaſon behind to be examined: whereupon two Barons of the Realm; namely, *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton*, were brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber: and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treaſon, but only reflectingly, becauſe they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to their ſummons, for which neglect only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King; the Lord *Mordant* ten thouſand Marks, and the Lord *Sturton* ſix thouſand, and to be priſoners during the Kings pleaſure. But on the 27th. of *June*, *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* was likewiſe brought from the Tower to the Star-chamber, and more directly charged with circumſtances concerning the Treaſon, ſpecially in regard of *Thomas Percy*, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentlemen Penſioners, without miniſtring unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recuſant; for which, and ſome miſpriſons, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thouſand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept priſoner during the Kings pleaſure, as indeed he continued many years, and at laſt releaſed, was yet confined.

Henry Earl of *Northumberland* fined, and why.

1606.

Chriſtianus K. of *Denmark* the Queens Brother comes into *England*, and of his entertainment.

It was now the fourth year of King *James* his Reign, and was a time of Princely viſitation; for this Summer, the 17th. of *July*, *Chriſtianus* King of *Denmark*, Brother to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight ſhips came into the River of *Thames*,

Thames, and anchored before *Graves-end*; to whom the next day, King *James* with Prince *Henry*, and divers of the Lords went by Barge, and conducted him to *London*, where he stayed till the twelfth of *August* following: in which time, he was entertained with all the Magnificence that could be devised; the King and he riding in great state through the City; where Pageants in many places were erected; and after he had been shewed the chief places about *London*: as namely the *Old Exchange*, the Tower, the Monuments at *Westminster*, and had gone up to the top of *Pauls*, had been feasted by the King, by the Earl of *Salisbury* four days together at *Theobalds*, had seen Tilting, Fencing, Wrastling, and many other pastimes; on the twelfth of *August*, conducted by the King, the Queen and Prince, with many other great Lords, he departed to his ships, and in eight days arrived at home: A happy thing when Princes can converse together like private persons, and are not kept asunder with jealousies of State.

Francis Prince of *Vaudemount* comes into *England*, with what great train, and of his entertainment.

After the King of *Denmarks* departure, on the 23d. of *September* arrived at *London Francis* Prince of *Vaudemount*, third Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, accompanied with seven Earls, ten Barons, forty Gentlemen of quality, and sixscore common persons; who all the five and twentieth of *September* went by Coach to the King at *Hampton-Court*, where fourteen dayes together they were feasted and royally entertained, and then returned.

An Insurrection in *Northamptonshire* and *Warwickshire* about Inclosures by Captain *Pouch*, and how suppressed.

But these Festivals were followed with a little disturbance; for in *May*, the year after, great Assemblies were gathered together in *Northamptonshire*, *Warwickshire* and *Leicestershire*, throwing down Inclosures at first, without any particular head: but at last rose up a base Fellow, called *John Reynolds*, whom they named Captain *Pouch*, because he had a great leather Pouch hanging by his side, who affirmed to the Company, that in that Pouch he had sufficient to defend them against all commers: but when he was afterward apprehended, and his Pouch searched, there was nothing found in it but a piece of green Cheese. Proclamation was made, commanding them to surcease their disorder: But this prevailed nothing, till the King sent *Henry* Earl of *Huntington*, *Thomas* Earl of *Exceter*, *Edward* Lord *Zouch*, and Sir *Edward Cook* Lord chief Justice of *England*, to suppress them by force of Arms, and to punish the Levellers according to the nature of their offences; some by death, as for Treason; some by Fines, as for Routs: but Captain *Pouch* was made exemplar.

The King is made free of the *Cloth-workers*.

On Friday the twelfth of *June*, his Majesty attended with divers Lords, dined with the Lord Mayor Sir *John Wats*, who after dinner presented him with a purse full of Gold, and humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to be free of his Company the *Cloth-workers*: To which the King graciously condescended; and thereupon called to Sir *William Stone* Master of the Company, and said, *Stone* give me thy hand; and now I am a *Cloth-worker*: And in token of my special favour to this Fraternity, I do here give to this Company a brace of Bucks yearly for ever, against the time of the Election of the Master and Wardens: at which time also many Lords and Gentlemen were made Free of the *Cloth-workers*.

The Prince is made free of the Merchant-Taylors, and a list of great personages that had been of that Company.

On Thursday the 16th. of *July*, the King and Prince with many Lords dined at Merchant-Taylors Hall, where the Master and Warden of that Society presented the King with a purse of Gold, giving him humble thanks for gracing their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and therewithal shewed him a Roll, wherein were registred the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dutchesses, one Archbishop, one and thirty Earls, threescore and six Barons, seven Abbots, seven Priors, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which His Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company: but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Taylors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

Sir *Tho. Knevet* and Sir *Jervis Clifton* made Barons by calling them to the Parliament.

The fourth of *July* this year, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of *Estrick*, the next day Sir *Julius Cæsar*, Chancellor of the Exchequer was sworn a Privy Counsellor; and the sixteenth of *November* following Sir *Jervis Clifton* Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name & title of Baron of *Layton Brameswold*, whose only Daughter and Heir, was soon after, married to *Eysme Steward*, Baron of *Aubigny* in *France*, sole Brother of the Duke of *Lenox*; whom he afterward succeeded in that Dignity.

The Earl of *Tir-Oen* flies beyond Sea, to sollicite Princes against the King.

About this time, *Hugh* Earl of *Tir-Oen*, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the Kings great clemency to him, together with *Terconell*, *Hugh* Baron of *Dungannon*, and divers other *Irish* Lords fled into the parts beyond Sea, with purpose to sollicite forrain Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of *Ireland* to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

George Jervis a Seminary Priest, and *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite executed, and why.

On the eleventh of *April* this year, *George Jervis* a Seminary Priest, and the three and twentieth of *June* following, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuite, were both executed at *Tyburn*; *Thomas Garnet* having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The Earl of *Dorset*, Lord Treasurer of *England* dies suddenly.

The 19th. of *April* at *Whitehall*, dyed *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset* Lord Treasurer, (whose death because he dyed suddenly as he sate at the Councel Table) was by some untowardly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which whether by the straining of his study the night before, in which he sate up till eleven a clock, or otherwise by their own maturity, suddenly breaking and falling upon his brain, caused his sudden death. So certain it is, that death comes not always by determinate steps, but sometimes *per saltum*, and we all carry about us the causes of sudden death, though unsensible of them till we be unsensible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding industrious, and I have heard many Checker men say, there never was a better Treasurer, both for the Kings profit, and the good of the Subject.

The

The twentieth of *May* at *Windsor*, were made two Knights of the Garter, *George* Earl of *Dunbar*, and *Philip* Earl of *Montgomery*; but the Earl of *Dunbar*, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithful Servant, and a wise Counsellor to the King, and was honourably interred in the Church at *Westminster*.

Divers *English* Pirats turn *Turks*.

About this time were many famous *English* Pirats that stuck not some of them to turn *Turks*, and lived in great state at *Tunis*, of whom the chief were *Ward*, *Bishop*, Sir *Francis Verney*, and *Glanvile*, whom after many depredations and outragious acts at Sea, partly the King of *Spain* suppressed, and partly the King of *England*, and 19 of their associates being taken, were hanged at *Wapping*.

The new Exchange in the *Strand* builded.

Also at this time, in the *Strand* on the North side of *Durham*-house, where stood an old long stable: *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* now Lord Treasurer of *England*, caused to be erected a stately building; which upon Tuesday the tenth of *April*, in the year 1609. was begun to be richly furnished with Wares; and the next day after, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it: and then the King gave it the name of *Britains Burse*.

Fishing upon the *English* Coast forbidden to Stangers.

On the eighth of *May* this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all forrain Nations, that after *August* they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

Allum first made in *England*, and by whom.

At this time the making of *Allum*, which heretofore with great charges had been fetched from forrain parts, was by divers that laboured in it, and now lastly by Sir *John Bourchier* brought to perfection in *England*, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any *Allum* to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffique thereof to himself.

The King hath aid of his Subjects for making Prince *Henry* Knight.

And now the King according to an ancient custom, had aid of his Subjects through *England*, for making his eldest Son Prince *Henry* Knight, which yet was levyed with great moderation, and the Prince to shew himself worthy of it, performed his first Feats of Arms at *Barriers*, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yet full sixteen years of age.

1610.

An. Reg. 8. The Prince is created Prince of *Wales*, and the solemn manner of his creating.

It was now the eighth year of King *James* his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince *Henry* being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be Initiated into Royalty: and thereupon the thirtieth of *May* this year, he was Created Prince of *Wales* in most solemn manner; which was thus, *Garter* King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of *Sussex* the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of *Huntington* the Train, the Earl of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earl of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earl of *Darby* the Rod, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet, the Earl of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* supported the Prince, being in his Surcoat only and bare-headed: and in this manner being conducted to the King, attended on by the Knights of the Bathe, five and twenty in number, all great men, and great mens sons, the Earl of *Salisbury* principal Secretary, read the Letters Patents: the Prince kneeling all the while before the King: and at the words accustomed, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

He keeps Court by himself, and who were his great Officers.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself: and thereupon Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governour, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, Sir *Edward Philips* his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court: wherein he shewed himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all mens eyes began to fix upon him.

King *James* had long since shut up the Gates of *Janus*, and was in peace with all Princes abroad; his onely care now was to keep peace at home; and to this end, the three first days of *June*, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Protections out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of *June*, he heard the manifold complaints of the abuses of the Victuallers, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of *June*, 1610. he once again by Proclamation, commanded all *Roman* Priests, Seminaries and Jesuites, as being the chief Incendiaries of troubles, to depart this Kingdom by the fifth of *July* next, and not to return upon pain of severity of the Law: as also all Recusants, to return home to their dwellings, and not to remain in *London*, nor to come within ten miles of the Court, without special License. After which Proclamation, the Oath of Allegeance was presently ministred to all sorts of people, and their names certified to the Lords of the Councel, that refused to take it; and this he the rather did out of consideration of the bloody fact, committed lately by one *Ravillack*, upon the person of the renowned King of *France*, *Henry* the fourth: and whereas Queen *Elizabeth* in her 43 year, had granted her Letters Patents to continue for 15 years to the *East-India* Merchants; now upon their humble Petition, the King was pleased to enlarge their Patents, giving them a Charter to continue for ever, enabling them thereby to be a body Corporate and Politick, which so encouraged the Merchants, that they built a Ship of twelve hundred tun, the greatest that was ever made in this Kingdom by Merchants; which the King and Prince honoured with going to *Debtford* to see it; and then named it, *The Trades increase*: and at this time gave to Sir *Thomas Smith* (Governor of that Company) a fair chain of Gold, with a Jewel, wherein was his Picture. But this great Ship having been in the Red-Sea, and returning to *Bantham*, was there lost, and most of her men cast away. But then the King himself builded the goodliest Ship of War that was ever built in *England*, being of the burthen of 1400 Tun, and carrying threescore and four pieces of great Ordnance, which he gave to his Son Prince *Henry*, who named it after his own dignity, *The Prince*.

Seminaries and Jesuites commanded to avoid the Realm, and why.

The *East-India* Company made a Corporation, with large Priviledges.

They build a ship of twelve hundred Tun, called *The Trades encrease*, which was cast away in the Red-Sea.

Thereupon the King builds a ship of 1400 tun called *The Prince*, and gives it to the Prince.

And now whereas a Parliament had been holden this year, and was prorogued to a certain day; the King perhaps not finding it to comply with his designs, or for some other cause known to himself on the last day of *December*, under the great Seal of *England* dissolved it.

The King dissolves a Parliament under the Great Seal of *England*.

Before

Sir *Robert Carre* comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

Before this time one Sir *Robert Carre*, a Gentleman of *Scotland*, or of the Borders, at a time of Tilting before the King, chanced with a fall off his Horse to break his Leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some dayes to keep his bed, in which time the King was sometime pleased to come and visit him: and then it was first perceived, that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him: and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on *Easter* Munday, in the year 1611, he was created Viscount *Rochester*. On the two and twentieth of *April*, 1612. was sworn a privy-Counsellor. On the fourth of *November*, 1613. was created Earl of *Somerset*, and the tenth of *July* following made Lord Chamberlain.

But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own undeserving, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable *Robert* Earl of *Essex* had before this time married the beautiful Lady *Frances Howard*, Daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, who upon causes judicially heard, were afterward Divorced, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great Favourite (the Earl of *Somerset*) takes her for wife; the King gracing their Marriage with all demonstrations of Love and Favour; and the Lords gracing it with a stately Masque that night; and a few dayes after, the Bride and Bridegroom, accompanied with most of the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Feasted at Merchant-Taylors Hall by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. But see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a very ingenuous Gentleman, and the Earls special Friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a *Wife*: and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest disswader of the Match, and to strengthen his disswasion, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies Fame, which so incensed them both against him, that a lesse Revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying:

His falling into disgrace, and why.

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

Upon this, they find Pretences to have the said Sir *Thomas* committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their Revenge: some say by a poysoned Tansey sent him to eat, Some by a poysoned Glyster ministred unto him, but howsoever effected it was, for which Fact Sir *Jervis Yelvis* then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferior condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned: but through the Kings great clemency had their lives spared, but in such a sort, as was to them no less grievous than death it self, being never after suffered to see the Kings face, nor to come near his Court.

Sir *Thomas Overbury* Poysoned.

Sir *Jervis Yelvis* Lieutenant of the Tower executed.

The Earl of *Somerset* and his Lady condemned, but their lives spared.

This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for indeed King *James* was of so sociable and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an *Alter idem*; a bosome Friend with whom to communicate his *Internos sensus*, and upon whose Shoulders he might somtimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself; and this new Friend was Mr. *George Villiers*, a Gentleman of a good House, but a younger Brother, but of so delicate a composure of body, and withall of so excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favourite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horse; a while after created Earl of *Buckingham*, then Marquess of *Buckingham*, and made Lord Admiral: Lastly, made Duke of *Buckingham*, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of, and yet this Title not greater than his Power: for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had married a younger Son of the Lord *Comptons*) was created Countess of *Buckingham*, his Sister who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Husband made Earl of *Denbigh*, his two Brothers were made, one of them Viscount *Purbech*, the other Earl of *Anglesey*; besides many other of his Friends and Kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be onely personal, but rather be in common to all his Family; and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be lesse subject to the violence of Winds, if more stood together. And though never any man had juster cause to be envyed than he, yet never any man was less envyed; because though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before.

Mr. *George Villiers* comes into the Kings favour, and of the many honours heaped suddenly upon him.

But before all these Fauours were heaped upon him, many other great passages had intervened; for first, after the death of *Thomas* Earl of *Dorset*, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* had been Lord Treasurer, and after him *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up another way, seemed lesse ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence; the staffe was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in such a sequence of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men indeed; but yet in whom the Office seemed an imployment, rather to ennoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For first Sir *Henry Montague* was taken from the Kings Bench: and on the fourth of *December*, 1620. made Lord Treasurer, and presently upon it Earl of *Manchester*, and before the yearwent about put off. After whom Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurer, and shortly after Earl of *Middlesex*: and then not onely put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, Sir *James Lee* from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurer, and soon after Earl of *Marleborough*; and then having made a good return of his Place, put it off himself. After him Sir *Richard Weston*, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and

Thomas Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Treasurer hath the Staffe taken from him.

Four Lord Treasurers made in four years.

soon

soon after Earl of *Portland*: so as within the compasse of little more than four years, four Treasurers in a row were made four Earls; enough to make a prescription for all Treasurers hereafter, to claim a right of being made Earls, which yet I speak not as derogating from those worthy men, whose memories I reverence, but as observing, *Fataque fortunasque Virum*; so rare as that there was never any Precedent of the like.

1612.

Also the five and twentieth of *June*, 1612. the Lord *Sanquer*, a Nobleman of *Scotland*, having in a private revenge suborned *Robert Carlile* to murther *John Turner* a Master of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villany, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of *June*, the said Lord *Sanquer* having been arraigned and condemned by the name of *Robert Creighton* Esquire; was before *Westminster* Hall gate executed, where he dyed very penitent.

The Lord *Sanquer* of *Scotland* hanged, and why.

About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of *English Colonies* in *Virginia* granted a Lottery to be held at the West end of *Pauls*; whereof one *Thomas Sharplys* a Taylor of *London* had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

A Lottery granted for the Plantation of *Virginia*.

At this time also the Corps of *Mary* late Queen of *Scotland*, the Kings Mother, was translated from *Peterborough*, to St. *Peters* Church in *Westminster*, and from thence was carried to the Chappel-Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tomb, which the King had erected for her.

About this time also Sir *Robert Sherley*, third Son of Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Sussex* Knight, who sixteen years past had betaken himself to travell, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly *Rodolphus* the *Roman* Emperour; who for his Service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterward went into *Persia*, and served the *Persian* ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that he gave him the Lady *Teresia* in marriage, whose Sister was one of the Queens of *Persia*, after which the *Persian* imployed him to sundry Princes of *Europe*; and sent him in special Embassage into *England* to King *James*, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signified the *Persians* great love and affection to his Majesty: with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highnesse Subjects through all the *Persians* Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and Prince *Henry* God-father; he left the childe here in *England*, and then with his Lady departed into *Persia*.

Sir *Robert Sherley* comes into *England* Embassadour from the King of *Persia*.

Ant. Reg. 10. *Frederick* Prince *Palatine* of the *Rhyne* comes into *England*.

It was now the year 1612, and the tenth of King *James* his Reign, when the Illustrious Prince *Frederick* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*; with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before, with the Lady *Elizabeth*: on the sixteenth of *October* arrived at *Gravesend*; to whom the Duke of *Lenox* and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to *White-hall*, and from thence into the great Banquetting house, where the King, the Queen, Prince *Henry*, and the Lady *Elizabeth* entertained him in all kind manner, and after by Barge conducted him to *Essex* House, appointed for his lodging. It was many years since any Kings Daughter had been married in *England*; which now happening, and to so Illustrious a Prince, was just cause of Triumph and rejoycing; but see the misery of Humane Affairs; joy can no sooner be setting forth, but sorrow will be sure to follow her at the heels, as now indeed it happened: for on the nine and twentieth of *October*, the Prince *Palatine*, with all the great Lords of the Kingdom, in most jovial manner dining at *Guild-hall*: Prince *Henry* who was also invited and expected, could not come being newly fallen exceeding sick of a popular malignant Feaver, which reigned that year in most parts of this *Land*: whereof on the sixth of *November*, between seven and eight a Clock at night, at his Court of St. *James*'s he dyed: But he being infinitely beloved of the people, and one that had given great hope of proving an Heroick Prince, it caused suspicion in many mens heads, that death was not without violence offered to Nature; some said, by bunches of Grapes given him to eat: some by Gloves of a poysoned perfume, given him for a Present: but these were but idle rumours and conceits: It seems the Divine Providence had ordained it should be said of him; *Hunc tantum terris ostendent Fata, nec ultra esse sinent*: whose death would have given a great blow to the happiness of this Kingdom, if there had not been another Prince left, of a milder Spirit perhaps, but so accomplished with all excellent endowments, that there could be no great want of Prince *Henry*, as long as there was left Prince *Charles*. The Corps of Prince *Henry*, who dyed at the age of eighteen years, eight moneths, and seventeen dayes, was drawn in a Chariot to the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, and there interred in the Chappel Royal, on the seventh of *December* following.

Prince *Henry* falls sick and dies.

This Accident something appalled the general joy, but yet Triumphs went on. Upon Saint *Thomas* day, the *Palsgrave* and *Grave Maurice* were Elected Knights of the Garter; and the seven and twentieth of *December*, the *Palsgrave* was betroathed to the Lady *Elizabeth*. On *Sunday* the seventh of *February*, the *Palsgrave* in person was enstalled Knight of the Garter at *Windsor*, and at the same time was *Grave Maurice* enstalled by his Deputy, Count *Lodowick* of *Nassaw*. On the fourteenth of *February*, being *Shrove-Sunday*, and Saint *Valentines* day, this happy marriage of the *Palsgrave* with the Lady *Elizabeth* was solemnized in the Chappel at *White-hall*: The Bride was led to Church by two Batchellors, her Brother Prince *Charles*, and the Earl of *Northampton* Lord Privy Seal: she was attired all in white, having a rich Crown of Gold upon her head, her hair hanging down at length, curiously beset with Pearls and precious Stones, her Train supported by twelve young Ladies in white Garments: The King gave her in marriage, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* married them, the Bishop of *Bathe* and *Wells* preached the Bridal Sermon: which ended, the Bride was led home by two married men, the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Earl of *Nottingham* Lord Admiral. This marriage was solemnized the first night with a stately Masque of Lords and Ladies: the second night with a magnificent Masque of the

The Count *Palatine* is betrothed to the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Is married to her: and the solemnity of the marriage.

Gentlemen

Gentlemen of the *Middle-Temple*, and *Lincolns-Inne*: The third night with a ſumptuous Maſque of the Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple*, and *Grayes-Inne*, provided indeed then, but was not performed till Saturday night following, by reaſon the concourſe of people was ſo great, it would have hindred the Show. After this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two thouſand pounds: now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and obſervance could deviſe, or art and magnificence could perform; On the tenth of *April* the Bridegroom with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at *Rocheſter*, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship on the nine and twentieth of *April* they arrived at *Fluſhing*; from whence the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, and the Lord *Harington* waited upon them to their chief City of *Heydelburgh*, in all places as they paſſed, being received with all ſtate and magnificence: but then on the fourteenth of *June*, the *Engliſh* Lords returning home: the Lord *Harington* dyed by the way at *Wormes*, whoſe Corps was brought over, and buried in *England*. And here it will not be amiſs, to ſhew of what extent and largeneſſe the *Palſgrave's* Country is, becauſe of the iniquity of ſome that ſeek to diſgrace it. It is in length about two hundred *Engliſh* miles, taking the lower and upper Country. In the lower he hath ſix and twenty walled Towns, beſides an infinite number of fair Villages, and two and twenty houſes of reſidence. In the upper, not ſo many walled Towns, and Houſes, but thoſe that are generally fairer than in the lower, eſpecially *Amberg* and *New-market*.

They take their leave, and depart.

The extent and largeneſs of the *Palſgraves* Country.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609, the King having care for the quietneſſe of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the preſent poſſeſſion and Plantation in the Province of *Ulſter*: whereupon, afterward in the year 1612, they ſent thither about three hundred perſons, of all ſorts of handy-crafts men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of *London-Derry* and *Coleraine*: where they ordained Alderman *Cockain* for the firſt Governour. And for their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called Baronets, becauſe they take place next to Barons younger Sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that ſhould be admitted. Firſt, that they ſhould maintain the number of thirty foot Souldiers in *Ireland*, for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the paſſing of their Patent: Then that they ſhould be Gentlemen of Blood of three Deſcents; and laſtly, ſhould have land of Inheritance, in poſſeſſion or immediate Reverſion, to the value of a thouſand pounds *per annum*: And to keep the Order from ſwarming, he ſtinted it within the number of onely 200, and as the iſſue ſhould fail the Order to ceaſe. But he that will look how well the end of the Inſtitution, and the Laws of it have been obſerved, ſhall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at firſt there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent Perſons: but afterward, all ſorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almoſt to be doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the perſons, or the meanneſſe of the perſons diſgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Inſtitution are not in ſome meaſure obſerved, it ſeems to make a kind of nullity in the collation.

The order of Baronets erected: and why.

About this time, on Sunday the 24th. of *October*, an exemplar penance was impoſed upon Sir *Peckſall Brockas* Knight, which was to ſtand at *Pauls* Croſs in a white ſheet, holding a ſtick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commiſſioners, for many notorious Adulteries with divers Women.

Sir *Peckſall Brockas* ſtands in a white ſheet at *Pauls*, and why.

This year 1614, in the moneth of *July*, *Chriſtianus* King of *Denmark*, (out of his love to his Siſter and King *James*) came the ſecond time into *England*; but as being now ſecure of himſelf, privately, and with a ſmall company, ſo as he came to the Queen at *Somerſet* houſe unexpected, and before any knowledge was had of his coming; But King *James* being then in progreſſe in *Bedfordſhire*, and hearing of it, came preſently back, and after he had entertained him here with Hunting, Hawking, running at Ring, Bear-baiting, Plays, Fire-works, and Fencing, on the firſt of *Auguſt* Prince *Charles* brought him aboard his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

Chriſtianus king of *Denmark* comes the ſecond time into *England*; and how entertained.

In *October*, this year was a call of Serjeants at Law, being 11 in number, namely, *George Wilde*, *William Towes*, *Richard Bawtry*, *Henry Finch*, *Thomas Chamberland*, *Francis Moore*, *Thomas Attow*, *John Moore*, *Francis Harvey*, *Charles Chibburn*, and *Thomas Richardſon*; and in *Trinity* Term before there had two other been called, namely, Sir *Randall Crew* of *Lincolns* Inne, and Sir *Robert Hitchan* of *Grayes* Inne, Knights.

A call of Serjeants at Law.

About this time an Embaſſador came from the young Emperor of *Ruſſia* to King *James*, deſiring his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making attonement between him and the King of *Swethland*, and withall preſented him with a rich Preſent of Furs: which was no ſmall honour to the King of Great *Britain* to have ſo great a Potentate as the Emperour of *Ruſſia* ſollicite him to be his mediator.

Though King *James* out of a natural goodneſſe was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for War, and thereupon in the year 1610, had granted priviledges to a Society called of the *Military* Garden; and this year 1614, cauſed a Muſter of men to be preſented before him; which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

The Military Garden firſt erected.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Gold-Smith of *London*, and born in *Denbighſhire*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, with infinite coſt and indefatigable labour, brought Water to the City of *London*, from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell* in *Hertfordſhire*, having cut a Channel from thence to a place near *Iſlington*, whither he conveyed it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all places of the City, for as the Poet ſaith:

Water brought to *London* from *Chadwell* in *Hertfordſhire*, by Sir *Hugh Middleton*.

Nexty

Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ.

Nothing is so commodious for the life of man, as water.

Moore-Fields made into Walks.

Another memorable act was about this time done on the North side of *London*, called *Moorfields*, which being before environed with deep stinking ditches and noysome common shoars, was now, not only made fair and sweet, but so levelled into walks and set with trees, that it is the pleasantest place of all the City.

1615.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act for the benefit and beauty of the City of *London*, was performed; for *Smithfield*, which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails sequestring the middle part of it, were set up to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

Smithfield first paved all over.

The Lady *Arbella* secretly marries Mr. *William Seymour*.

The Lady *Arbella* a near Kinswoman of the Kings, had sometime before, without the Kings privity, secretly married Master *William Seymour*, younger Son of the Earl of *Hertford*, now Earl of *Hertford* himself; for which they were both committed to the Tower: and now this year on the seven and twentieth day of *September* she ended her life there, and was buried in the Chappel Royal at *Westminster*.

She dyes in the Tower.

This year also in *July* were enstalled Knights of the Garter, *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*, Sir *George Villers* Master of the Horse, and Sir *Robert Sidney*, Viscount *Lisle*; and in another kinde of Honour the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Carews* and Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, were sworn Privy Counsellours.

Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*.

Wales by the death of Prince *Henry*, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place, Prince *Charles* is created Prince of *Wales*: In joy whereof, the Town of *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*, and the City of *London*, performed great Triumphs: and the more to honour his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords or Barons sons: and yet more to honour it, there were forty selected Gentlemen of the *Innes of Court*, that performed solemn Justs at Barryers, with great magnificence.

Sir *Edw. Coke*, the Lord *Egerton*, and Sir *Henry Yelverton*, put from their places.

This year was a Censure of divers great Delinquents, for first Sir *Edward Coke*, was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord *Chief Justice of the Kings Bench*; and two days after his discharge, Sir *Henry Montague* the Kings Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room: Next to him the Lord *Egerton*, whether disabled by sickness or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure also, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to Sir *Francis Bacon* the King's Atturney; he made first Lord Keeper; and the Lord *Egerton* dying soon after, Lord Chancellor. Not long after him Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attorney, for adding new priviledges to the *Londoners* Charter, without the Kings privity, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed Sir *Thomas Coventry*, the Sollicitor. But a while after, Sir *Henry Yelverton*, was made a puisny Judge of the Common Pleas; having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Censuring stayed not here, for much about this time *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk* Lord Treasurer of *England*, had the staffe of his Office taken from him; which was soon after delivered to Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Perogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years, and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place, and censured in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds: and in his room was placed *William Byrde* a man of more integrity.

Sir *John Benet* Judge of the Prerogative Court put from his place, and why.

The King makes a Journey into *Scotland*: where he stayes six moneths.

Though King *James* upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, came to reside in *England*, yet he forgot not that *Scotland* was his native Countrey; and therefore after he had spent some years in *England*, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in *March* this year one thousand six hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into *Scotland*: for though he had left very able men to sit at the Helm there in his absence, yet he knew that it is the Masters Eye that makes the Horse fat: so it is the Princes presence sometimes that keeps out many distempers in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his staying six Moneths there, he had seen all things well setled both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he resided not in *England* out of any neglect of *Scotland*; but to the end he might be in the place of most conveniency to both Kingdoms: on the fifteenth of *September* he returned to *London*, not more to the grief of the *Scots* to leave him, than to the joy of the *English* to receive him; so much was King *James* as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

1617.

The 15th of *February* 1617, in the Fifteenth year of this King, *Francis Ashley* of the Middle Temple *London* Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a Writ called to be Serjeant at Law, *solus Serviens ad legem electus*, and the fifth of *July* following was Knighted, and about that time was Steward of the Marshalsey of the Kings house, and by King *Charles*, the fifth of *May*, in the first year of his Reign was by letters Patents made one of the Kings Serjeants at Law, and so continued unto his death, which happened by the will of God the 28th of *November*, 1635, at Serjeants Inne in *Fleetstreet*: and was Recorder of *Dorchester* in *Dorsetshire*, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involted: leaving *Dorothy* his only Daughter and heir (by the Lady *Anne* his wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of *Bernard Samrayes* of *Dorsetshire* Esquire) married unto the Honourable *Denzell Holles* Esquire, whose only issue is *Francis Holles* of *Winterborn* St. *Martin* in the County of *Dorset* Esquire.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is set at liberty to fetch Gold from *Guyana*.

Now comes to be related a matter of speciall observation; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had lived a condemned man many years in the Tower, and now his Destiny brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty, he propounded a project to the King, upon which (as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability; especially guilding it over with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in *Guyana*; and that without any wrong at all to the King of

Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journey) that the King, if he gave not credit that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should undertake it: and thereupon with divers Ships, accompanied with many Knights and Gentlemen of Quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or shew of search, no such place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be found, whether it were, that he thought it a shame, to return home with doing nothing: or that his *malus Genius* thrust him upon the Design, he fell upon Saint *Thome*, a Town belonging to the King of *Spain*: sacked it, pillaged it, and burnt it: and here was the first part of his Tragical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest Son: the last part was acted in his own death at his return: For *Gundamore* the *Spanish* Lieger, did so aggravate this fact of his to the King, against him, that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but *Rawleigh*'s head, without which he doubted there would follow a breach of the League between the two Nations. *Rawleigh* excused it, by saying that he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* first assaulting of him; and besides, that he could not come at the Myne, without winning this Town: but *Gundamore* was too strong an Adversary for him; and the King preferring the publique Peace, before the life of one man, already condemned, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him; and thereupon, brought to the *Kings-Bench* Bar, he was not newly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already *Mortuus in Lege*, but only hath the former Sentence averred against him, and so carried to the Gatehouse, and from thence the next morning to the Parliament Yard: a Scaffold was there erected, upon which after fourteen years reprival, his head was cut off: at which time, such abundance of blood issued from his veins, that shewed he had stock of Nature enough left to have continued him many years in life, though now above threescore years old, if it had not been taken away by the hand of Violence.

He sacks and pillageth the Town of Saint *Thome*.

This fact *Gundamore* aggravateth against him.

For which he is beheaded.

And this was the end of the great Sir *Walter Rawleigh*: great sometimes in the favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great scourge and hate of the *Spaniard*, who had many things to be commended in his life; but none more, than his constancy at his death, which he took with so undanted a resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain expectation of a better life after it: so far he was from holding those Atheistical opinions; an aspersion whereof some traducing persons had cast upon him.

The King makes a Progress to *Cambridge*; where he stayes three dayes.

About this time King *James* made a progresse to the University of *Cambridge*, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years: for next being a King, he was made to be a Scholar.

1619.

An. Reg. 17. Queen *Anne* dyes.

In the year 1619, being the seventeenth year of King *James* his reign, that knot of love which above twenty years had been tyed, between him and his Queen, was by death dissolved; for on Tuesday this year the second of *March*, Queen *Anne* dyed at *Hampton* Court, whose Corps was brought to *Denmark* house, and from thence conveyed to *Westminster*: where in the Royal Chappel with great solemnity it was interred: a Princesse very memorable for her vertue, and not a little for her Fortune, who besides being a Queen, was so happy as to be Mother of such admired children, as she brought into the World. But the dissolving of this knot cast the King into an extream sickness; and after some recovery, into a Relapse: from which notwithstanding, it pleased God to deliver him, as having yet some great work to do.

This year on Munday the third of *May*, one Mr. *Williams* a Barrister of the Middle Temple, was arraigned at the Kings Bench, for libelling, and for writing Books against the King: and upon Wednesday following was hanged and quartred at *Charing Crosse*.

But an action of another nature was performed this year, the seventeenth of *July*, not unworthy the relating, which was this; that one *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover*, rode from St. *Georges* Church in *Southwark* to *Dover*, from thence passed by Barge to *Callice* in *France*, and from thence returned back to Saint *Georges* Church the same day, setting out about three a clock in the morning, and returned about eight a clock in the Evening, fresh and lusty.

Bernard Calvert his speedy journey from *Southwark* to *Callice*, and back again in one day.

1621.

In the year 1621, a Parliament was holden at *Westminster*; wherein two great examples of Justice were shewed; which for future terrour are not unfit to be here related: One upon Sir *Gyles Montpesson*, a Gentleman otherwise of good parts; but for practising sundry abuses in erecting and setting up new Innes and Alehouses, and exacting great sums of money of people, by pretence of Letters Patents granted to him for that purpose; was sentenced to be degraded, and disabled to bear any office in the Common-wealth, though he avoided the execution by flying the land; but upon Sir *Francis Michell*, a Justice of Peace of *Middlesex*, and one of his chief Agents, the sentence of Degradation was executed, and he made to ride with his face to the Horse tail through the City of *London*. The other example was of Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, who for bribery was put from his place, and committed to the Tower: but after some few days enlarged, in whose place Doctor *Williams* Dean of *Westminster* was made Lord Keeper.

Sir *Gyles Montpesson* is sentenced to be degraded, and why.

Sir *Francis Michell* is degraded; and in what manner.

Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellor Put from his Place by Bribery.

The Count *Palatine* being now strengthened with the allyance of the King of Great *Britain*, was thought a fit man to be King of *Bohemia*, and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom; but he was no sooner invested in the Crown, but the Emperor with great Forces assaulted him in *Prague*, and not only drove him with his wife and children from thence; but took from him also his own Patrymony the *Palatinate*, so as though now a King, he was fain to fly to the States of the Low-Countries for a place of residence. King *James* though he had never given his consent to the *Palsgraves* taking upon him that Kingdom, as fore-seeing in his great judgement what the event would be: yet in this distresse he could not forbear to take care of his Daughter, and thereupon sent Sir *Richard Weston*, the same that was after Lord Treasurer, in Embassage to the Emperor, to sollicite the restoring of the *Palatinate* to the *Palsegrave*; but he returning without successe, the King had then conference with Count

The *Palsgrave* is chosen King of *Bohemia*, but is soon driven out, and his *Palatinate* seized on.

Gundomar

The King hath Conference with *Gundomar* how the *Palatinate* might be restored.

Gundomar adviseth by making a marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infant* of *Spain*.

Gundomar the King of *Spains* Leiger in *England*, what course might be taken to procure the restoring it: who made him answer, There could be no better course than to make a marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales*, & the *Infant* of *Spain*, which he said would easily be effected, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into *Spain*. King *James* though he considered the inveterate grudges between *Spain* and *England*, and how dangerous it might be to put the heir of the Kingdom into the *Spaniards* hands, yet grounding himself upon saying, *Fidelem si putaveris, facies*: and drawn on by the insinuating speeches of Count *Gundomar*, not perhaps without some inclination in the Marquesse of *Buckingham*, was contented at last the Prince should go.

Hereupon the Prince is sent into *Spain*, and how accompanied.

And so Prince *Charles* sending his ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquesse of *Buckingham* (who in the time of his being in *Spain* was created Duke of *Buckingham*) *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Francis Cottington*: (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of *Spain*) he took his journey by the way of *France*, went to *Paris*, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the sight of that Lady, that might well have stayed him from going further, but yet on he went.

Gundomar gets much money of Ladies, by perswading them of the certainty of the Match.

In the mean time *Gundomar* a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no lesse for his own profit than his Masters Honour, as he had perswaded the King of the facility of the Match with *Spain*, so he perswaded a certainty of it, especially amongst Catholick Ladies, by which means he brought no small store of Grist to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the *Spanish* Princesse should come; of another a good round sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

The Princes entertainment in *Spain*.

But the Prince being arrived in *Spain*, was received indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindnesse that could be devised, so as the charge of his entertainment was said to stand the King of *Spain* in nine and forty thousand Duckats; but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much restrained, for in all the time of his staying in *Spain*, (which was no lesse than eight moneths, being from *February* to *October*) he saw her but very seldom, and that at good distances, never spake with her but twice, and that before company, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was Pretended.

What hindred the proceeding of the Match.

What the cause should be was much in obscurity; some thought that a difference between the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Count *Olivares*, the King of *Spain's* great Favorite, was a great hindrance of the proceeding, but other, and more likely, that the *Spaniard* indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into *Spain* for other ends; but what those ends were, was no lesse uncertain; one thought it was done to hold the prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of *Spain*, till the Daughters of *France* should be bestowed, thereby to keep him from that allyance: but others and more likely, that the King of *Spain* entertained this Treaty with the King of great *Britain*, meaning to spin it out till he had compassed some designs in the *Low-Countries*, and the *Palatinate*, at least to make King *James* lesse vigilant for those parts.

The King sends for the Prince to return home.

But when much time had been spent in protracting, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King *James* partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with delusion, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into *England*; which the Prince presently signified to the King of *Spain*, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the marriage still. Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few days on his journey, when a Post was sent to have stayed him, if he had been overtaken. But whether it was so or no, it was Gods Providence that he came safely to his ships, and in them safely into *England*; arriving at *Portsmouth*, where he was beheld of the people, with no lesse gladnesse, than the Sun after a long Eclipse; and now his safe returning did both justifie King *James* his judgement in suffering him to go, and the King of *Spains* justice, in suffering him to come back: and was cause, that the people began to have a better opinion of the *Spanish* faith, than they had before.

The King breaks off all Treaty of the Match, and why.

But now it presently breaks out, that this match with *Spain* could never take effect: for King *James* having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very strict and large for exercise of the Catholick Religion: but none at all for restitution of the *Palatinate*; which made him so much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of *Spain*, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: Upon which breach two great Points were presently had in consultation: One for preparing Forces, for recovering the *Palatinate* by way of Arms, which could not be done by a way of friendship: and for this purpose, a Councel of war was called, and a proposition resolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterprise: as also a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himself fifty pounds: as many other far greater sums, though the collection went not through the whole Land; by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconcilement: so as many that were not over-hasty in their payment escaped without contributing at all.

A Consultation had to recover the *Palatinate* by Arms.

The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place, It was said the States of *Holland* offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would match with some Lady of that Countrey, but matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of *France* destined to his bed: and for this purpose, the Earl of *Carlile*, and the Earl of *Holland* were sent into *France*, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughter of the great *Henry* the fourth, King of *France* deceased, and Sister to the present King *Lewis*; which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accomplished in King *James* his dayes; who dyed soon after the agreement.

A Treaty of Marriage with a younger Daughter of the King of *France*, which afterwards took effect.

1623.

It was now the year 1623, in which in *Michaelmas* Term, there was a Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast in the Middle Temple Hall.

A Call of fifteen Serjeants at Law.

Two things in this Kings days grew to loſe their Luſtre. One the exerciſe of Tilting; which in Queen *Elizabeths* time, was ſo much uſed, that no year paſſed without a ſpeciall ſolemnity in that kinde. The other, the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners and Yeomen of the Guard: which in her time conſiſted of the choyceſt perſons both for ſtature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was ſo great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Chriſtendom could ſhew the like: but King *James* was ſo intentive to Realties, that he little regarded ſhews: and thereby both theſe in his time came utterly to be neglected: No ſolemnity of Arms but very rare, no regard had what perſons were admitted into the other places.

We may here obſerve, how the Surname of the Kings of *England*, hath at ſundry times been changed. From *William* the Conqueror, to King *Henry* the ſecond, what ſurname they had or whether they had any or no, is moſt uncertain: but then King *Henry* the ſecond brought in the *French* ſurname of *Plantaginet*: which continued in all the ſucceeding Kings, till King *Henry* the ſeventh; and he brought in the *Welſh* ſurname of *Tenther*, which continued the ſurname of all the ſucceeding Princes; till King *James* the ſixth of *Scotland*: and he brought in the *Scottiſh* ſurname of *Steward*: in which it is likely to continue, (and God grant it may do ſo) to the worlds end.

Some paſſages of ſmall moment I confeſſe are omitted by me in this Reign of King James; *as whereof, for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if ſome men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles ſhould not have been mingled with ſo many falſities.*

Of his Taxations.

The Cuſtoms of Merchandiſe raiſed.

IN his ſecond year, in the moneth of *September*, he ſent Privy Seals to the wealthieſt Citizens of *London*, for moneys to be borrowed of them: and in *October* following, the Cuſtoms of Merchandiſes, both outward and inward, were raiſed, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subſidies, and ſix Fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subſidies. This year alſo *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, convicted in the Star-chamber, for divers miſpriſions, was fined to pay ten thouſand Marks, and *Edward* Lord *Sturton* for the like offence to pay thirty thouſand Pounds, and ſome years after Sir *John Bennet*, Judge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thouſand Pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threeſcore thouſand pounds to the Citizens of *London*, which the *Londoners* lent to Queen *Elizabeth*, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, than he payed money. In his ſeventh year he had aid throughout *England*, for making his eldeſt Son Prince *Henry* Knight: which though they levyed with great moderation, brought him in great ſums of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, the Temporality gave him two Subſidies, and the Clergy three: and in another Parliament, in the year 1623, the Temporality gave him three Subſidies, and three Fifteens; the Clergy four Subſidies. Beſides theſe Subſidies he ſent abroad many Great Privy Seals, and had alſo a Benevolence throughout the Realm: not without ſome grudging, but without any juſt cauſe, for it ſhould have been remembred, that he took it not of covetouſneſſe to gather wealth, but out of very neceſſity to ſuply wants: For by his imploying many Ambaſſadors in Ordinary, many Extraordinary, by his neceſſary bounty to his followers, and by his charge of keeping ſeverall Courts; none of all which he could avoid: his Expences were far greater than any of his Predeceſſors had ever been.

Privy Seals ſent out, and alſo a Benevolence.

The cauſe of the Kings great Expences.

Of his Lawes and Ordinances.

THE day of his removing from *Charter-Houſe*, at his firſt coming into *England*, he cauſed Proclamation to be made, That all Monopolies and Protections ſhould ceaſe; as likewiſe all oppreſſions done by Salt-Peter-men, by Purveyors, and Carters. On the 26th of *May* following he ſet forth a Proclamation, reſtraining all perſons under great penalties from killing of Deer, or any kind of Fowl uſed for Hawking. The ſeventh of *May*, Proclamation was made againſt Robberies on the Borders: and on the nineteenth of *May*, another for uniting the people inhabiting about the Borders of *England* and *Scotland*, to live in love and quietneſs. In this firſt year, in a Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, That neither Archbiſhop, nor Biſhop ſhould Alienate, Grant, or Demiſe, or in any ſort convey, no not to the King himſelf, any of the Honors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, being parcell of the poſſeſſion of his Archbiſhop, or Biſhoprick: and if any were, it ſhould be utterly void, and of no effect, notwithſtanding any former Law, Act, or Ordinance to the contrary. He then alſo cauſed himſelf by Proclamation to be enſtiled King of *Great Britain*, that the diviſion of *England* and *Scotland* might be no more remembred. In his ſecond year, by his Letters Patents he incorporated the Felt-makers of *London*, by the name of Maſters, Wardens, and Commonalty of the Art or Myſtery of the Felt-makers, granting them divers Priviledges and Liberties, for their good Government of their Corporation. In *November*, of his ſecond year, were Proclaimed in *London* certain new pieces of Coyn, both of gold and ſilver, with the true valuation and weights of them, according to the Mint of both Nations, *Engliſh* and *Scotiſh*. In a Parliament holden the third year of his Reign, the Oath of Allegiance was deviſed and ordained, and ſoon after miniſtred to all ſorts of people.

Killing of Deer, or Fowl reſtrained.

No Biſhop to alienate any Lands, not to the King himſelf.

He is enſtyled King of *Great Britain*.

The Felt-makers made a Corporation.

The Oath of Allegiance firſt deviſed and ordained.

This year alſo he made Proclamation ro redreſſe the miſ-imployment of Lands, or goods given to Charitable uſes. Alſo this year, he ſet forth a Proclamation for bearing of Flags in Ships to be in this manner, that from thenceforth all the Subjects of *Great Britain* ſhould bear in their main-top, the *Red Croſſe* commonly called Saint *Georges Croſſe*, and the *White Croſſe*, commonly called St. *Andrews Croſs*, joyned together, and the Subjects of *South Britain* ſhould carry in their Fore-top onely the *Red Croſſe* as they were wont;

Flags how to be born in Ships.

wont; and the Subjects of *North Britain* onely the *White Crosse*. In his fourth year on the tenth of *June* he set forth a Proclamation, commanding all Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Fryers to depart the Realm before the first of *August* following; and never to return upon pain of death, according to divers Statutes in that behalf provided. In his second year he had set forth a Proclamation against Inmates and increase of new buildings, which being little regarded, now in his fourth year he renewed the said Proclamation, adding withall, That the Fore-fronts and Windowes of all new Buildings should be either of Brick or Stone; for disobeying whereof, many were called in the Star-Chamber, and there fined. In his fifth year, he gave order for planting of Mulberry Trees, and breeding of Silk-Worms, that *England* might be a Countrey as well of Silk as Cloth. In his eleventh year, he instituted the Order of the Baronets, which hath much degenerated since his institution, and thereby having been devised for the benefit of *Ireland*, hath caused but little contentment unto *England*. This year also the King himself in Person came to the Star-Chamber, where he had appointed the Mint-men to meet, and there, for the better keeping of Coyns of Gold within the Realm, he raised the prices of them; ordaining the piece called the Unity, which went before but for twenty shillings, to be current now for two and twenty, the double Crown and all other Pieces to encrease in the like proportion. In his fifteenth year, he granted to the Apothecaries of *London* to be a Corporation for themselves, and their successors for ever; and by Letters Patents made them a Body Politick, and Corporate. In his time by his appointment a strict decree passed in the Star-Chamber against Duels and single Combats, and a strict Law was made in Parliament against stabbing with a Dagger or Knife, making it to be a wilful Murther.

Inmates forbidden, and new Buildings restrained.

The Fore-fronts to be made of Brick.

An Order for planting of Mulberry Trees for encrease of Silk-worms.

Coyns of Gold raised.

The Apothecaries made a Corporation.

Duels and single combats re-

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

A Conference in matters of Religion is held before the King at *Hampton-Court*, and how the matter proceeded.

THE King as a Religious Prince, desiring nothing so much as to settle Peace in the Church, and hearing of some dissention of his Divines in point of Religion, in the very first year of his Reign, appointed a Conference to be holden before himself at *Hampton-Court*, to which were called divers Bishops, Deans, and Doctors of one side; and of the other four eminent Divines; namely Doctor *Reynolds*, Doctor *Sparks*, Mr. *Kneustabs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*: who all meeting before the King the 14th day of *January*: the King first signified the cause of his calling them together, and then told them he was there ready to hear what they could object or say against the present Government of the Church: whereupon Dr. *Reynolds* being their Fore-man, reduced all matters disliked, or questioned, into these four Heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preserved in purity, according to Gods Word.

2. That good Pastors might be planted in all Churches to preach the same.

3. That the Church Government might be sincerely administred, according to the Word of God.

4. That the Book of Common Paayer might be fitted to more encrease of Piety.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers Points: One, that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much misliked; and the Bishop of *Winchester* challenged Dr. *Reynolds* with all his Learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of Dr. *Reynolds* was, That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original; whereof he alledged divers Examples; particularly that in the 105. *Psal.* 28. *v.* where it is said, *They were not Obedient*, when in the Original it is, *They were not Disobedient*: To this it was agreed, That a new Taanslation should be made: and accordingly soon after was performed by the most Learned Divines of the Kingdom; and is that, which is now used. After many other Points moved by Dr. *Reynolds*, he came at last to subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refused for these reasons: First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common Prayer Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, That as he would not wish all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to interpret; so he would wish no Apocryphal to be read, wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read; seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the Jews; but withall he would have the people be taught, they were not to teach a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next scruple against subscription was, That in the Common Prayer-Book it is twice set down, *Jesus said to his Disciples*, when by the Original Text it is plain, *He spake to the Pharisees*. To which it was answered, That for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might speak as well to theone as to the other: But the King for more plainnesse sake, willed, That the word *Disciples*, should be omitted, and only the words, *Jesus said*, to be printed in a different letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Concerning the Crosse in Baptism.

Another scruple was, concerning the Crosse in Baptism, which Doctor *Reynolds* confessed to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entring into the Church, or at their prayyers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: to which the Bishop of *Winchester* answered, that in *Constantine's* time it was used in Baptism, and the Dean of *Westminster* shewed out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that in their time it was used *in Immortali lavacro*: which could be nothing but Baptism: and this the King judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Master *Kneustabs*, moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to binde them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty: At which the King seemed much moved, and told him,

him he would not argue that point with him, but anſwer therein as Kings are wont to ſpeak in Parliament *Le Roy's aviſera*; and therefore I charge you (ſaid he) never ſpeak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey, when the Church hath once ordained it. Doctor *Reynolds* added; that the Croſſe ſhould be abandoned, becauſe in the time of Popery it had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. To which his Majeſty anſwered, That his very reaſon was an inducement to him to have it retained ſtill: For in as much as it was abuſed (ſo you ſay) to ſuperſtition in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well uſed before Popery.

Concerning the wearing of the Surpliee.

The next thing objected, was the wearing of the Surplice: to which the King anſwered, That ſeeing it appeared out of Antiquity, that in the celebration of Divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Miniſtery, and principally of white Linnen; he ſaw no reaſon, but that in this Church as it had been for comelineſs and order ſake, it might be ſtill continued.

Laſt of all, Maſter *Chadderton*, and Maſter *Knewſtabs* requeſted, That in regard of ſome tender Conſciences, the Surplice and Croſs in Baptiſm might not be urged: To which the King himſelf anſwered, If after the Goſpels preaching five and forty years amongſt you, there be any yet in theſe points unſatisfied, I doubt it proceeds rather out of ſtubborneſſe of opinion, than out of tenderneſſe of conſcience; and therefore let them conform themſelves, or elſe they ſhall hear further of it.

Concerning the King in marriage, and Biſhops.

It was now obſerved, that in all their Objections, there was not a word ſpoken againſt Biſhops, nor againſt the Ring in Marriage; for Dr. *Reynolds* himſelf confeſſed that the Ring was a very meer ceremony; and the King affirmed he ſhould not think himſelf rightly married, if he had not been married with a Ring: And as for Biſhops, he declared himſelf to be verily perſwaded, they were *Divinæ Ordinationis*, and moſt neceſſary to Monarchy; and would often ſay, *No Biſhop, no King*. Many other points were handled, as about Predeſtination, Abſolution, and Remiſſion of ſins, Baptizing by women, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee worſhip*, the Oath *Ex officio*, the high Commiſſion and ſome other: in all which the King gave ſo good ſatisfaction, that they all joyntly promiſed to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be his mind to have it ſo: and the King was ſo admired for his excellent Reſolutions and Anſwers, that the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, undoubtedly his *Majeſty* ſpake by the ſpeciall aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit. After this Conference, the King in his ſecond year ſet forth a Proclamation, to confirm the Eccleſiaſticall Goverment, and the Book of Common Prayer, in the Form and eſtate as Queen *Elizabeth* left them.

The Book of Common Prayer confirmed by the King.

After this he ſent divers learned Divines into *Scotland*, to have a Conference with the Divines there; and if it might be, to reduce the two Kingdoms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought them to an union of Poſſeſſion. And now entring into conſideration of this Title, of being *Defender of the Faith*: he conceived it might extend not only to his own Dominions, but in ſome ſort to Neighbouring Countries: if not in Authority, at leaſt in care: and hereupon hearing that the States of the *Low-Countries* were determined to entertaine one *Vorſtius* to be publick Profeſſor of Divinity in *Leyden*, and knowing him, though otherwiſe a learned man, yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the Eſſence and Subſtance of God, making him to be *Quale & quantum*, changing Eternity into Eviternity: teaching Eternity to conſiſt of a number of Ages, and denying God to be *Purus actus*, but to have in ſome ſort *aliquid Diverſitatis, & Multiplicitatis in ſeipſo; etiam Principium cujuſdam mutabilitatis*; He earneſtly ſolicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Leiger, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the ſaid *Vorſtius* into that place; leſt his doctrine having once infected their Country, might ſoon after ſpread it ſelf into his Dominions. Which requeſt of his, after much ſoliciting, the States at length granted, and expelled *Vorſtius* from amongſt them.

The King ſolicites the States of the *Low-Countries* not to admit *Vorſtius*, and why.

A *Synod* held at *Dort* to examine the errors of *Arminius*, to which *Synod* many *Engliſh* Divines went.

At this time a Synod was aſſembled at *Dort* in *Holland*, conſiſting of learned Divines, ſent from the Count *Palatine* of the *Rhyne*, from *Haſſia*, from *Switzerland*, from the Church of *Geneva*, from *Bern*, *Embden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utretcht*, *Frizeland* and other Provinces: Some alſo ſent from *England*, as namely, *George* Biſhop of *Landaffe*, *John Davenant* Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, *Samuel Ward* Maſter of *Sidney* Colledg in *Cambridge*, *Thomas Goad* Doctor of Divinity, and *Walter Belcanquell*, a *Scotiſh*-man Batchelor of Divinity: Which Synod was Aſſembled to examine and determine the Doctrine of *Arminius*; firſt concerning Gods Predeſtination, Election, and Reprobation; then concerning Chriſts death and *Mans* redemption by it; then concerning mans corruption and converſion to God; then concerning the perſeverance of the Saints, In all which points the doctrine of *Arminius* was rejected, as alſo of *Vorſtius*, and the true Doctrine by a generall conſent, together with the Approbation of the Lords the States; which yet the Papiſts made ſo little reckoning of; that one of them in ſcorn, made Echo to cenſure it in this Diſtich:

Dodraci Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? æger.
Conventus? Ventus. Seſſio Stramen? Amen.

But who knows not, that ill will never ſpeak well, and that nothing is ſo obvious in the mouth of an adverſary, as ſcandals and invectives;

Antonius de Dominis Archbiſhop of *Spalato* comes into *England*, and ſets forth Books for the Proteſtant Religion.

In the year 1616, *Mar. Antonius de Dominis*, Archbiſhop of *Spalato*, in the Territory of *Venice*, came into *England*, leaving his Countrey (as he affirmed) for Religion; whereof he ſet forth in writing many reaſons, and being thereupon entertained by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, was afterward made Dean of *Windſor*, and Maſter of the *Savoy*; in which time he preached publickly divers times before divers Lords of the Councel, printed in *London* the firſt four of his Ten Books, Intituled, *Of the Common-wealth of the Church*: wherein with great earneſtneſs he maintained the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Proteſtants: But after all this, whether all he had done was but diſſembling from the beginning, or whether out of remorſe of conſcience he repented him of that he had done: after five years ſtaying here, he retracted all he had ſaid or written before: which ſo incenſed King *James*, that he commanded him (within three dayes at his peril) to depart the Realm;

After five years ſtay here he retracted all, and went to *Rome*, but dyed there in priſon.

Realm: who thereupon went to *Rome*, and there inveighed as bitterly against the Protestants, as He had done in *England* against the Papists; hoping at least for Pardon, if not for Preferment: but not with standing his Recantation, according to the law of the Inquisition, having once Revolted, (though now Returned) he suffered the death of an Heretick, though not the shame; had the punishment of a Martyr, but not the honour; and was publickly burnt at *Rome*, yet not burnt alive, but dying in prison and then buried, it is said, his body was afterwards taken up and burned.

In the Kings tenth year, two obstinate *Arian* Hereticks, *Bartholomew Legat*, and *Edw. Wightman*, were burnt for Heresie, *Legat* in *Smithfield*, and *Wightman* at *Lichfield*.

John Traske for holding divers judaical Opinions is censured, and after three years recants.

In his sixteenth year, one *John Trask* a pretended Minister, was Censured in the *Star-Chamber*, for depraving the Ecclesiastical Government, and for holding divers Judaical Opinions; as, that it was not lawfull to do any thing forbidden in the old Law, nor to keep the Christian Sabbath; for which he was set on the Pillory at *Westminster*, and from thence whipt to the *Fleet*, and there to remain prisoner: but three years after he writ a Recantation of all his former Heresies and Schismatical Opinions.

George Abbot Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by misfortune killing a man, is Censured.

In this Kings time, *George Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, being a hunting in a Park, and shooting at a Deer; his Arrow by mischance glaunced and kill'd a man: upon which fact it was much debated, Whether by it he were not become irregular, and ought to be deprived of his Archiepiscopal Function, as having his hands imbrued (though against his will) in blood: but *Andrews* Bishop of *Wincheſter* standing much in his defence, as likewise Sir *Henry Martin*, the Kings advocate, gave such reasons in mitigation of the Fact, that he was cleared from all imputation of crime; and thereupon adjudged Regular, and in state to continue his Archiepiscopal charge: yet himself (out of a religious tenderneſſe of minde) kept the day of the year, in which the mischance happen'd, with a solemn Fast, all his life after.

Works of Piety done by this King, or by other in his time.

STructures of Piety King *James* made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banquetting House at *White-hall*; a wall of Brick about his Park at *Greenwich*, another at *Theobalds*, and some little buildings at *Royston*, and such like. His greatest charity was expressed by largesses and Pensions: as first where the Gentlemen of his Chappel, being 33 in number, had each of them but 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of his Alms Knights of *Windsor*, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then as he encreased the number of the Yeomen of the Guard, from sevenscore to two hundred, so he encreased their Pensions, from two shillings a day, for three moneths in the Summer, to seven groats a day for six moneths in the Summer. Then, where at his coming, he found but only four Judges in the Courts of Law at *Westminster*, he added a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many, whereof we may justly set in the first place, the repairing of *Pauls* Church, begun in his time, though not finished till many years after; a work of as great cost and labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious, than the Learned Doctor *Laud*, first Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who also was a bountifull Benefactor to the Colledge of Saint *Johns* in *Oxford*, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor next before him, the worthy *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Almes-house at *Guilford* in *Surry* where he was born, as likewise *Robert* the second Earl of *Dorset*, founded another in *Sussex*; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almes-houses that were ever founded in Christendom, there is none I think can parallel that of *Thomas Sutton* Esquire. This man born at *Snayth* in *Lincolnshire*, having always lived a Batchelor, and by sundry imployments, and parcimony, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, his Mansion house, called the *Charter-house*, near to *Smithfield* in *London*, and out of a pious minde converted it into an Alms-house, by the name of *Suttons* Hospital, endowing the same with above three thousand pounds of yearly rent: wherein are maintained fourscore poor men, with convenient lodging, diet, and allowance of money for apparel: also forty poor children with the like provision, and a Grammar School, with a Master and Usher to teach them: over all whom, he ordained a Learned man to be Master of the household, and to be chosen by the Governours, whom he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patents, to be *George* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas* Lord *Elsemore* Lord Chancellor, *Robert* Earl of *Salisbury* Lord Treasurer, *John* Bishop of *London*, *Lancelot* Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Edward Cook* Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Thomas Foster*, a Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, Sir *Henry Hubbard* the Kings Attorney-General, Doctor *Overall* Dean of *Pauls*, Doctor *Mountain* Dean of *Westminster*, *Henry Thursby* Esquire, Master of the *Chancery*, *Richard Sutton* Esquire, Auditor of the Imprests, *Jeffery Nightingall* Esq; *John Low* Gentleman, *Thomas Brown* Gentleman, and Master of the Houshold for the time being, to be alwayes one: and as any of these sixteen Governours should die, the Survivers to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair Colledg in *Oxford* founded by *Nicholas Wilbe* Esquire, and called after his name. About this time also *Edward Allen* of *Dulwich* in *Surrey* founded a fair Hospital at *Dulwich* for six poor men, and six poor women, and for twelve poor Children, from the age of four or six years, to be there maintained and taught till the age of fourteen or sixteen, and to have a School-master with dyet, and a convenient stipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his Wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious use, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time also *William Cambden* King at Arms, founded an History Professor in *Oxford*, to which he gave the Manor of *Bexley* in *Kent*, which some years

The repairing of *Pauls* Church begun.

Suttons Hospital founded.

An Hospital founded at *Dulwich* by *Edward Allen* sometimes a Player.

A History Professor in *Oxford* erected, and by whom.

The number of the Yeomen of the Guard encreased, and also their pay.

Five Judges in every Court.

years expired, will be worth four hundred pounds a year. In his tenth year Sir *Baptiſt Hicks*, one of the Juſtices of Peace in *Middleſex*, who was afterward made Viſcount *Cambden*, built a fair Seſſions houſe of Brick and Stone in St. *Johns* ſtreet, which by the Juſtices was called after his name *Hicks*, a great convenience for the Juſtices; who ſate before in a common Inne called the Caſtle. He alſo founded a fair Hoſpital of Free ſtone, at *Cambden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, for ſix men and ſix women, allowing each of them a yearly Gown, and two ſhillings ſix pence a week, with two rooms and a Garden. In this Kings time, *George Patyn* Citizen and Grocer of *London*, gave to good uſes, three thouſand and ſix hundred pounds, whereof twelve hundred pounds to the two Univerſities, nine hundred pounds for an Alms-houſe, and a certain ſum of money to buy two Bells, and make a Chime in *Bow-Church*. Alſo *Thomas Teaſdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford* Gentleman, gave five thouſand pounds to purchaſe Lands for perpetual maintenance of ſeven Fellows, and ſix Scholars, to be placed at *Baylyoll* in *Oxford*, and to be choſen thither from time to time, out of the Free School of *Abbington* in *Berkſhire*; to which School he alſo gave Lands for the maintenance of an Uſher. In this Kings time alſo, Sir *Marmaduke Darrell*, being Lord of *Fulmer*, being a Town in *Buckinghamſhire*, where was an old ruinous Church, ſtanding a mile diſtant from the Town, pulled down that old Church, and at his own charge builded a fair new one in the Town, and furniſhed it with a Font, a Pulpit, and all Ornaments neceſſary. Alſo *Thomas Watſon* of *Halſtead*, in the County of *Kent* Eſquire, new builded a fair Chappel on the North ſide of the Pariſh Church of *Halſtead*, of Free-ſtone from the ground, and gave to the Church four new Bells, and two Pulpits. In his time alſo Doctor *Alymer* Biſhop of *London*, and *Elizabeth* Counteſs Dowager of *Shrewsbury*, gave certain ſums of money towards the better maintenance of Sermons at *Pauls* Croſs: As likewiſe *Thomas Ruſſell* Draper gave ten pounds a year for ever, to be given to unbeneficed Miniſters, that ſhould preach there; and to the ſame uſe, *George Biſhop* Stationer of *London*, gave ten pounds a year more. In this Kings time alſo, the Citizens of *London* new builded *Aldgate*, where pulling down the old Gate, they found many ancient *Roman* Coyns. *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, founded a fair Alms-houſe in *Croydon*.

Hicks-Hall in St. *Johns* ſtreet built, and by whom.

Aldgate in *London* new builded.

On the fifteenth of *June*, 1614, dyed *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, who built from the ground a houſe nere *Charing Croſſe*; and dying was buried in the ancient Chappel of *Dover* Caſtle, who in his life-time founded three fair Hoſpitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at *Riſing* in *Norfolk* for twelve poor women and a Governeſſe, a ſecond at *Clun* in *Shropſhire*, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at *Greenwich* in *Kent*, for a Governor and twenty poor Almeſ-men. In this Kings time alſo, Maſter *Robert Dons* of *London* Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent maintenance for ever unto *Sepulchers* Pariſh, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding ſome Divine to come to the Priſon of *Newgate*, the midnight before Execution, and there to ring a hand Bell, and to put the priſoners in mind of their approaching death, with a Chriſtian remembrance and exhortation; and the next morning to toll the great Bell, from ſix a clock till ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution ſhould be paſt. He alſo eſtabliſhed a free ſinging School in Chriſts Hoſpital, for the better education of the poor children there: beſides many other good deeds of Alms. About the ſame time *Robert Peake* of *London* Goldſmith, gave to *Sepulchers* Church a Communion Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly guilded over, and at every corner imboſt with plates of ſilver. In this Kings fourteenth year, *William Jones* of *London* Merchant, gave about eight thouſand pounds to found a Free-School in *Wales*, where he was born, with Almes-houſes and Penſioners in *London*; and a hundred pounds a year for ever to a learned Preacher in *London*, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of Haberdaſhers, whereof himſelf was free. This year alſo the old ruinous Gate called *Alderſgate*, was taken quite down, and new builded from the foundation, towards the building whereof, *William Parker*, Merchant-Taylor of *London*, gave a thouſand pounds. In this Kings time alſo, was erected a Building near to *Chelſey*, with a purpoſe to be a Colledg for Divines to ſtudy the Controverſies of Religion, but upon ſecond thoughts, the Cage indeed ſtands finiſhed, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to ſing in it; and perhaps never will. If any other Deeds of Alms, or publick benefit were done in this Kings time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleaſed both here and in other Kings Reigns, to adde them, as he meets with them: for partly to this end, I have digeſted this Chronicle into ſuch ſeveral Heads and Chapters.

Henry Earl of *Northampton* dies, who founded three Hoſpitals, and where.

Alderſgate in *London* new builded, and by whom.

Of Caſualties happening in his time.

IN his firſt year, on the ſeven and twentieth of *April*, thirteen perſons were ſlain by miſ-fortune with Gun-powder, at the Gun-powder Mill in *Redriffe*, and much other hurt done in divers places. This year alſo, the Plague in *London* was ſo great, that from the three and twentieth of *December* 1602, to the two and twentieth of *December* following, there dyed in *London*, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thouſand, two hundred and four and forty, whereof the Plague thirty thouſand, five hundred threeſcore and eighteen, of them in one week three thouſand fourſcore and ten, where the next year after, though the City were encreaſed with great number of ſtrangers, yet there dyed that year of all diſeaſes, within *London* and the Liberties, but only four thouſand two hundred threeſcore and three perſons. In the ſecond year of his Reign, a ſtrange accident happened, to the terrour of all bloudy Murtherers, which was this; one *Anne Waters* enticed by a Lover of hers, conſented to have her huſband ſtrangled, and then buried him ſecretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; whereupon the man being miſſing by his Neighbours, and the Wife making ſhew of a wondering what was become of him; It pleaſed God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamed one night, that his

A great Plague in *London*.

A Murther diſcovered by a Dream.

1624 his neighbour *Waters* was ſtrangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-houſe; and upon declaring his dream, ſearch being made by the Conſtable, the dead body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confeſſing the fact was burned. And now what hope can murtherers have of being concealed, when they are ſubject to be diſcovered by any mans dream? The 19th of *January* in his third year, a great *Porpus* was taken at *Weſtham*, in a ſmall Creek, a mile and a half within the Land, and within few days after a Whale came up within eight miles of *London*, whoſe body was ſeen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the largeſt ſhip in the River: But when ſhe taſted the freſh water, and ſcented the Land, ſhe returned into the Sea. In his fourth year, being the year 1607, a mighty Weſt winde brought in the Sea into the River of *Severn*, with ſuch violence, that in ſome places of *Somerſetſhire* and *Glouceſterſhire*, the Waters in divers Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their houſes; ſo as (notwithſtanding all courſes that could be taken) there were drowned in *Somerſetſhire* 80 perſons, and damages done to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. At *Coventry* alſo, the ſeventh of *April*, ſo ſudden a floud came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it roſe in ſome places above three yards in height, to the great Damage and hurt of many; and that which is as much ſtrange, as it ſuddenly came, ſo it ſuddenly abated: ſo as in four hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his 6th year being 1609, a froſt began in *December*, which continued till *April* following, with ſuch violence, that not only the *Thames* was ſo froſen, that Carts loaden were driven over it as on dry land, but many Fowls and Birds periſhed, as alſo much herbage in gardens, eſpecially Artichocks and Roſemary were deſtroyed. This year alſo the 11th of *April* a Malt-houſe in the Town of St. *Edmondsbury*, being by chance ſet on fire, continued burning till it had conſumed 160 houſes: but by the Kings bountifulneſſe, (giving 500 loads of timber) and the City of *Londons* relief, the Town was forthwith new builded, in a fairer manner than it was before. In the year 1613, on the ſeventeenth of *April* in the pariſh of *Standiſh* in *Lancaſhire* a maiden child was born, having four legs, four arms, two bellies joyned to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behinde, like the picture of *Janus*.

A *Porpus* taken, and a Whale ſeen near *London*.

A great Inundation in *Somerſetſhire* and *Glouceſterſhire*.

A Froſt that continued from *December* till *April*.

A monſtrous child born.

This year alſo the 26th of *June*, in the Pariſh of *Chriſts Church* in *Hampſhire*, one *John Hitchel*, a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife and a young childe by them, was himſelf and the child both burnd to death with a ſudden lightning, no fire appearing outwardly upon him, and yet lay burning for the ſpace of almoſt three dayes, till he was quite conſumed to aſhes. This year alſo on the ſeventh of *Auguſt*, the Town of *Dorcheſter* was quite conſumed with Fire, begun in the houſe of a Tallow Chandler, deſtroying all the houſes, except a few near the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thouſand pounds, yet not any man or woman periſhed. About the ſame time alſo the Play-houſe called the Globe upon the Bank-ſide near *London*, was quite conſumed with fire by diſcharging a piece of Ordinance and yet no man hurt: and about four years after, a new built play-houſe, near Golding-lane called the *Fortune*, was by negligence of a candle, clean burnt down to the ground. In the year 1614. the Town of *Stratford* upon *Avon*, was burned. And leſt the water ſhould be behinde in doing of miſchief, ſo great Inundations were at this time in *Norfolk* and *Lincolnſhire*, that the Sea entred twelve miles into the Land. In the year 1612, on the 18 of *November* a blazing Star began to be ſeen in the South-eaſt about five a clock in the morning, the flame or ſtream whereof, enclined towards the Weſt. This comet, in the opinion of *Dr. Bembridge*, the great Mathematician of *Oxford*, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: what it portended is only known to God; but the ſequel of it was, that infinite ſlaughters and devaſtations followed upon it, both in *Germany* and other Countries. In the year 1623, on Fryday the 24 of *Octob.* a *Roman* Catholick Prieſt preached in the afternoon, at *Hunſdon* houſe in the *Black-Fryers* in *London*, in an upper chamber, where there were aſſembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with ſuch violence, that it brake down the next floor under it: in the fall whereof, were ſlain the Preacher, and almoſt 100 of his Auditors, beſides as many more hurt. In this Kings time courſe paper commonly called white brown paper was firſt made in *England*, ſpecially in *Surrey*, and about *Windſor*.

A man and his child lying in bed burned to death with Lightning.

1624 Two Play-houſes burnt

A blazing Star ſeen.

White brown Pape firſt made in *England*.

Of his Wife and Children.

HE married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Frederick* the ſecond, King of *Denmark*, whoſe marriage was there ſolemnized in the year 1589. By whom he had born in *Scotland*, two Sons, *Henry* who dyed before him, and *Charles* who ſucceeded him in the Crown; and one Daughter named *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fift of that name, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, by whom ſhe had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King *James* had alſo by his Wife Queen *Anne* two other Daughters born in *England*, the Lady *Mary*, and the Lady *Sophia*, who both dyed young, the Lady *Mary* at about three years old, the Lady *Sophia* the next day after ſhe was born; and were both of them buried with great ſolemnity, in the Chappel Royal at *Weſtminſter*.

Of his Perſonage and Conditions.

HE was of Stature ſome what higher than ordinary, of a well compacted body, of an auburn hair, of a full and pleaſing viſage; in his later days inclining to be fat and burley; of bodily exerciſes, he took moſt delight in hunting; which yet (ſome thought) he uſed rather as a retiring himſelf from the importunity of State affairs, than for any great pleaſure he took in it. It is ſaid, that he had ſuch a faſhion in riding, that it could not ſo properly be ſaid he rid, as that his Horſe carried him; for he made but little uſe of his Bridle, and would ſay, a Horſe never ſtumbled, but when he was reined. He was of an admirable

1624 mirable pregnancy of wit, and that pregnancy much improved by continuall ſtudy from his childhood: by which, he had gotten ſuch a promptneſſe in expreſſing his minde, that his extemporal ſpeeches were little inferior to his premeditated writings. Many, no doubt, had read as much, and perhaps more than he; but ſcarce ever any concocted his reading into Judgement as he did: by which he became ſo judicious, that though he could not Prophecy, yet he could preſage; and his conjectures were little leſſe than Oracles. In all the Liberal Sciences, he was (we may ſay) a Maſter of Arts: but in Divinity, a Doctor, as he made appear in the Conference at *Hamton Court*, and is ſeen ſtill by the learned Writings he hath left behinde him. And as for that part of the Politicks, which concerns Monarchy, *Regere Imperio populos*, which himſelf uſed to call King-Craft: In this he excelled. He knew how to take the inclinations of the people at their firſt bound, and never ſuffer them to riſe higher, than he could well reach them: nor to grow ſtronger, than he could either alter or divert them. He would be ſure to keep his Subjects in a temper of contentment; which if he could not do by preventives, he would by lenitives. He was ſo wiſe that he could diſſemble, without ſeeming a Diſſembler: be free in opening his mind, and yet keep counſell. He was a provident Pilot, that in a calm would provide for a ſtorm: and you ſhould never find him committing the fault of *Non putaram*. He was both *Marti & Mercurio*; but not *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, as being of his temper who ſaid, *Cedant Arma Togæ*: and indeed ſeeing Peace is the end of both, it were not wiſdom to ſeek it by Arms, if it may be had by the Gown, as it is in the *Aphoriſm, Concilio omnia experiri prius, quam Armis ſapientem decet*. That which was bounty in him being a King, would have been Frugality, if he had been a private perſon, there being of both one radicall reaſon. Of all the Morall vertues, he was eminent for chaſtity; in which the Poet ſeems to include all vertue: where he ſaith,

His promptneſs in expreſſing his mind.

His Learning ſpecially in Divinity.

His Wiſedom.

His Chaſtity.

Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen.

By *nulli caſto*, meaning no vertuous perſon; it was a manifeſt argument of his being an excellent Prince, that coming next to the admirable Queen *Elizabeth*, which was in a manner to compare them together, yet there appeared no inequality, that it might not untruly be ſaid, King *James* was but the continuation of Queen *Elizabeth*, the ſame vertue, though different ſexes: And now to expreſſe his Character in a Word, which worthily might be matter for many volumes: He was to his Wife a moſt loyal Husband, to his children a moſt loving Father, to his Servants a moſt bountiful Maſter, to his Subjects a moſt juſt Prince, to all Princes near him a moſt peaceable neighbour; that more juſtly it may be ſaid of him, than of whom it was ſaid; *Quæ te tam læta tulerunt ſæcula?* a Prince after *Plato*'s own heart, for his learning, and which is infinitely more worth, after Gods own heart, for his Religiouſneſs and Piety.

Of his Death and Buriall.

1625 OF his death were many ſcandalous rumors ſpread, and ſome were ſo impudent, as to write that he was poyſoned, as the Duke of *Richmond*, and the Marqueſſe *Hamilton* had been before: but King *James* being dead, and his body 1625 opened, there was found no ſign at all of poyſon, his inward parts being all ſound, but that his Spleen was a little faulty, which might be cauſe enough to caſt him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, eſpecially in old bodies, to a naturall death: of this Ague after a Moneths languiſhing, notwithſtanding all the remedies that could be applyed, he departed this life at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of *March*, in the year 1625, in the 59th of his age, when he had Reigned two and twenty years compleat; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch light, from *Theobalds* to *Denmark* houſe, where having reſted from the 23d of *April*, to the 7th of *May*, it was carryed to *Weſtminſter*, and there interred in the Chappel Royal, with great ſolemnity, but with greater lamentation: there being ſcarce any of the infinite multitude that was preſent, of whom it might not be ſaid.

Multa gemens, largoque humectat flumine vultum.

Of Men of note in his time.

MIlitary Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King *James* was, we have no reaſon to expect; yet if we look amongſt the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the *Low-Countries*; we ſhall finde a pair of brothers, that may ſtand in compariſon with the greateſt Souldiers in the moſt Martial times, Sr. *Francis Vere*, who as another *Hannibal*, with his one eye, could ſee more in the Martial Diſcipline, than common men can do with two; and Sr. *Horatio Vere*, who as another *Philopæmen*, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in learning, as being in the time of a moſt learned Prince, there was never greater ſtore; of whom theſe for example. In Curiouſneſſe of Preaching, there was Doctor *Andrews* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; who hath left to poſterity, a Century of ſuch golden Sermons, that ſhews, he as well deſerved the name of *Chryſoſtom*, as he that had it. In multiplicity of reading, there was Doctor *Reinolds* of *Corpus Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*; who ſeemed, as it were, a Living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect *Index* of all the Books had ever been written. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir *Edward Coke*, Chief Juſtice of the *Kings Bench*; who hath written ſuch excellent Commentaries of the Law, that he ſeems as another *Bartholus* or *Baldus* amongſt us. In elegancy of Writing, there was Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viſcount St. *Albans*, who beſides his profounder Books of *Novum Organum*, hath written the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh, in ſo ſweet a ſtyle, that like *Manna*, it pleaſeth the taſte of all palates. In the skill of Antiquities, there was *William Cambden*, King at Arms; who hath ſet forth the Deſcription of *Britain*, and the life of Queen *Elizabeth* in ſo lively colours, that he ſeems to have brought *Britain* out of darkneſs into light, and to keep Queen *Elizabeth* alive after death. And to ſpeak it in a word, the *Trojan* Horſe was not fuller of Heroick *Grecians*, then King *James* his Reign was full of men, excellent in all kindes of Learning. And here I deſire the Readers leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the

Two eminent Souldiers, Sir *Francis Vere*, and Sir *Horatio Vere*.

Two eminent ſchollars, Dr. *Andrews*, and Dr. *Reynolds*.

Two eminent Lawyers, Sir *Edward Coke*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*.

Two eminent Wits, Dr. *Dunne*, and Sir *Henry Wotton*.

the one was Mr. *John Dunne*, who leaving *Oxford*, lived at the *Innes of Courts*, not diſſolute, but very neat; a great Viſiter of Ladies, a great frequenter of Playes, a great Writer of conceited Verſes; untill ſuch time as King *James* taking notice of the pregnancy of his Wit, was a means that he betook him to the ſtudy of Divinity, and thereupon proceeding Doctor, was made Dean of *Pauls*; and became ſo rare a Preacher, that he was not onely commended, but even admired by all that heard him. The other was *Henry Wotton*, (mine old acquaintance alſo, as having been fellow pupils, and chamber-fellows in *Oxford* divers years together.) This Gentleman was imployed by King *James* in Embaſſage to *Venice*; and indeed the Kingdom afforded not a fitter man, for matching the Capriciouſneſſe of the *Italian* wits: a man of ſo able dexterity with his Pen, that he hath done himſelf much wrong, and the Kingdom more, in leaving no more of his Writings behind him.

Of the Engliſh *Plantations in the* Indies, *that were in King* JAMES *his time.*

AND now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near ſay as much of King *James* as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; *Super & Garamantas & Indos proferet Imperium.* In this better, that where *Auguſtus* did it by the violent way of Arms, King *James* did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his days began the great Plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*; and muſt be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The firſt Plantation of the *Engliſh* in the *Indies*; was that which is now called *Virginia*, in memory of the Virgin Queen *Elizabeth*: but called before *Wingandacoa*. It was firſt diſcovered by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the year 1584; to whom the firſt Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was ſent thither, till the year 1606. It is a Country in *America*, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the *Engliſh*, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is no Iſland, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoyning to *Florida*. The firſt and chief Town made here by the *Engliſh*, is called *James Town*, in honour of the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty. It is a Country abounding with all ſorts of Fiſh and Fowl; ſo fruitful, that it yields thirty, and ſometimes forty Buſhels of Corn upon an Acre; and that (which is to us more ſtrange) hath three harveſts in a year, the Corn being ſowed, ripe and reaped, in little more then two moneths. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the firſt to any purpoſe was in the year 1607, under the Conduct of Captain *Goſnoll*, *John Smith*, and Mr. *Edward Maria Winkfield*, who carried a Colony thither of a hundred perſons; but of theſe, many dying of ſickneſſe, or ſlain by the Savages, a new ſupply came in the year 1608. of a hundred and twenty perſons, under the conduct of Captain *Nilſon*. After which, was ſent another ſupply of threeſcore and ten perſons; and in the year 1609, a third ſupply came of five hundred perſons, under a Patent granted to Sir *Thomas Weſt*, Lord *de la Ware*, but conducted thither by Sir *Thomas Gates*, Sir *George Summers*, and others. In the year 1611. was a fourth ſupply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir *Thomas Gates*. In the year 1612. two other ſupplies were ſent of forty men in each, and now was the Lottery ſpoken of before granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this Maſter *Samuel Argall* being appointed Governour in the year 1618. the Lord *de la Ware* came thither with a ſupply of two hundred people; but in his ſtay there dyed: After this in the year 1620, were ſent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and ſixteen perſons, and now they founded themſelves into Corporations: In the year 1621, Sir *Francis Wiat* was ſent thither Governour, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Juſtice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both ſides. But now when the *Engliſh* were ſecure, and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came ſuddenly upon them, and ſlew of them three hundred and ſeven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which loſſe, the City of *London* ſent preſently over a ſupply of a hundred men. This maſſacre happened, by reaſon they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty ſeveral places, which made them now upon conſultation, to reduce them all to five or ſix places, whereby they may better aſſiſt each other: ſince which time they have alwayes lived in good ſecurity. And thus much for *Virginia*.

Upon their ſecurity, 300 of them ſlain by the Savages.

The firſt Plantation of *Virginia*: and what Country it is and abounding with what Commodities.

Next was the Plantation of the Iſland called *Bermudas*, ſo called of a *Spaniſh* Ship, called *Bermudas*, which was there caſt away, carrying Hogs to the *Weſt-Indies*, that ſwam a ſhoar, and there increaſed. The firſt *Engliſh* man that entred this Iſle, was one *Henry May* in the year 1591. but in the year 1610, Sir *George Somers* was ſent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Iſles have ever ſince been called *Somers Iſles*. In the year 1612, one Mr. *Moor* landed there with 60 perſons, and then builded the chief Town there called S. *Georges*, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The ſame year a ſupply of 30 more perſons was ſent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr. *Barlet*; with a ſhew to ſurvey the Land; but with a purpoſe indeed to get from thence a great lump of *Ambergreece*, and no leſſe than 80 pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Iſland ſome few years before, and was ſtill retained. A while after this, came a Ship called the *Bleſſing*, with 100 paſſengers; and two dayes after came the *Star*, with 180 more; and within 14 dayes after that again came thither the *Margaret* and two Frigats, with 130 paſſengers: So as now they began to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into ſhares. In the year 1616, Captain *Daniel Tuckard* was ſent from *Virginia* to be Governour there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they began to build them houſes: and now was ſent from thence into *England*, a Ship fraighted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at 2 s. 6 d. the pound, though ſold here oftentimes for *Verino's* at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain *Nathaniel*

The Plantation of the *Bermudas*: why called *Somers Iſles*.

Ambergreece in great quantity found in the Iſland.

Butler was ſent Governour with new Supplies, in whoſe time they build them a Church; held Aſſizes for Criminal cauſes, twice a year, and began to have Parliaments as in *England*: and now in the Ship called the *Magazin*, came divers Gentlemen of good faſhion, with their Wives and Families: ſo as now their number was no fewer than fifteen hundred people, diſperſed twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, came Governour Mr. *John Bernard*, bringing with him a ſupply of 140 perſons; but he and his wife dying preſently upon their coming, Mr. *John Harriſon* in the year 1623. was choſen Governour. Theſe Iſles of *Bermudas* are in 32 degrees of Northern latitude: ſo as they are diſtant from *Virginia* at leaſt 500 Leagues, and from *England* above three thouſand three hundred. This Country is of a moſt healthful Air, abounding with all ſorts of Fowls, Birds and Fiſh; and where great pieces of *Amber-greece* are oftentimes found, which is valued there at no leſſe than three pounds an ounce. And thus much concerning the ſtate of *Bermudas*, till the year 1624.

The Plantation of *New-England*: and the Commodities of the Country.

Next comes the *Plantation* of *New-England*; concerning which, we muſt firſt know, that King *James* in the year 1606. granted two Letters Patents for *Plantations* in *Virginia*, one to the City of *London*; another to the Cities of *Briſtow*, *Exceter* and *Plimouth*; with power to plant Colonies any where between the Degrees of 38 and 44, provided there ſhould be at leaſt 100 miles diſtance between the two Colonies. So as the firſt Colony was from the City of *London*, and is that which is called *Virginia*; The ſecond Colony was from *Briſtow* & the other Towns, and is that which is now called *New-England*, and is ſituate between the degrees of 41 and 45: the very mean betwixt the North Pole and the Line. And now to ſpeak a little of the Country, there are on the Sea coſt, 25 excellent good Harbours, in ſome whereof there is Anchorage for 500 ſail of Ships of any burthen. The Earth as fruitful, and the Air as healthful as any part of the World: abounding with all ſorts of Grain, Fowls and Fiſh: Many of ſuch kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat: Many Voyages had been made for the perfect diſcovery of the Country: Many attempts for ſetling a Plantation there: Many Miſcarriages and Diſaſters in making the attempts: but all at laſt came to this, that in the year 1624. (which is the limit of our Narration) there was a Plantation ſetled, though but a ſmall one: but a few years after (by the ſending forth of new Supplies) encreaſed to ſo many thouſands, that if God continue to proſper it, as he hath begun, the *New-England* in a few Ages may prove as populous as the *Old*; and the King of *England* likely to have as many and greater Crowns in the *Indies*, than he had in his Realms of Great *Britain* and *Ireland*. But ſeeing of theſe and all other *Engliſh* Plantations in the *Indies*, whereof there are many; large diſcourſes are written by divers Authors, it ſhould be more than ſuperfluous to ſpeak more of them in this place: It is ſufficient to have ſhewed that King *James* had the honour to have them ſetled in his time, and under the influence of his peaceable Government.

Of the Earls *and* Barons *made by King* JAMES.

IN former Kings Reigns, the making of Earls and Barons was but rare, and therefore they are fitly ſet down at the ſeveral times of their making; but in King *James* his Reign, there were ſo many made, that it may not be unfit to ſet them down in a Catalogue together.

In his firſt year were made four Earls and nine Barons: namely, *Henry Howard* younger Brother of the laſt Duke of *Norfolk*, was made Earl of *Northampton*: *Thomas Sackvile* Lord *Buckhurſt*, was made Earl of *Dorſet*; and and ſhortly after *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, was made Earl of *Devonſhire*, and *Thomas Howard* Baron of *Walden*, was made Earl of *Suffolk*: *Henry Grey* was made Lord *Grey of Groby*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Stanford*) *Henry Danvers* was made Baron of *Danby*, (afterwards by King *Charles* made Earl of *Danby*) Sir *John Peter* of *Eſſex*, was made Baron of *Writtle*: Sir *William Ruſſel* was made Baron of *Thornaugh*: Sir *Thomas Gerard* was made Baron of *Gerards Bromley* in *Staffordſhire*: Sir *Robert Spencer* was made Baron of *Wormelayton* in the County of *Warwick*: Sir *Thomas Egerton* was made Baron of *Eſiemere*: Sir *Robert Cecill* was created Baron of *Henden* in *Rutlandſhire*; and Sir *John Harington* was made Baron of *Exton*.

In his ſecond year on the 20th. of *May* were made four Barons and one Viſcount: Sir *Robert Sidney* was made Baron of *Penhurſt*: Sir *William Knowles*, Baron of *Grayes*: Sir *Edward Wotton* Baron of *Marley*: and *Mildmay Fane* Lord *de Spencer*; and in *Auguſt* the ſame year, Sir *Robert Cecill* Baron of *Eſſenden*, was created Viſcount *Cranburn*.

In his third year, on the 4th. of *May*, were created three Earls, and one Viſcount, and four Barons; namely, Sir *Robert Cicill* Viſcount *Cranburn*, was created Earl of *Salisbury*: Sir *Thomas Cecill* his elder Brother Lord *Burghley*, was created Earl of *Exceter*; and Sir *Philip Herbert* younger Brother to the Earl of *Pembroke*, was created Earl of *Montgomery*: *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurſt*, was created Viſcount of *Liſle*; Sir *John Stanhope* was made Baron of *Harington*; Sir *George Carew* Baron of *Clopton*; Mr. *Thomas Arundell* of *Devonſhire*, Baron of *Warder*; and Mr. *William Cavendiſh* Baron of *Hardwick*.

In his fourth year, on the fourth of *July*, Sir *Thomas Knevet* was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Eſtrick*, and was thereby Baron of that Title; and on the ſeventh of *September*, Sir *Jervis Clifton* was likewiſe called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of *Layton Bromſenſold*, and was thereby Baron of that Title.

In his ninth year, upon *Eaſter Munday*, Sir *Robert Carre* was created Viſcount *Rocheſter*; and

In his tenth year, on the fourth of *November*, was created Earl of *Somerſet*.

In

In his eleventh year, *Lewis Steward* Duke of *Lenox* was made Earl of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Richmond*.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29th. of *June*, Sir *James Hay* of *Scotland* was created Baron of *Sawley*, and about three years after, was made Viſcount *Doncaſter*, and Sir *Robert Dormer* was created Baron of *Wyng*, (afterward by King *Charles* was made Earl of *Carnarvan*.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9th. of *July*, Sir *John Hollys* Knight was created Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and Sir *John Roper* of *Kent*, was made Baron of *Tenham*: and on the 17th. of *Auguſt*, Sir *George Villiers* was created Baron of *Whadden*, and Viſcount *Villiers*; and on the 7th. of *November*, *Thomas Egerton* Lord *Elſemere* was created Viſcount *Brackley*, and he dying ſoon after, his Son *John* was created Earl of *Bridgewater*; *William* Lord *Knowles* was created Viſcount *Wallingford*; and Sir *Philip Stanhope* was created Baron of *Shelford*: On the 5th. of *January*, the Viſcount *Villiers* was created Earl of *Buckingham*, and on the third of *March*, Sir *Edward Noell* of *Rutlandſhire*, was made Baron of *Ryddington*.

In his fifteenth year, on *New-years* day, Sir *George Villiers* Earl of *Buckingham*, was created Marqueſſe of *Buckingham*; and on the 12th. of *July*, Sir *Francis Bacon* Lord Chancellor of *England*, was created Baron of *Verulam*, and not long after Viſcount Saint *Albans*. Alſo in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Counteſſe: namely, the Viſcount *Liſle* was made Earl of *Leiceſter*, the Lord *Compton* was made Earl of *Northampton*, the Lord *Rich* was made Earl of *Warwick*, the Lord *Cavendiſh* was made Earl of *Devonſhire*, and the Lady *Compton* wife to Sir *Thomas Compton*, and mother of the Marqueſſe of *Buckingham* was created Counteſſe of *Buckingham*.

In his ſixteenth year, on the 25th. of *November*, Sir *John Digby* Vicechamberlain to the King, was created Baron of *Sherbourn*, by Patent to him and his heirs Males.

In his ſeventeenth year, in the moneth of *June*, *Eſme Steward* Lord *d' Aubigny*, younger Brother to the Duke of *Lenox*, was created Earl of *March*, *James* Marqueſs *Hamilton* was created Earl of *Cambridge*, and Sir *John Villiers* Brother to the Marqueſſe of *Buckingham* was created Baron of *Stock* and Viſcount *Purbeck*.

In his eighteenth year, *William Cavendiſh* was created Viſcount *Mansfield*; (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Newcaſtle*) and on Munday the fourth of *December*, Sir *Henry Mountague*, being firſt made Lord Treaſurer, was created Baron of *Kimbolton*, and Viſcount *Mandevile*, and not long after Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *John Ramſey* Viſcount *Haddington* of *Scotland* was created Earl of *Holderneſſe*, and *William Fielding* was created Baron of *Newnham*, and Viſcount *Fielding*.

In his nineteenth year, *Henry Cary* was made Lord *Cary* of *Leppington*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Monmouth*) Sir *Edward Mountague* elder Brother to the Viſcount *Mandevile* was made Baron of *Boulton*, the Lord *Darey* of *Eſſex*, was created Viſcount *Colcheſter* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Rivers*) the Lord *Hunſdon* was created Viſcount *Rochford*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Dover*) Sir *Lyonel Cranfield*, Maſter of the *Wards*, was created Baron *Cranfield* in *Bedfordſhire*; and Sir *Thomas Howard* ſecond ſon to *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*, was created Baron of *Charleton*, and Viſcount *Andover*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Berkſhire*.)

In his twentieth year, in the moneth of *September*, the Viſcount *Doncaſter* was created Earl of *Carlile*, the Viſcount *Fielding* was created Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Digby* was made Earl of *Briſtow*, the Lord *Cranfield* was created Earl of *Middleſex*, and Sir *Henry Rich* was made Baron of *Kenſington*.

In his one and twentieth year, the Marqueſſe of *Buckingham* being then in *Spain* with Prince *Charles*, had his Patent ſent him to be Duke of *Buckingham*; *William Grey* was created Baron of *Wark*, *Elizabeth* the widow of Sir *Moyle Finch* of *Kent*, was created Viſcounteſs *Maidſtone*, (afterward by King *Charles* made Counteſs of *Winchelſey*.)

In his two and twentieth year, the Earl of *Clanriccard* of *Ireland*, was created Viſcount *Tunbridge* in *Kent* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of Saint *Albans*.) Sir *John Hollys* Knight, Baron *Haughton* of *Haughton* was created Earl of *Clare*, Sir *Henry Rich* Baron of *Kenſington* was created Earl of *Holland*, the Lord *Fines*, Baron of *Say* and *Seale*, was made Viſcount *Say* and *Seale*: Sir *Francis Fane* was created Earl of *Weſtmerland*, *Oliver* Lord St. *John* of *Bletſho* was made Earl of *Bullinbrook*, Sir *Chriſtopher Villiers* Brother to the Duke of *Buckingham*, was made Earl of *Angleſey*, and Sir *James Ley* was made Lord *Ley* (afterward by King *Charles* made Earl of *Marlborough*.) Alſo this year, Sir *Francis Leak* was made Baron of *Deincourt*, and Sir *Richard Roberts* was made Lord *Roberts* of *Truro* in *Cornwall*.

And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King *James*; but in his time alſo began another ſort of Nobility to be made in *England*, which had none of the priviledges of *Engliſh* Barons, but had onely Title to be called Lords of ſome place either in *England* or *Ireland*, although they poſſeſſed not a foot of Land in either: Of which ſort, the number being great; I forbear to rehearſe them, leſt I ſhould be tedious, or otherwiſe be thought to encroach too much upon the Heralds Office. It is ſufficient to have ſhewed, that King *James* advanced ſo many in honour, that in a kind it might be ſaid of him, as was ſaid of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, That he left *Rome* of Marble, which he found but of Brick.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London *in his Reign.*

In his firſt year,
Sir *Thomas Benet* was Mayor.
Sir *William Rumney*, Sir *Tho. Middleton*, Sheriffs.

In his ſecond year,
Sir *Thomas Low* was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Hayes*, Sir *Roger Jones*, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir *Leonard Hollyday* was Mayor.
Sir *Clement Scudamor*, Sir *John Jolles* Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir *John Wats* was Mayor.
William Walthall, *John Leman*, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir *Henry Row* was Mayor.
Geoffery Elwes, *Nicholas Style*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixth year,
Sir *Humphry Weld* was Mayor.
George Bolles, *Richard Farrington*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventh year,
Sir *Thomas Cambell* was Mayor.
Sebaſtian Harvey, *William Cockaine*, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir *William Craven* was Mayor.
Richard Pyat, *Francis Jones* Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir *James Pemberton* was Mayor.
Edward Barkham, *John Smiths*, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir *John Swinnerton* was Mayor.
Edward Rotheram, *Alexander Preſcot*, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir *Thomas Middleton* was Mayor.
Thomas Bennet, *Henry Faye*, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir *Thomas Hayes* was Mayor.
Peter Proby, *Martin Lumley*, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir *John Jolles* was Mayor.
William Goare, *John Goare*, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir *John Leman* was Mayor.
Allen Cotten, *Cuthbert Hacket*, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir *George Bolles* was Mayor.
William Hollyday, *Robert Johnſon*, Sheriffs.

In his ſixteenth year,
Sir *Sebaſtian Harvy* was Mayor.
Richard Hearne, *Hugh Hamerſley*, Sheriffs.

In his ſeventeenth year,
Sir *William Cockain* was Mayor.
Richard Deane, *James Cambell*, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir *Francis Jones* was Mayor.
Edward Allen, *Robert Ducie*, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir *Edward Barkham* was Mayor.
George Whitemore, *Nicholas Rainton*, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir *Peter Proby* was Mayor.
John Hodges, Sir *Humphry Hantford*, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Sir *Martin Lumley* was Mayor.
Ralph Freeman, *Thomas Mounſon*, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Sir *John Goare* was Mayor.
Rowland Heilin, *Robert Parkhurſt*, Sheriffs.

THE

THE REIGN OF King Charles the First.

1625

KIng *James* being deceased on the 27th of *March* in the forenoon, the same day, in the afternoon, *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only Son, then living, was proclaimed King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the age of 25 years, whereof the most part of one he had spent in *Spain*; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth, perhaps, then that he went for.

King *Charles* proclaimed.

The Funerals of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of *May*, his body being brought from *Somerset-House* to *Westminster*, where in St. *Peter's* Church, he was with great magnificence interr'd, the King himself being principal Mourner; which, though it was contrary to the custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety, in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to stand upon any old niceties and points of State.

The celebration of the Funeral of K. *James*.

The first thing he did after the celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the *Queen*, to whom on Sunday the first of *May*, he was by his Proxie, the Duke of *Chevereux*, espoused at our *Ladies Church* in *Paris*; where the Espousals were performed by the Cardinal of *Richlieu*.

The King and Queens espousals at *Paris*.

A while after the Queen began her journey towards *England*, accompanied to *Amiens*, with the Queen her Mother, the Duke of *Orleans* her Brother, and the Duke and Dutchess of *Chevereux*, with others of the Nobility of *France*, and she was attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the Earls of *Carlisle*, *Holland*, and *Montgomery*, and many of the English Gentry, who were sent over for that purpose.

The Queen staid a fortnight at *Amiens*, and there she parted with her Mother; from thence she went to *Boloigne*, where a Fleet of one and twenty of the Kings Ships attended her, with the Countess of *Buckingham*, and a Noble Train of Ladies.

On *Trinity Sunday*, late at night, she arrived at *Dover*, which being signified to the King (then at *Canterbury*) he went to her early the next morning, and received her with the greatest demonstrations of affection; and the same day they came to *Canterbury*, where their Nuptials were with all possible magnificence compleated, and the Duke of *Chevereux* surrendred his Royal Charge to the King. On *Wednesday* the fifteenth of *June*, they went by Coach to *Gravesend*, and the next day they came from thence to *Somerset-House* in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as they passed, by the great Ordnance from several Ships in the River, and the Tower of *London*, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats which could be found on the River of *Thames*.

The Queen arrives at *Dover*.

The King and Queen come to *Somerset-House*.

The third day after their arrival, their marriage was declared at *White-hall*, with great acclamations of joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony, on Royal Thrones before the Nobility: but the Pestilence began to rage in *London* at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity; though neither that, nor any thing else did divert the King from the consideration of the other concernments of the Kingdom; for, having summon'd a Parliament to meet on the eighteenth of *June*: at the first assembling thereof he spake to them in these words.

The Kings marriage declared.

My Lords and Gentlemen:

"YOu are not ignorant, that at your earnest "intreaty, *March* 23. 1623. my Father "(of happy memory) first took up Arms for the "recovery of the *Palatinate*; for which purpose,

"by

1625 "by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly *Armado* "and *Navie-Royal*. But Death intervening "between him and the Atchievement, the War "with the Crown is devolved upon me; to "the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both "in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but "the same necessity continuing, you will cherish the Action with the like affection, and "further it with a ready contribution. True it "is, you furnished My Father with affectionate "Supplyes, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion with the Charge of so great an Enterprise. For those your Donatives are all dis-"burst to a peny; and I am enforced to summon "you hither, to tell you, That neither can the "Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth, without further aid. Consider, I pray you, that "the eyes of all *Europe* are fixt upon me, to "whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I "were unable to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now desert me. Consider it is my "first attempt, wherein if I sustain a foile, it "will blemish all my future Honour. If Mine "cannot, let your reputation move you, deliver "and expedite me fairly out of this War, where-"with you have encombred Me. (Let it never "be said whereinto you have betrayed Me.) I "desire therefore your speedy supply. The Sun, "you know, is entring into his declining point, "so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it "will be rather not too soon to return. Again, "I must mind you of the Mortality regnant in "this City, which should it (as so it may, and "no breach of Priviledge neither) Arrest any "one Member of either House, it would soon "put a period, both to the Consultation and "Session, so that your own Periclitation necessitates an early resolution. In summe, Three "of the best Rhetoricians, *Honour*, *Opportunity*, "and *Safety*, are all of a Plot, and plead, you "see, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of My Religion, as also of the temper "and tenure of my future Government. But, "as I hope, I have not been guilty of any thing "which may justly start the least question in either, so I desire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those "Principles, wherein I have been instituted at "the feet of that eminent *Gamaliel* My late "Father.

This *Speech* was very well receiv'd, and though it did not produce so great a Supply, as the exigence of Affairs required, yet the Commons gave two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy three; and in the Grant of the Layety, the Papists were to pay double.

The King very gratiously accepted the gift, as an earnest of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater summs which he expected to follow: but the Plague encreasing in *London*, the Parliament, on the eleventh of *July*, was adjourned to *Oxford*, to be held there on the first of *August*. The Commons had sent up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the Adjournment; but because it was limited to a year, they thought it unfit to pass: for that most of the former Grants to the Kings Predecessors were for term of life. The cause of this restraint was, because the Customs had been raised by King *James*, by advice of his Council, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, and the Commons had a purpose to reduce them to the rate setled in Queen *Maries* time. 1625

The Kings Speech to the Parliament.

August the first, the Parliament assembled at *Oxford*, and in the fourth of the same Moneth, both Houses, by the Kings appointment, attended him at *Christ-Church-hall*, where he briefly acquainted them with his wants for setting out the Fleet; adding, that the eyes of the Confederates were fixt upon it.

The Commons upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the substance of his *Speech*, and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arraignment of the Government. Some urged that our Necessities arose by improvidence; That the Kings designs were guided by evil Counsels, and, that though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War; yet if things were managed by contrary designs, and the Treasure mis-imployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in designs not guided by sound Counsel; and that it was unusual to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd, and before they would agree to any answer to what the King proposed, (upon some jealousies that the Popish Religion was too much countenanced) they framed a Petition against Popish Recusants, which was presented to him by their *Speaker*, attended by all the House of Commons. The King seemed not displeased at this delay, and the Parliament received from him a very gratious and satisfactory answer to their Petition; nevertheless this kindness did not produce answerable effects: For, when the matters of supply came to be again debated by the Commons, great division arose, some would give, and others would not, and the majority were prevailed on by many passionate instances of mis-government, to insist on redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance thereof drawn up, and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of *Buckingham*, as the chief occasion of all miscarriages in Government. Nothing more then this could shew the mutability of humane Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the affections of the people; for in the last Parliament of King *James*, this Duke of *Buckingham*, against whom they now exclaimed, was extolled for the great Ornament and Honour of the English Nation, and the chief preserver of the Kingdom from the Spanish practises; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. The King, from those of his Council in the House of Commons, had advice from time to time of the matter of this Remonstrance, in the debates of it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection; but the expressions were so sharp, and the style so unusual from Subjects to their Prince, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament, than admit of it; and thereupon he came to the Lords House, to put an end to it. The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee, when the Usher of the Black Rod came

The Commons debate a Remonstrance of Grievances.

to

to call them up to the Lords House, in order to
1625 a Dissolution, but before they would admit the *Speaker* to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one *Glanvil* stood up and declared the sense of the House in these words;

First, to give His Majestie thanks for His Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, for His care of our Health, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, a dutiful declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

Glanvill declares in the Neam of the House of Commons.

This being done, the Usher was called in, and declared his Message, and the dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this, a Proclamation was set out, to put the Laws in execution against Popish Recusants, commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of children of Noblemen and others, sent to be educated in Popish Schools, or Seminaries abroad; and all of the Kings Subjects under the pay of the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and the Arch-Dutchies who then governed the *Spanish Netherlands*, were speedily enjoyned to return to their Native Countries, to be employed in the Kings Service.

Terme kept at Reading

The *Terme*, because of the Plague in *London*, was kept at *Reading*, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against Recusants.

And now the War with *Spain*, for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolved on in the last year of his Fathers Reign, was vigorously prosecuted; and the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were sent Embassadours to the *United Provinces*, where they met at the *Hague* the Embassadours of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them and the States, for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*. The King of *Denmark*, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the Kings not performance of what was promised on his part, and that was occasioned by the Parliaments failer of supplyes of money. And for the same reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the coast of *Spain*, were not out till *October* following. In which Expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice-Admiral of the Navie.

The Fleet, with the addition of some *Dutch* Vessels, consisted of Eighty good Ships; at their first setting forth, they were encountred with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of them were dispersed and scattered for seven days together, and a gallant Ship, called the *Long Robert* of *Ipswich*, with an hundred and seventy persons in it, were lost. After this Tempest, the Fleet met at the *Southern Cape*, where they entered into Consultation, what they should attempt; the Earl of *Essex*, out of a great desire to equal the glory of his Father gotten at *Cadiz*, proposed the assailing of the Spanish Fleet, which then lay in that Harbour, but there were so many difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long time spent in the debate of it, that the whole Coast of *Spain* was thereby alarm'd, and the *Spaniards* had opportunity to prepare for their defence: 1625
so that when it was concluded, that they should sail to *Cadiz*, they landed their men there with great danger and opposition. The first place they attempted was *Puntol* Castle, under the shelter whereof the Spanish Ships rode; for the taking of which, twenty English and five Dutch Ships were ordered; but they, after the spending of two thousand great Shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir *John Burroughs*, with a select Regiment of Foot, to attaque the Fort on the land side, but these at, their first appearance, were encountered by some Spanish Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement, they worsted the Spaniards in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it, hung out a white Flag, and after a short Parley, surrendred the place, with fifteen Barrels of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordnance; whilest this was doing, the Spaniard haled most of their best Ships, under the Port-Royal, so that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was sent to fire the Ships was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal herein, was the misgovernment of the Souldiers, who by the avarice, or negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellars, and other places where they plundred, that they were more like to beasts than men, and if the Spaniards had had good intelligence, they might have been all cut off; for by this means they were so ungovernable, that the General fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caused them to be embarqued and left behind him the hopes only of Renown and Victory. From thence they sailed to the Southern *Cape*, where they staid twenty days, in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the inclemency of the Air, and the intemperance of the Souldiers and Mariners, so great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they wanted men to manage the Sailes; and where some Ships had a greater number of infected persons then others, to remedy this, a most pernicious course was taken; for eve-Ship was ordered by lot, to take in two sick in exchange for so many sound men, which propagated the Pestilence, and forced the General to an untimely return, four days before the Plate Fleet came.

The unprosperous success of this Fleet displeathe King very much, and *Wimbleton* was sometime prohibited his presence, but he excused himself, laying a great part of the miscarriage on the stubbornness of the Earl of *Essex*. Yet, though all were blamed, none were punished for the ill managery and conduct of the Expedition.

Money borrowed by letters of privy Seal.

The War became now very chargeable, and since the King could not be supplyed in a Parliamentary way, he was advised by his Council, to use other means, and it was resolved to borrow what money could be got by Letters of Privie Seals, sent to several of the ablest persons in all parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters, the King promised in the name of himself, and his Successors, to repay the money in eighteen moneths after the payment thereof to

To be repayd in 18 Moneths.

1627 the Collector, and the Collectors of this loan were ordered to pay the sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unless it had been resolved not to call a Parliament so soon after; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a peace with *Spain* (which the Spaniard had as much reason to accept, as he to offer) he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments; (till by the goodness of his Government he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon) and likewise prevented a following unluckie rupture betwixt him and *France*. The King, however, was resolved to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was summoned to meet at *Westminster* on the sixth of *February*; but first the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed, which was celebrated on the second of *February* (commonly called *Candlemass* day.) In the external pomp whereof, the King omitted his triumphant riding through the City, from the Tower to *White-hall*, partly to save the Charges thereof, and partly to prevent the danger of popular concourse; for the Plague was not quite decreased, but some dregs remained of it. In the Sacred part there was a clause added, which had been pretermitted in the time of King *Henry* the Sixth, which is this that followeth, *viz.* "Let him obtain favour of the people, like *Aaron* in the "Tabernacle, *Elisha* in the Waters, *Zacharias* in the Temple; Give him *Peters* Key of "Discipline, and *Pauls* Doctrine. Which clause had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings then the Popes allowed of.

A Parliament summoned to meet *Feb* 6.

The Kings Coronation.

The Coronation Oath, though the contrary was suggested, was the same which had been taken by his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The Solemnity being over, he began his second Parliament on the sixth of *February*, in which he had no better success than in his first. Sir *Henage Finch* was chosen *Speaker* by the Commons, and approved by the King, a person of great prudence and moderation. The House of Commons began where they left at *Oxford*, with matters of Religion and publick Grievances; they made strict enquiry into what abuses had been of the Kings Grace since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof; for they had been informed of many Pardons and Reprieves to Jesuites and Priests, and their grievances were stated under four Heads.

Grievances stated.

1. *The state of the King in the constant Revenue of the Crown.*

2. *The condition of the Subject in his Freedome.*

3. *The cause of the Nations good success in former times.*

4. *The present condition of the Kingdom.*

Under the first head was considered the great dispositions of Lands and Pensions *mero motu*, and other exorbitant expences; In the second, the bringing in of new Impositions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parliament. Under the third, they ascribed the great renown and reputation of our Nation in former times, to the wisdom and gravity of the Counsellors, when nothing was ordered but by publick debate; and whence arose a readiness in the Subject to assist their Soveraign in purse and person. In the fourth was represented the loss of the Nations wonted Reputation in the Expedition of *Cadiz*, and others; which was imputed to the want of such Counsels as were heretofore used. Forasmuch as men through difference in success were backward to adventure either their persons or their purses. 1627

Whilest these debates were agitated by the Commons, the Earl of *Arundel* was by the King committed to the Tower, because of a Marriage consummate betwixt the Lord *Maltravers* his Eldest Son, and the eldest Sister of the Duke of *Lenox*, one near allyed in blood to the King; for the King had designed to marry her to the Lord of *Lorne*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Argyle*, a man of great power in *Scotland*, meditating thereby to reconcile those two Families, who had been antiently in feuds.

The Earl of *Arundel* committed by the King.

The Earl besought the Kings pardon, and protested his innocency, as no way privie to the business, being contrived by the Dutchess Dowager, and his Countess, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This commitment of the Earl was resented by the House of Peers, who petitioned the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be imprisoned, without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give security for the Peace. And they insisted the more on this Priviledge at this time, because the Earl had six Proxies deputed to him which would be of no validity during his restraint.

Upon this Petition many debates passed in the House of Lords upon several Messages of the King about this Priviledge, which lasted from the fourteenth of *March*, to the eighth of *June*, ere he was satisfied with the Reasons of the Peers; and then the Earl was released from his imprisonment.

Whilest these matters were agitated at home, to make the difference greater between the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of *France* did conclude a Little Treaty in the *Hague*, by the Baron of *Coupet*, concerning the equipping of a Fleet of twenty Ships under the Admiral *Hautain*, upon a design to strengthen *Genua* by Water, whilest the Constable *des Degnieres* should be able to do the same by Land; and the English Embassador then Resident at *London*, had obtained of the King the *Vantguard*, one of the Navie-Ships, and six Merchant Ships to be employed in the same Expedition; but shortly after these English Ships were received into the pay of *France*, *Monsieur de Soubize*, taking advantage of the French Armies advance towards *Italy*, incited those of *Rochel* to stir against the King, and he with some Ships he had got together, seized on the *Isle of Rhe*, and some of the King of *France* his Ships in the Harbour. At this the King was so incensed, that he turn'd his design for *Italy* upon *Rochel*; and that occasioned another Treaty at the *Hague*, with the *Hollanders*,

1625 *landers* betwixt *d'Espesses* the French Embassadour and them, which was concluded the twelfth of *April*, New Style; whereby the twenty Ships under *Hautain*, were agreed to be employed against *Soulise*, and against *Rochel*. In the mean time many of the French Protestants took great offence at his assistance from *Holland* against *Rochel*, but their Alliance with *France*, and interest of State prevailed above all other considerations. *Memerancy* the French Admiral being thus strengthened with the Dutch Fleet, and the seven English Ships, quickly chased *Suobise* into the Isle of *Oleron*, and reprized most of the Ships he had taken, and streightned *Rochel* by Sea, whilest the French Army was marching to block it up by Land. The King was much offended, that the English Ships were employed in this Action, having not consented they should be used in any other Expedition, then against *Genua*; and thereupon he sent an expostulatory Message to the King of *France*, to have a reason thereof, and to demand restitution of the Ships; and when satisfaction was not given herein, the King caused a rich French Ship of *New Haven* to be seized on. This occasioned great clamour in *France*, and the French by way of Retaliation arrested the English Merchants Ships and Goods in their Harbours; but after a while a reconciliation was made, The King had his Ships again, and their Ship restored, and the English Ships and Goods were delivered back: and thus all was calm for the present, but it continued not long so, as shall be shewen hereafter.

The Traversesin the House of Peers about the Earl of *Arundel*, rather heightned, then allayed their intention towards the Duke of *Buckingham*, and encouragement is given to all that would to inform against him. One Doctor *Turner* a Physitian proposed six *Quaries* in the House of Commons, touching his ill Conduct in affairs, which reflected much upon the Kings Government, and was so resented by him.

Dr. *Turners* Quæries.

1. *Whether the King hath not lost the Regality of the* Narrow Seas, *since the Duke became Admiral?*

2. *Whether his not going as Admiral in this last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?*

3. *Whether the Kings Revenue hath not been impaired through his immense Liberality?*

4. *Whether he hath not engrossed all Offices, and preferred his kindred to unfit places?*

5. *Whether he hath not made sale of places of Judicature?*

6. *Whether Recusants have not dependance upon his Mother and Father-in-law?*

Neither was this the only thing which displeased the King, at this Time in the proceedings of the Commons. They had sent Committees to the *Signet-Office*, to search for Originals of his Letters for reprieving some Priests condemned at *York*, and when Sir *Richard Weston* Chancellour of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them from him for supply, acquainting them, that the Fleet was returned, Victuals spent, and the men in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for want of pay, and that a Fleet of 40 Ships which were ready to go out, could not move without money, and that the Army on the Sea Coasts, was in want both of Victuals and Cloaths. They were not prevailed on, but one Mr. *Clement Cook* amongst other Invectives, said, *It was better to die by a foreign Enemy, then to be destroyed at home.* 1625

Sir *Richard Westons* message for money.

This high temper of the Commons House, was a Subject of much discourse at this time; it was said, The Parliament is a very excellent constitution, but is not without its inconveniences, as all others are; and amongst these, the great license of *Speech* in the House of Commons is not the least; for though it be even necessary, that they should not be debarred of Liberty, yet, that in the intention seems not to be boundless; for at all times the Zeal for Reformation of abuses in that House, being very great, those amongst them that have a facility of eloquent *Speaking*, may do great hurt, if they be not well inclin'd to the Government. But, those that thought the Court, by long plenty and ease, somewhat too exorbitant, believ'd this freedom of *Speech* very necessary.

And at this time whether it were out of a general envy against the Duke; because of his suddain exaltation to Greatness, or a particular disgust of some that thought they merited (as well as he) a greater share then they had in the Kings favour; the Tide against him in both the Houses (but especially in the House of Commons) ran so high, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower rate than his ruine. In the mean time the King manifested a great displeasure at those proceedings, and sent Sir *Richard Weston* to demand satisfaction; in which they not answering his expectation by so sudden an inquisition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper *Coventry* (who lately had the Seal given to him, upon the disgrace of *Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln* who was displaced) he acquainted them with his mind.

Lord Keepers Speech.

"MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of "Commons, His Majesties Command hath summoned you hither, and the same Command "hath put me upon the service of signifying his "will to you. His will was, that both Houses "should be called together; You, my Lords, as "Witnesses of the Justice of his resolutions, and "of his address to the House of Commons. His "Majesty would have you know, there never was "King, who better loved his people, or was "more sincerely affected towards the right use "of Parliaments, or more ready to redress what "shall be represented to him, in the quality of "Grievances (provided it be in a regular and "decent way,) then Himself: but he would "also have you know, That, as He loves His "People, so he regards His Honour; and if He "be sensible of His Subjects Grievances, of His "own He is much more, especially when they "flow from offences of such a nature, as not only "blast His Reputation, but impede the progress "of His Weighty Affairs.

"To come to Particulars, His Majesty saith, "That whereas Doctor *Turner*, and Mr. *Cook* "spake very SEDITIOUS WORDS in "your House, they were so far from being

1625 "questioned or censur'd for them by you, that "others were animated to the like rudenes by "their impunity. And though Dr. *Turners* Articles "were pretended against the Duke, it was in truth "a libelling his Majesties Government. And "when his Majesty did not onely by Sr. *Richard* "*Weston*, but in his owne person declare his "just displeasure, and demanded Justice against "those exorbitants, yet have you not onely halled "in your obedience to him, but have followed the "very steps of this Doctor, and upon false-bot-"tom'd suggestions endeavourd to staine his owne "and his fathers honour.

"He also complaineth that you have taken "upon you to search his signet Office, and to "examine the letters of his Secretary of State, "leaving him nothing free from their Discovery: "a thing not formerly practised.

"As concerning the Duke, whom you seem "to persecute with such asperity of disgust, I "am also commanded to tell you, that his Ma-"jesty knows (none better) he acted nothing of "publick employment, without his speciall War-"rant; that he hath discharged his trust with a-"bundance of both care and fidelity; that he "merited that trust, both from his now Majesty "and his late Father, by his personal hazard, both "at home and abroad; and that since his return "from *Spain*, he hath been sedulous in promo-"ting the Service and contentment of your "House. It is therefore his expres command, "that you absolutely desist from such un-Parlia-"mentary disquisitions, and resigne the reforma-"tion of what is amiss to his *Majesties* Care, Wis-"dome, and Justice.

"I am also to speak about the business of sup-"ply, you have been made acquainted with the "posture of his *Majesties* affairs, both forreign & "domestique, and with his necessitous condition; "the charge of all martiall preparations, both by "Sea and Land, hath been calculated to you, "and you promised a Supply both speedy & sui-"table to his occasions, but his *Majesty* complai-"neth that as yet, you have performed neither, "failing both in the measure, and in the manner. "In the measure by granting onely three Subsi-"dies, and three fifteens, a proportion vastly "short of what is requisite. In the manner being "both dilatory, and dishonorable to the *King*, "as arguing a distrust of him, for you have or-"der'd a Bill not to be brought into the House, "untill your grievances be both heard and an-"swered: which is such a tacite condition, as his "*Majesty* will not admit of.

"Therefore his *Majesty* commands you, to take "it into your speedy consideration, and to re-"turne your final answer by Saturday next, what "further addition you will make; and if your "Supplies commensurate & equall the demandes "of the cause, he promiseth to continue this Ses-"sions to your just content, else he must, and "will entertaine thoughts of your dismission.

"Lastly, I am commanded to tell you, that "his *Majesty* doth not charge the distempers up-"on the whole body, and assembly of the House; "but as he is confident, the greater Numbers are "persons of a quiet dispose, so he hopeth their in-"fluence, and this his *Majesties* admonition will "prevent the like for the time to come.

This speech caused great emotion in the *House* of *Commons*, and produced a *Remonstrance*, to this effect. (*viz.*) 1626

That with extreme joy & comfort they acknowledg the favour of his *Majesties* most gratious expression of affection to his People, & this present Parliament. That concerning Mr. *Cooke*, true it is, he let fall some few words, that might admit an ill construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a generall Check at the very time he spoke them; and though Mr. *Cookes* explanation of his mind more clearly, did somewhat abate the offence of the House, yet were they resolved to take it into further consideration, and so have done, the effect whereof had appeard ere this, had they not been interrupted by this his *Majesties* message, and the like interruption befell them also in the business of Doctor *Turner*. A Remonstrance.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his *Majesties* owne, and searching the Signet Office, and other records; they had done nothing therein, not warranted by the precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his *Majesty* to be informed, that it hath been the constant and undoubted usage of Parliaments, to question, and complain of any person of what degree soever; and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crowne, and safety of the Kingdom.

Lastly, as to the matter of Supply; That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service then in consultation amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, might make him safe at home, and formidable abroad.

To this the King answered briefly; That he would have them in the first place consulte about matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enongh for other matters afterward. But this staid not their progres against the *Duke*, to which the Earl of *Bristol* also contributed in the Lords House. The Kings answer.

This Earl had been secluded from the presence of both King *James*, and King *Charles*, ever since his returne from his Embassy in *Spain*; and taking advantage of the time, he petitioned the Peers. That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not received a writ of Summons to the Parliament, he prayed, he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after two years restraint, without being brought to Tryall, and if any charge where brought in against him, he might be tryed in *Parliament*. Upon the reading this Petition the Lords referred it to their Committees of Priviledge; from whence, after due considerations thereof, a Report was made to the House by the Earle of Hertford. The Earl of Hertfords report to the Peers from the Committee of Priviledges, concerning the Earl of Bristols Petition.

That it was the opinion of the Committees, that his *Majesty* should be moved to grant a writ of Summons to the Earl, which was agreed to by the House. And upon Request, made to the King, a writ was issued accordingly, but accompanied

1626 companied with a Letter from the Lord *Keeper* to him, that though his *Majesty* had given way to the awarding of the writ, yet notwithstanding his pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint, as he did before, and that his personall attendance was to be forborn.

The Earl sends this letter to the House of Lords, and a second Petition with it, offering to them, how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this sort discharged by a Letter missive of any Subject, without the Kings hand, beseeching them he might be heard, both as to his wrongfull restraint, and what he hath to say against the *Duke*.

E. of Bristol Summond to the Lords bar as a delinquent.

This alarm'd the *Duke* to begin first with him, and by his perswasion the King commands the Atturney Generall to summon the Earl to the Lords Barr as a Delinquent,

Bristol appearing *May* the first, the Atturney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of high Treason, and exhibited eleven Articles against him. But before they were read, the Earl said: My Lords, I am a free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have some-what to say of high consequence for his *Majesties* Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speake.

E. of Bristol accuses the D. of Buc. kingham of high treason.

The Lords upon this, bid him go on. Then said he, I accuse that man the Duke of *Buckingham* of high Treason, and immediately he presented 12 articles against him.

The House after having read these Articles, committed the Earl of *Bristol* to the Custody of the Usher of the Blackrod, and order'd that the Kings charge against the Earl, should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke; which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurred in one designe, which was to render each other suspected in matters of Loyalty and Religion; though by so doing they made good sport to their enemies, and the world besides, but in neither of them was any fact that amounted to treason, and because no proceeding was made on them, it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an endeavour to take the Earls cause out of the House of Lords, & to proceed by way of indictment thereon in the Kings Bench, the Lords resented this, and gave five reasons why they could not give way to that manner of proceeding; which were these following, (*viz.*)

The Lords reasons why the Earl of Bristols cause should not be taken out of their house.

1. *He could have no Counsell.*
2. *He could use no Witness against the King.*
3. *He could not know what the evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his defence.*
4. *The Liberties of the House would thereby be infringed.*
5. *This Earl being indicted, it would not be in their Power to keep him from arraignment, & so he might be disabled to make good his charge against the Duke; and therefore it was judg'd the most proper, and most legall way of proceeding; First to have the charge delivered into the House of Peers in Writing, and the Earl to set down his answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesses might be examined, and evidences on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment, if doubtfull in point of Law, to have the opinion of the Judges to clear it; if doubtfull in matter of fact, then to referr it to* Regall fait

1626

The Commons to load heavier upon the Duke did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (*viz.*) Sr. *Dudley Diggs*, Sr. *John Elyot*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvill*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Wansfort*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Sherland* with 13 Articles of high offences, and misdemeanours against him, conteining severall encroachments on the Royall favour, and some miscarriages, which at another time, and in another man might have been connived at. Nevertheless he put in his answer to them, which was inlayed with so much modestie and humility, that many who expected a more disdainfull defence, were converted to a good opinion of him, and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happned in the time of King *James*, and not legally cognoscible at this time, he claimd the benefit of Pardon in the 21th of King *James*, and the present Kings Coronation Pardon. But this being contrary to the expectation of the Commons, upon the 14th of *June* they had drawn up a Declaration of the same mould of their impeachment, which was not without difficulty preferr'd before a Bill of Subsidie, then ready to be read; at which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next day, by a Commission under the great Seal, directed to certain Lords, He dissolved the *Parliament*. No sooner was he freed from this, but the necessity of his affairs involved him in another imbroylment. The French Priests and Domestiques of that Nation, which came into *England*, with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many affronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the French King had done before him, in sending back all the Spanish Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood, both at home and abroad, first, seised on all the merchants ships, which lay on the River of *Burdeaux*, and then the Peace lately patcht up, was turned into an open Warr, so that the King was fain to make use of those forces against the French, which were designed to have been used against the Spanyard, and to comply with the desires of the *Rochellers*, who humbly sued to him at this time, for his protection and defence. But the fleet, which he designed for their assistance, , not going out till after *Michaelmas*, found greater opposition at the Sea, then they feared from the land, being encountred with strong tempests, and thereby necessitated to return, without doing any thing, but onely shewing the Kings good will, and readiness to help them.

The Commons prepare a declaration of the matter of their impeachment against the Duke.

The Fleet designed to relieve Rochell is distressed by Tempest.

Whilest this dispute betwixt the two Kings continued, very sad news came hither from *Germany*, That the King of *Denmark*, who had armed (as was before mentioned) on behalf of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Protestant Princes of

Germany

1626 Sad news from Germany.

Germany, notwithstanding the late Aid sent from *England*, of six thousand men, under the Conduct of Sir *Charles Morgan*, had on the seventeenth of *August* received a total overthrow by *Tilly*, and was reduced to such distress, that if present succour came not, he was ruined for ever; That the *Sound* was like to be lost, the English Garrison at *Stoad*, straightly besieged, and our *East-land* Trade and Staple at *Hambrough* almost given up for gone.

The King was much perplext at this, and the more because of his inability in the condition he was to send further Succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting, was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay, as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of supply. The King was therefore in this straight advised by his Council, That forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late Sitting, had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons, in their names had assented to, and yet not by the name of *Subsidies*, but in the way of *Loan*, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to confirm the levying thereof, by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all parts, for the levying these moneys, who had the Instructions following, to direct them in the execution thereof.

A Commission is passed for a Loan.

Instructions to the Commissioners.

1. *That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several sums required.*

2. *To go according to the Rates at which people were assessed in the Book of the last Subsidie.*

3. *To stir up every man to a chearful lending, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this course, and using other the most prevalent Arguments they could devise; as the honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the safety of Prince and People.*

4. *That they appoint the days of Payment to be within fourteen days.*

5. *That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.*

6. *That they begin with such as are like to shew best examples.*

7. *That they endeavour to discover, whether any by underhand perswasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good intentions of others, and if any such be found, to certifie their names, qualities, and habitations to the Council.*

8. *That they signifie His Majesties pleasure to remit, upon the lending of these sums, whatsoever hath been desired upon the late Benevolence, or Privie Seals.*

9. *That they admit of no suit to be made, or reasons to be given, for the abating of any sum.*

10. *That upon their Faith, and Allegiance to his Majesty they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and not discover them to any others.*

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the people the deplorable estate of *Rochel*, then closely besieged by the Duke of *Guise*; which, if not speedily relieved, would fall into the hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. But though these Commissioners brought in good sums of money, yet many, and some of good quality refused, and were therefore committed to several prisons. 1626

This year died two of the most eminent men for Learning, that ever the Nation had, Doctor *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, and Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount St. *Albans*.

1627 The Duke of *Buckinghams* expedition to the Isle of *Rhe*.

It was now the third year of His Majesties Reign, when *Rhe* Action was agreed on; and though money came not so plentifully as was hoped, yet the Duke of *Buckingham* High Admiral of *England*, desirous to wipe away the imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiralship, had, with much ado, compleated his Naval Forces, consisting of six thousand Horse and Foot in ten Ships-Royal, and ninty Merchant-men; with which he sets Sail from *Portsmouth* the 27*th* of *June*, and published his *Manifesto* the twenty first of *July* following, declaring at large the Kings Affection to the Reformed Churches in *France*, and his displeasure at the last mis-imploying of his Ships against the *Rochellers*. The first design of this Fleet was intended against Fort *Lewis*, wherein being prevented by the Duke of *Angoulesme*, they resolved upon the *Isle of Rhe*; twelve Ships therefore were sent to guard the entry of Port *Breton*, the rest sailed on to a Fort of the *Isle of Rhe*, called *De la Price*, making their approaches with their Canon so near, that *Monsieur Toiras*, Governour of the Citadel of St. *Martin*, perceiving their intention, sent out his Forces, to the number of one thousand, in seven partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shore: These were encountred by twelve hundred English, whom Sir *John Burrough*, Sir *Alexander Brett*, Sir *Edward Conway*, and Sir *Charls Rich*, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordnance. The fight was sharp and quick, wherein many brave Gentlemen lost their lives on both sides; of the French *Monsieur Restringler*, Brother to *Toiras*, *Chascalois*, *Canses*, *Naval*, *Tatlian*, *Mountain*, *Housteby*, *Boisoneer*, and *Candamine*. Of the English, Sir *Thomas York*, Sir *William Hegden*, Sir *Thomas Thornay*, Sir *George Blundel*, *Courtney*, *Glin*, *Whaley*, *Powel*, *Woodhouse*, *Goring*, &c. and a Kinsman of Sir *George Blundels*, with *Monsieur de Blancart* Agent for the Duke of *Roan*, and the Protestants. And of the wounded were, *Rich*, *Conway*, *Hawle*, *Greenvile*, *Abraham Rainford*, *Wellome*, *Thorp*, *Maryles*, and *Bennet*: The Victory uncertain. The English General removed his Camp, and intrenching, dispatched *Soubize*, and Sir *William Beecher* to *Rochel*, who returned with five hundred Foot, and found the Duke before St. *Martins* Castle (the chief strength of the Island) notwithstanding the disswasion of his Council, who advised him first to attempt the other Castle, called the *Mede*, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome, and safe place of retreat in their future necessity. *Buckingham* falls to circumvallation, ordring the Ships to encompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from *Toiras*; by which means the besieged were for the space of two moneths greatly distressed, in which time there hapned a hot conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of

Toiras

1626 *Toiras* to *Monſieur Bellamount*, their extremity appeared to be ſuch, that (as he there ſaid) the Mills could not long ſtand, all their Corn was ſpent, which enforced their Souldiers to feed on their Store of Bisket, not laſting above ten days: hereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* ſummons *Toiras*, who refuſing to falſifie his Truſt, the Engliſh now ſtrengthened with freſh Auxiliaries from *England* and *Ireland*, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Binghes*, and Sir *Pierce Crosby*, ſet themſelves to invent new ſorts of Engines to batter the Citadel; all which were rendred fruitleſs by Wind and Waves. And one Abbot *Marſcilane* procured *Monſieur Valin* to undertake the conveying of twelve Pinnaces laden with proviſion, to the relief of *Toiras* and his Souldiers, which he proſperouſly atchieved, and at his return carried back with him their ſick and wounded.

In the mean time ſcarcity afflicts the Engliſh Camp, and Sir *John Burroughs* viewing the Works, was ſhot through, whereof he ſhortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten days attempted to ſend over ſome Aids to the Caſtle, but the Engliſh Ships repelled them, and three days after another Brother of *Toiras* was ſlain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Souldiers of the Caſtle were reduced to greater hardſhip then before, not being furniſhed with Bread for above four dayes; wherefore having no other way left, *Toiras* reſolved to win time by treating with the Duke of *Buckingham* about ſurrender, hoping in the interim to have ſome better news from his Aſſociates, which accordingly fell out; for *Monſieur Manpaile*, who with other Pilots, heretofore had ſounded the Shelves, and deſigned the Station for ſome Ships, for the relief of the Iſland, contrived a way to bring them, in deſpight of the Engliſh: It was now the Winter, and the nights long and dark, by which advantage he had opportunity to paſs by them with a Fleet of 35 Sail, 150 Mariners, 300 Souldiers, 160 of the chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great ſtore of all ſorts of Proviſion, having before ſent ſome diſſembling Renegadoes, to tell the Engliſh that he paſſed a contrary way: ſo that when the Duke of *Buckingham* expected a ſurrender, they boldly ſhewed him their Rundlets of Wine, and Turkies and Capons upon the points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat diſmayed, ſpends the night in Council, and determines with all ſpeed to raiſe the ſiege, and be gone; but the *Rochellers* intreaties, and *Dolbiers* arrival from *England*, with aſſurance of *Auxiliaries*, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer ſtay, during which, the fame of freſh Supplies to the beſiegers publiſhed over all *France*, to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of *Holland*, haſtned the French to ſend forth another Fleet, conſiſting of fifteen good Ships, and other ſmaller Boats, part to St. *Martins*, and the reſt to the *Meadow Caſtle*, beſides ſeven others which got to the *Meadow Fort*, under *Bellamounts* command. And now the French King reſolved to diſlodge the Engliſh, and diſpatched over for the Service, an Army of four thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, beſides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marſhal of *Schomberg*: with *Marylane* his Lieutenant General, to whom came all the beſieged, and greateſt part of the Iſlanders, being in all above eleven thouſand men; after which, another party under Command of *Baſſompiere* and *Haliere*, conſiſting of eight hundred of their Kings Life-guard, an hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings Horſe, and 3 great Braſs Pieces, landed at the *Meadow Caſtle*. Againſt theſe laſt, the Duke of *Buckingham* marched with 500 Foot, and 40 Horſe, and forced them to retreat to the Caſtle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches poſſeſſed by another party of the French Army; *Stanley* is ordered to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, though not without loſs; and the Lord *Montjoy* ſeized a ſmall Troop of French: him they endeavoured to ſurprize with ſix Horſe in ſhew; whom he chaſed ſo far, that he had almoſt come in danger of their Ambuſcade. One dark night a party of the Engliſh fell upon a party of the French, and not well diſcovering one another, ſo mingled, that by miſtake, the Engliſh falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them. 1626

Nor did War only afflict the Engliſh, but alſo Sickneſs and Want, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final reſolution of taking his farewell of the Iſland, with one more Aſſault to Saint *Martins* Caſtle. *Toiras* had intelligence of it, & therefore he managed his buſineſs accordingly, and gave them ſo hot a welcome, as, being oppreſſed and fell'd to the ground with ſhot, they dropt in heaps: ſo that after a great loſs received, the Duke commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and ſoon after demoliſhed his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. *Schomberg* and *Marylane* purſued, hollowing to them in a Bravado, and brandiſhing their Swords. The Engliſh thinking the Enemy would then have charged them, drew up in Battalia; but they knowing what advantage the way would ſhortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marched on in Military Order, until he came to the Village *Curda*, where they made another ſtand, and by an Ambuſcade of Muſqueteers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them ſlowly for 3 miles, till they came to *Anſerine* Cauſway, which was ſo narrow, that they could only march ſix abreſt, with Ditches on either ſide, moſtly ending in Saltpits: and now *Schomberg* eſpying his expected opportunity, poured forth a great volley of ſhot againſt them, and then the Engliſh began to march as faſt as poſſibly; but the Lord *Montjoy*'s Troops unable to endure the charge of the French Horſe, turned tail, and riding in amongſt the other Ranks, put them into ſuch a diſorder, as inabled the French eaſily to break in upon them and rout them, with no ſmall ſlaughter, overthrowing ſome into the Ditches and Saltpits, and piercing others as they lay in the dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auſpicious to them for thoſe who confuſedly ran away, and caſting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were alſo cut off. *Cunninghams* Horſe fought it out nobly unto the laſt man. The Lord *Monjoy* was taken Priſoner, and civilly uſed. Some

Re-

1627 Reformadoes, by uneven, and turning paths, made their way to the further bridg, with much danger, where joyning with *Conway*, *Crosby*, *Fryar*, and *Hacksvil*, and their forces, they made good that Pass by the repulse of the enemy, and leaving a guard of Musqueteers there all day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodged that night straglingly up and down. The next day the Duke demanded, and obtained the dead bodys, and went on board. Great was this days loss, *viz* about fifty Officers, among whom where Sr. *William Cunningham*, Sr. *Charles Rich*, and Sr. *Alexander Brett*, and near two thousand common Souldiers were slain, thirty prisoners of note, and fourty four Colours were taken: of the French not above three hundred were lost. The Duke hoised Sail, and met the Earl of *Holland*, with his unseasonable Recruits, near the Western Coast of *England*; and at his return finding a favorable reception at the Kings hands, he layd the loss of the designe upon the Earls not timely seconding the Expedition. But at Sea, things went somewhat better, where Captain *Trettor*, in his return from *Hambrough*, seized by command a great French ship at the *Texel* in *Holland*, named the *Saint Esprit*, with twenty brass Culverines, two brass Semi-culverins, two other brass Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns & two lesser, & in the hold for ballast twelve great Guns, and Arms for eleven hundred Souldiers, and eighteen Barrels of Powder. And Sr. *John Pennington*, Vice-Admirall took thirty four of their rich merchant men, homewards bound, all which were safely brought into *England*, to sweeten, though not countervail the loss received at *Rochell*. The ill Succes of this Enterprise did much incense the People against the Duke of *Buckingham*, but the King did not discover any discontent towards him; onely he told him, that Sr. *Sackville Crow* had written to him of a farr greater loss, then he acknowledged. During this expedition, *Abbot*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, by letters Patents of the 9th of *October*, was suspended from all his *Metropolitan* Jurisdiction, and confined to his House at *Ford* in *Kent*, and the exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Rochester*, *Oxford*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, or to any four, three, or two, of them. The occasion of this Commission was not discover'd otherwise then by what was expres'd in the Commission it self, (*viz*) *That the said Arch-Bishop could not at that present, in his owne person attend those Services, which were otherwise Proper for his cognisance and Jurisdiction, and which as Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he might and ought in his own person have performed, and executed.* But the true reason was for that the King was perswaded, the non-conformists to the Discipline of the Church, too much increased by the remisnes of his Government.

He returns unsuccessfull.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury is suspended & confined to his house

This *Michaelmas* Terme there was a great debate in the Kings-bench, concerning some of those imprison'd, for refusing the Loan, who moved for an *Habeas Corpus*, and had it. The Atturney Generall, Sr. *Robert Heath*, upon their appearance alledged, they were not baileable, and their Counsell the contrary, and the Court agreed with the Atturney, so that they were continued in Prison, till an order Pass'd in Councell, for a generall release, which was shortly after. 1627

The French King, encouraged by the Succes he had against our forces, resolv'd upon a more formidable siege against *Rochell*, and having made a Line about it on the Lands-side, with three forts, by the advice of Cardinal *Richlieu*, and the loan of many Merchants ships, belonging to the Subjects of the *United Netherlands*, he attempted a Barracade, fourteen hundred yards in length, cross the Channel, to hinder all relief by Sea; whereby the *Rochellers* expected nothing but ruine, unless they could prevent it, so that they with great haste sent Monsieur *Soubize* and their Deputies to *England*, to sollicite the King for Supplys, before the work should be compleated, who was so affected with their miseries, that he promised them all the assistance he could; and to enable him thereunto, he borrowed an hundred and twenty thousand Pound of the City of *London*, for which and other Debts, they had lands, to the valew of one and twenty thousand Pounds a year assured to them. He also borrowed of the *East-India Compania* thirty thousand pounds, and what money else he could get by privy Seals. Moreover it was resolved to levy money by Excise, and a Commission, under the great Seal, was pasd on the third of *February* to authorize it; but the execution thereof was suspended by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular action, by the impulse of his owne nature, nor perswaded by others but by extream necessity, & at this time, in compliance with his own good inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summond to meet on the 17th of *March*, then proceed in extraordinary wayes, for he was much troubled at the generall discontent of the People, and he hoped by their counsels to beget a good understanding betwixt himself and them.

A Barracado to be made cross the Channel leading to Rochel.

Monsr Soubize and others come from Rochel to England for Relief.

On the 17th of *March*, the *Parliament* assembled at *Westminster*, and the King having sent for the *Commons* to the *Lords-house* expressed him-self in these words to both Houses.

The Kinge speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

THese times are for action, for action, I say, not for words; therfore I shall use but a few; and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would imitate me in this, and use as few, falling upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common necessity, as to expostulate the cause of this meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it; and as this necessity is the product and consequent of your advice, so the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of your Friends and Allies, being so considerably concernd, will be, I hope arguments enough to perswade Supply; for if it be (as most true it is) both my duty, and yours, to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exigent of time certainly requires it.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and best way, for supply, by calling you together. If (which God forbid) you do not your duty, in contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, it shall suffice, I have done mine; In the Conscience where-

1627 *whereof I shall rest content, and take some other course, for which God hath empowered me, to save that, which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.*

Take not this as a menace (for I scorn to threaten my inferiours) but as an admonition from him who is tyed, both by nature and duty, to provide for your preservations; and I hope, though I thus speak, your demeanors will be such, as shall oblige me in thankefulnes to meet you oftner, then which nothing shall be more pleasing to me. Remembring the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good success at this time, but be assured I shall freely forget and forgive what is pass'd, hoping you will follow that sacred advice, lately inculcated, To maintain the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

The Parliament seemd very much affected with what the King said, and the Commons freely voted, to grant him five Subsidies, whereof when Secretary *Cook* informed the King, he asked him, by how many voices it was carried, who replyed by one, at which perceiving the Kings countenance to change; S. said he, your *Majesty* hath the greater cause to rejoyce, for the House was so unanimous therein, as they made but one voice. At which the King was exceedingly pleased, and bid the Secretary tell them, he would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his predecessors had granted. But whilst a Bill was in preparation for these Subsidies, they consider'd of the publique grievances of the Kingdom.

1628 The Kings extraordinary wants put him, as you have heard, upon some unusuall courses for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Lawes, and some that were unwilling to countenance such courses, Or otherwise disaffected to the Government, upon refusal were imprisoned; and becaus no legal cause could be assigned for such restraint, the Warrants, whereby they were imprisond, had no cause specified in them, which was exclaimd against, as not legal, and a great Grievance. There is scarce any thing lesser then death, more grievous then imprisonment, and though by our Lawes no man can be imprison'd without a legal cause expressed; yet those that are in the exercise of power, in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary emergencies, are constraind to pass over those bounds; for no such provision hath yet, or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary exercise of Government: but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary caution.

Warrants of imprisonment without specification of the cause illegal.

Upon the returne of the Fleet after the late actions at Sea, the Souldiers, for want of pay, were billeted in private houses, which was alledged to be against the Law, and to aggravate this, the rudeness of their persons, and their country (being Scotch and Irish) did much contribute. Nevertheless though their actions were bad, and their persons worse, the Commons liked not that they should be punished by Law Martiall. For there being a Commission issued to try offences of the Soldiers by Martiall Law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urg'd as a grievance, yet till that time the Kings Prerogative, in making and establishing Martiall Laws, was never questioned, though since the petition of Right, there is doubt of it. *Magna Charta* and six others Statutes explanatory of it, were express against illegall levies of Money, and imprisonments, and though those Statutes were in force, whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason it is not said, To provide against the Grievances complain'd, &c., They drew up that memorable Law, called *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the King, to which he gave the Royall Assent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was so sweet an Harmony betwixt the King and the Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much happiness, as it could be capable of; but this concession inflam'd the zeal of many of the House of Commons, to press a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonstrance of severall late miscarriages in Government, in the conclusion whereof, they said, *The excessive power of the Duke of* Buckingham, *and the abuse of that power is the principall cause of all the evills and dangers, therein mentioned; and therefore they humbly submit it to his* Majesties *Wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that so great power, both by Sea and Land as rest in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.*

Martial law complaind of by the Commons.

1628 Conclusion of the remonstance against the D. of *Buckingham*.

On the 17th of *June*, this Remonstrance was presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies, in the Banquetting-House at *Whitehall*, who when he had heard it read, told them he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so graciously pass'd the petition of *Right*, and for the Grievances, specified therein, he would consider of them, as they should deserve.

The King had levyed the dutyes of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, ever since the first of his Reign, which the House of Commons alleadged he ought not to have done, or at least that they could not now be taken, since the passing of the late Petition of Right; and they prepared a Remonstrance against it; but the King unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of such a streine, resolved to frustrate it, by proroguing the Parliament, from the 26th of *June*, to the 20th of *October*, and calling both Houses together to that end, he delivered his mind as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

The Kings Speech.

"IT may seem strange, that I come so sud-
"dainly to end this Session, therefore be-
"fore I give my assent to the Bills, I will tell
"you the cause; (though I must avow, I owe
"an account of my actions to none, but God
"alone.) It is known to every one, that a while
"ago, the House of Commons gave me a Re-
"monstrance, how acceptable, every man may
"judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call,
"that in question, for I am sure, no wise man
"can justifie it. Now since I am certainly in-
"formed, that a second R monstrance is prepa-
ring for me, to take away my profit of Tonnage
"and Poundage (one of the chief maintenances
"of the Crowne) by alledging, that I have

1628 "given away my Right thereof, by my answer to your Petition.

"This is so prejudiciall to me, as I am forced "to end this Session, some few houres before I "meant it; being willing not to receive any "more Remonstrances, to which I must give "an harsh answer.

"And since I see, that even the House of "Commons begins already to make false Con-"structions of what I granted in your Petition, "lest it be worse interpreted in the Country, I "now make a declaration, concerning the true "intent thereof.

"The profession of both Houses, in the time "of hammering this Petition, was, no wayes to "trench upon my Prerogative, saying, they "had neither intention, nor Power, to hurt it.

"Therefore it must needs be conceived, that "I have granted no new, but onely confirmed "the ancient Liberties of my Subjects. Yet to "shew the clearness of my intentions, that I "neither repent nor mean to recede from any "thing, that I have promised you, I do here de-"clare, that those things, which have been done, "whereby men had cause to suspect the Liberty "of the Subject to be trenched upon (which in-"deed was the true and first ground of the Pe-"tition) shall not hereafter be drawn into ex-"ample for your prejudice; And in time to "come (on the word of a King) you shall not "have the like cause to complain.

"But as for Tonnage and Poundage, it is a "thing I cannot want, and was never intended "by you to aske, never meant (I am sure) by "me to grant. To conclude, I command you "all that are here, to take notice of what I "have spoken at this time, to be the true intent & "meaning of what I granted you in your Peti-"tion; but especially you, My Lords the *Judges*, "for to you onely under me belongs the inter-"pretation of the Lawes, for none of the Houses "of Parliament, joint or separate, (what new "doctrine soever may be raisd) have any power "either to make or declare a Law, without my "consent.

The D. of *Buckingham* slain at *Portsmouth*.

During this Sessions, the Duke was not dis-couraged by the former Remonstrance, as to hinder his activity, in preparing a new, for the relief of *Rochell*, both by Sea and Land; but being ready to set sail, he was suddenly cut off, being slain at *Portsmouth*, in the 36th year of his age, by the hand of one *John Felton*, a dis-contented Officer of the last yeares Army.

The first News of this fact came to the King (then about four miles distant) at his publick devotion, whose intentions were so steady upon that sacred duty, that he received it without the least emotion of Spirit, or discomposure of Countenance. He sent Dr. *Hutchinson* (one of his Chaplains in ordinary, & then in the course of his attendance) to trye, if he could learn out of him, by what inducement he committed that horrible murder; who told him, his onely mo-tive was, That the Duke had been declared an enemy to the Commonwealth in the late Remon-strance, tendred to the King by the Parliament, and afterwards said the same again, and again, both at the time of his examination before the Lords of the Councell, and at his execution. Ne-verthelesse, when he was made sensible of the foulnesse of the Act, he manifested great sorrow and contrition for it. But that, which excited this miserable man to so great a mischief, had likewise influenced the people in generall, who rejoyced at his death, as one of the greatest ene-mies of their Country. 1628

But those that knew him, and observed his actions, deliver him to posterity as one of the most generous and accomplished persons of that time. "His outward forme was a great master-"piece of Nature, exact in every part, nor was "his mind without his ornaments, being of a very "affable & courteous disposition, and though ad-"vanced to as great dignity as a subject could be "capable of, he did not leave those qualities. He "was said to be addicted more, then was fit, to the "love of women, but it is not said, that his pas-"sion that way, reached to the ruine, or publick "defamation of any particular person, or family. "He had lesse studied books then men, and if he "had lived a few more years, to have seen through "the temptations of greatnesse, he might have pro-"ved as great a Pillar of this State, as any that "went before him. He was very bountifull to his "kindred and servants, most of which he ad-"vanced to honour and wealth; and to all to "whom he professed friendship. He was constant "in it, in so much, that there rarely pass'd a "day in Court whilst he was there, wherein he "did not some good Office to one or other; and "as I have heard from one neer him, every mor-"ning, before he went to the King, he collected "in paper, what publick matters he had to ac-"quaint him with, and the suites he had to make "in behalfe of those that sollicited him. But "as he was kind to his friends and dependents, so "he was formidable to his enemies, especially "to such as deceived him under a guise of "friendship. His courage was very great, and "did too much transport him, for if he had a "little yielded to the times, and with drawn "from those stormes, he could neither prevent "nor allay, he might perhaps have found a mil-"der fate." His Cha-racter.

His bowels were interr'd in *Porsmouth*, and his body was brought to *York-house*, from whence after some time it was entomb'd at *Westminster* in *St. Edwards* Chappell, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors. And *Fel-ton* being arraigned, & found guilty at the *Kings-bench-barr* at *Westminster*, was hanged at *Ty-burn*, and afterwards his body was sent to *Ports-mouth*, where without the Towne it was hanged in chaines, till it was consumed. The Dukes body en-tomb'd at *Westminster*, at *St. Edwards* Chap-pell.

The sad accident of the Dukes death made little or no stop in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of *Lyndsey*; but before he could get to *Rochell*, the haven was so barr'd, that it was impossible for his ships to force their way (though it was gallantly often attempted) so that the *Rochellers* seeing this hope to fail, sent out some of the principall of the Town, to make their submission to the King, and set open the gates, to receive him.

The time now drawing neer for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty reasons, put of their Assembling to the 20th of *January*, and in the mean time Arch-bishop

Abbot

1628 Archbishop Abbot restored to favour.

Abbot was admitted to kiss his hands, and commanded not to fail of his attendance at the Councel-table: which was done at this conjuncture, to moderate the heats of certain Ecclesiasticks: who made great disturbance in the Church, by some Scholasticall controversies, in the points of Predestination, grace and perseverance. Both parties were abetted by severall Bishops, and each of them would pretend the opinions they held, to be the Doctrine of the Church, when in truth they were but the opinions of private men (for nothing can be called the doctrine of the Church, that is not so declar'd by the whole Clergy, lawfully assembled in Convocation). These were distinguished by the names of *Calvinists* and *Arminians*. The first countenanced by the Commons in Parliament, and some few of the Bishops; the later justified by most of the Bishops, and not discountenanced by the King. The first of these were likewise somewhat remiss in exacting a rigid conformity to the Ceremonies; the later perhaps more earnest then was needfull therein at this time, but withall they were great Assertors of the Prerogative Royall. The King was very intent for the Peace of the whole, and caused the nine and thirty Articles of the Church to be published, with a declaration to restrain all disputes, in the points controverted; and now also a book, writ by one *Montagne* (in King *James* his time of these controversies, called *Apello Cæsarem*, was called in, and Dr. *Potter* a *Calvinist*, is made Bishop of *Carlisle*; but these Acts did not mollifie the minds of those, for whome they were intended, for a while after (*viz.*) the 20th of *January* the Parliament assembled, and the grand Committees, which are usually the first things, setled at the opening of that Assembly, were very busy and active, That of *Religion* made great complaints of the invasions upon Religion, which they pretended was much endangered, by the encrease of *Popery* and *Arminianisme*, and many instances were made to heighten the apprehensions of the people therein; whilst the House was not less active in their inquisitions into the miscarriages in civil affaires, concerning which diverse Petitions were presented, importing that many merchants had their goods seized, and informations preferr'd against them in the *Star-chamber*, for refusing to pay the custome of Tonnage and Poundage against the tenour of the petition of Right; and one of these merchants, named *Rolls*, being a member of the House of Commons, what was done towards him, was judged a breach of Priviledge, for which the Customers were summond to the House, to answer their misdemeanour therein: The King interposed in this matter, and enformed the House, that what they did, was done, as by men addicted to his command, adding, he did not commissionate them, to take it as of Right belonging to him, but out of a firme presumption, that the House of Commons, suitable to their large professions, would grant it him by Bill, which he desired they would dispatch to put an end to the dispute. This gave no Satisfaction, but debates in the House ran very high, and they resolved to proceed to a remonstrance against the levying the subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, not being granted by Act of Parliament. In which point they were so earnest on the second of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolved, before they had vented their passion in it, they locked the dores of the House, and gave the key to Sr *Miles Hobbard*, one of their Members, to keep; and refused to admit the Usher of the Blackrod, whom the King had sent with a Message to them; whereat he was so offended, that he sent for the Captain of the Pensioners, and the Guards, to force an entrance, and in the mean time the heads of a Remonstrance were offer'd to Sr *John Fynch* the Speaker, to be put to the question, which he refusing, because the King had given order to adjourne to the tenth of *March*, and to put no question, nor admit of any debate, Mr. *Denzill Hollis*, and Sr. *Peter Hayman* held him in the chair, till by one of them the Protestation was read, and then they rose before the Pensioners and Guards came, and the House was adjourned to the tenth of *March*.

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The Parliament is assembled.

Grand committees setled and very active.

The Commons lock the dores of their house, and refuse to admit the Usher of the Blackrod.

The Protestation of the Commons.

1. *Whosoever shall bring in an Innovation of Religion, or by favour seek to introduce* Popery, *or* Arminianisme, *or other opinions, disagreeing from the true and Orthodox Church, shall be reputed a Capitall enemy to the Kingdom and Common-wealth.*

2. *Whosoever shall counsell, or advise the taking or levying of the Subsidies of* Tonnage, *and* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an Actor or Instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed a Capitall enemy to this Common-wealth.*

3. *If any man shall voluntarily yeild or pay the said Subsidies of* Tonnage *or* Poundage, *not being granted by Parliament, he shall be reputed a Betrayer of the Liberties of* England, *and an Enemy to this Common-wealth.*

Two dayes after a Proclamation was issued to declare the Parliament dissolved, though the dissolution was not formally executed, till the tenth of *March*, at which time the King came to the Lords-House, and being set on his Throne, with his Crown on his head, and in his Robes, and the Lords in their Robes also, he bespoke them thus.

My Lords.

I Never came here upon so unpleasant an occasion, it being the dissolution of a Parliament; therefore men may have some cause to wonder, why I should not rather chuse to do this by Commission, it being a generall Maxim of Kings, to leave harsh Commands to their Ministers, themselves onely executing pleasing Commands, yet considering that Justice as well consists in the reward and praise of vertue, as punishing of vice, I thought it necessary to come here to day, to declare to you, and all the world, that it was meerly the undutifull, and seditious Carriage of the Lower-House, that hath made the dissolution of the Parliament. And you My Lords are so far from being causes of it, that I take as much comfort in your dutyfull demeanours, as I am justly distasted with their proceedings.

1628 "dings. Yet to avoyd mistakings, let me tell you, "that it is so far from me, to adjudge all that house "guilty, that I know there are as dutyfull Sub- "jects, as any in the World; it being but some "few vipers amongst them, that did cast this "mist of undutifulnes before their eyes; yet to "say truth, there was a good number there, that "would not be infected by this Contagion, in "so much that some did expres their duties in "speaking, which was the generall fault of the "House the last day. To conclude, as these Vi- "pers must look for their reward of Punishment, "so you, My Lords, must justly expect from me "that favour and protection, that a good King "oweth to his loving and dutifull Nobility.

The King was highly provoked, as is evident by this speech, at the disorder and tumultuous carriage of many of the Members of the Commons-House of Parliament, who streind all things beyond their naturall length, a little moderation and obsequiousnes might have obteind of him, whatsoever was desired; and if he had not had better intentions towards his Subjects, then some of those dissontented Spirits would have made the world beleive he had, the dissolution of this might have been the end of all Parliaments, and we might have been deprived of that Spring, from whence the blessings of Peace, and happines, have formerly been derived on this Church and State. And this there wanted not some, to infuse into him, by the example of the King of *France* then reigning. For whereas in an assembly of the three Estates (which is in the nature of our Parliament) some years before this time, the Commons (being their third Estate) entrenched too busily upon the Liberties of the Clergy, and some Priviledges, which the Nobility enjoyed, by the favour of the former Kings; it gave the King so great offence, that he dissolved them, and their constitution together, and ordained another kind of Assembly in place thereof, which He called *L' Assemble des Notables*, That is to say, The Assembly of principal Persons, which are composed of select persons out of all orders of Estates of the Kings nomination, to which is added a Counsellor out of every Court of Parliament in *France*, and the Acts of this Assembly are no less obliging to the People, than the others were. The King would receive no impressions of this nature, but yet he was very earnest to vindicate his Authority, and Commandment, which in his proclamation, before mentioned, He alleadged to have been so contemned, as his Kingly Office could not bear, nor any former age paralell. He had on the fourth of *March*, six days before his coming to the Lords (by the advice of his privy Councel, and by their warrant) sent for severall Members of the Commons-House to appear the next day at the Councel-table, (*viz.*) *Denzill Hollis*, Esquire: Sr. *John Elliot*, Sr. *Peter Hayman*, Sr. *Miles Hubbart*, *John Selden*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Strond*, and *Walter Long*, Esquires, who were the principall authors of the late Disorders, at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament, what was said and done in Parliament, they were committed to the Tower; The rest not then appearing, were afterward apprehended, and committed to severall other prisons.

Severall Members of the House of Commons imprisoned.

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But least, those distempered Spirits, that had by imprudence caused so much disquiet at *Westminster*, should to excuse themselves, disperse abroad in their Countries, some of their malignities, to asperse the Government, and alienate the hearts of the good Subjects from the King, he published a Delaration, setting forth his Reasons and Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with breviates of all transactions, in this and the former Session, the heads whereof, we think it not improper to insert in this place;

The Substance of the Kings declaration.

"He professed therein, To maintaine the true "Religion, & doctrine, established in the Church "of *England*, without admitting or conniving at "any Back-sliding, either to Popery or Schisme, "having been ever desirous, to be found worthy "of that title, which he accounted the most glo- "rious in his Crowne, *DEFENDER OF "THE FAITH*, nor would he ever give "way to the authorising of any thing, whereby "any Innovation might creep into the Church, "but to preserve that unity of Doctrine & Disci- "pline, established in the time of Queen *Eli- "sabeth*, wherein the Church had stood, and "flourished ever since. He shewed also how "care-full he had been to command the execu- "tion of the Lawes against Popish Priests, and "Popish recusants, and if his Commands were "not duly executed, the fault ought to be laid on "the remisnes of the Officers and Ministers, to "whome it belongd, for it was his part to direct, "and order well, but the part of others to per- "forme the ministeriall Offices.

"Next to Religion, his care of setling the "Rights and Liberties of the People, was ma- "nifested in his answer to the Petition of Right, "which since that time had not been infringed.

"Nor was he less carefull in the provident "ordering of the Supplyes, given to him the last "Session, wherein no part had been put to any "other use then to what it was granted.

"But he could not but take notice of some "glances in the House, and rumors abroad, as if "his answer to the petition of Right, had not "onely given away his imposition upon goods "exported and imported, but the Tonnage and "Poundage also, whereas in the debate thereof "there was no mention in either House, concer- "ning those Duties, but concerning Taxes, and "other charges within the land; for though in "the matter of Tonnage and Poundage, his ne- "cessities pleaded strongly for him, he was re- "solved, to guide himself, by the practise of "his Noblest Predecessors, and therefore he "caused records to be search'd, where it was "found, that the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poun- "dage was not granted to King *Edward the 4th*, "till the third year of his Reign, yet he received "it the first day of his accession to the Crowne, "untill it was granted by Parliament, and in the "succeeding times of *Richard* the third, King "*Henry* the Seventh, King *Henry* the Eight, "King *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Mary* and "Queen *Elisabeth*, the Subsidy of Tonnage "and Pondage was not onely enjoyed by every "one of those Kings and Queens, from the death "of each of them deceasing, untill it was granted

by

"by Parliament unto the Succeſſor; but in all
1628 "thoſe times, the Parliament did moſt readily
"and chearfully, in the beginning of every of
"thoſe Reigns grant the ſame, as a thing moſt
"neceſſary for the guarding of the Seas, ſafety
"and Defence of the Realm, and ſupportation
"of the Royall dignity. And in the time of his
"Royall Father, of Bleſſed Memory, he en-
"joyed the ſame a full year, wanting very few
"days, before his Parliament began; and above
"a yeare, before the Act of Parliament, for the
"the grant of it was paſſed; and yet when the
"Parliament was aſſembled, it was granted with-
"out difficulty. And in his own time he quietly
"received the ſame three years, and more,
"expecting with patience in Severall Parlia-
"ments, the grant thereof, as had been
"made to many of his Predeceſſors, the Houſe
"of Commons ſtill profeſſing that multitude of
"other Buſineſſes, and not want of Willing-
"neſs on their part had cauſed the ſetling thereof
"to be ſo long deferred.

"And when the grant of an Act came to be
"treated of, all expreſs'd a great Willingneſs to
"grant it, but a new ſtraine was found out to
"puzzle the buſineſs, that it could not be done
"without perill to the Right of the ſubject, unleſs
"he would diſclaime his Right therein, and put
"himſelf out of the Poſſeſſion thereof; whereas
"it was evident, all the Kings before named,
"did receive that duty, and were in actuall poſ-
"ſeſſion of it before, and at the very time, when
"it was granted to them by Parliament. Ne-
"vertheleſs he did declare, that it was his
"meaning by the gift of the people to en-
"joy it, and that he did not challenge it of
"Right, but took it *De bene eſſe*, wherein he
"ſaid he deſcended, for their ſatisfaction, far
"beneath himſelf, being confident never any of
"his Predeceſſors did the like, nor was the
"like required of them, but yet for all this
"the bill was laid aſide. Whilſt the Duke
"of *Buckingham* lived, he was intitled to all
"the ill events of Parliament, but now he is
"dead, no alteration was found amongſt
"thoſe envenomed Spirits, which troubled the
"Harmony betwixt him, and his Subjects,
"and continue ſtill to trouble it; So that the
"Duke was not the Mark they ſhot at, but as
"a mere Miniſter of his, taken up in their
"paſſage to more ſecret deſignes, to caſt his
"affairs into a deſperate condition, to abate
"the Power of the Crown, and to bring the Go-
"vernement into obloquy, that in the end
"all things might be overwhelm'd with Anar-
"chy and confuſion. And then concludes,
"that all wiſe, and diſcreet men, might judge
"of the Rumors and fears malitiouſly bruited
"abroad, and diſcern by examination of their
"owne hearts, whether in reſpect of the free
"paſſage of the Goſpell, indifferent and equall
"Miniſtration of Juſtice; Freedom from op-
"preſſion, and the great peace and quietneſs
"which every man enjoyeth under his owne
"vine, the happineſs of this Nation can be
"parallel'd by any of our Neighbours Coun-
"treys; and if it cannot be, acknowledge
"their owne Bleſſedneſs, and for the ſame be
"thank-full to God, the Author of all Goodneſs.

On the Seaventh of *May*, the Attorney Ge-
nerall preferr'd an Information in the Star-
chamber, againſt Sr. *John Elliot*, and the reſt
of the impriſon'd Members, and they iſſued
a proceſs againſt them, to anſwer his allega-
tions in that Court; To which they demurr'd,
and the King had ſeverall Communications
with the Judges about it, but they moved for
writs of *Habeas Corpus*, and had them gran-
ted but had no returns to them as was deſired,
till the King had received the Reſolution of
the Judges in the Matter, which he did the
30th of *September*, at *Hampton-court*; where
the King calling them aſide (after he had pro-
poſed ſeverall matters to them, by way of advice,
and had heard the anſwer, which was: *That
their offences were not capitall, and that by the
Law they ought to be bayled, giving ſecurity for
their good behaviour*;) he told them, he pur-
poſed, to proceed againſt them, by the Com-
mon Law in the Kings Bench, and to decline
his proceeding in the Star-chamber, and was
contented they ſhould be bayled, notwithſtan-
ding their obſtinacy, that they had not given
him a Petition to expreſs their ſorrow for offen-
ding him, adding, that he was pleaſed with them
for dealing plainly with him, or words to that
effect.

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Information in the Star-chamber againſt Sr John Elliot, and the impriſon'd Members.

In purſuance of this advice, as ſoon as *Mi-
chael-maſs* terme began, the Court of Kings-
bench was moved, to bail the priſoners, to
which the Judges with one voyce ſaid, they
were content, they ſhould be bailed; but that
they ought to find Sureties for their good Be-
haviour, to which *Selden* anſwerd (and all the
reſt agreed to it) that they had Sureties rea-
dy for the Bayl, but not for the good Behaviour,
for that was a point of diſcretion merely, and
they could not aſcend to it, without great of-
fence to the Parliament, where the matters
ſurmiſed were acted. To this the Judges re-
plyed to this effect, *That the returne did not
mention any thing done in Parliament, and the
ſurety of good Behaviour is a prevention of Da-
mages to the Common-wealth, and an Act of Go-
vernment and Juriſdiction, and not of Law, and
would be no inconvenience to the priſoners, for the
ſame Bayl ſhould ſuffice, and all ſhould be
written in one piece of Parchement.* But they
refuſed, and were remanded, and the ſame
terme an Information was exhibited by the At-
turney Generall in the Kings-bench, againſt
Elliot, *Hollis*, and *Valentine*, for words ſpo-
ken by them in the foregoing Parliament, ſaid
to be *falſo*, *malitioſe*, *& ſeditioſe*, *as well verſus Regem*, *Magnates*, *Prælatos*, *Proceres et
Juſtitiarios ſuos*, *quam Magnates*, *Proceres &
Juſtitiarios*, *& reliquos Regis Subditos*, *&
totaliter deprivare & avertere Regimen*, *&
Gubernationem Regni Angliæ*, *tam in Domino
Rege*, *quam in Conſiliariis*, *& Miniſtris
ſuis*, *cujuſcunque generis*, *& inducere tu-
multum et confuſionem*, *in all Eſtates and parties,
et ad intentionem*, *that all the Kings ſubjects
ſhould withdraw their affections from the King.*

A motion in the Kings-bench to Bail the Priſoners.

Information in the Kings bench againſt them

Then the words were expreſſed at large, and
at the end of the information it was urged, that
Sr. *John Finch* the Speaker endeavouring to go
out of the chair according to the Kings Com-
mand

mand, to adjourn the House, they assaulted and evill intreated him *violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, and being out of the Chair they assaulted him in the House, *& violenter, manu forti, & illicita*, drew him to the Chair, and thrust him into it, *&c.*

The defendants demur to the jurisdiction of the Court The demur is over ruled, and a day assigned

To this Information, the Gentlemen put in a Plea; Forasmuch as these Offences are supposed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be punished in this Court or any other unlesse in Parliament. Upon this the Court gave a day to joyn in demurrer that Term, and on the first day of the next Term the Record to be read, and within a day after argued at the Bar.

Information in the Star-chamber against Mr. *Long.*

Against Mr. *Long* particularly, an information was prefered in the Star-Chamber, which was agreed the first day of *Hilary* Term; It was not for any thing said in Parliament, but to this effect following, (*viz.*) "For that he being high "Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, had the charge "and Custody thereof committed to him, and "had taken his Oath according to the Law to "abide within his Bailywick all that time of his "Sheriffwick, and his trust and imployment re-"quiring his personal attendance therein, did "contrary thereunto suffer himself to be chosen "a Citizen for the City of *Bath*, to serve in the "last Parliament, and did attend at *Westminster* "in Parliament without his Majesties Licence; "He being Sheriff at the time, which was done "in contempt of his Majesties pleasure signified "to him under his great Seal, when he granted "him the Office of Sheriffwick: And after hearing his Counsell upon his demurrer, and plea, and other arguments and reasons used in that behalf by his Counsel, the whole Court agreed in a sentence against him in these or the like words: For the forementioned offences in breach of his oath, neglect of his trust, and contempt of his Majesty, it is decreed and adjudged, that he shall be committed to the Tower during his Majesties pleasure, and pay a fine of two thousand Marks to his Majesty, and make a submission and acknowledgement of his offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, and to his Majesty before his enlargement.

Sentence in the Star-chamber against Mr. *Long.*

The same Term, the Counsel of Sir *John Elliot*, and the other Gentlemen (inform'd against in the Kings-bench) argued also against the information, and the jurisdiction of the Court; but the Judges hearing both parties for and against it, unanimously agreed, "That the Court as the "Case is, shall have jurisdiction, although these "offences were committed in Parliament, and "and that the imprisoned members ought to an-"swer, and that they were by the Court rul'd "to plead further, but they not putting in any "plea; the last day of the Term judgement was "granted against them upon a *Nihil dicit*, and "they were sentenced by the Court,

The opinion of the Court of Kings-Bench.

1. To be imprison'd during the Kings pleasure.

2. None of them to be delivered out of prison untill security given in Court for the good behaviour, and submission, and acknowledgment made of the Offence.

3. Sir *John Eliot* fin'd to pay to the King, two thousand pounds, being the greatest offender; Mr. *Hollis* a thousand Markes, and Mr. *Valentine* five hundred pounds, and in like manner the rest were proceeded against, and several Fines were accordingly imposed upon them, most of which were paid, and the gentlemen afterwards released from their imprisonments. If any of them did refuse to pay such fines, as were set upon them, they were men either of decayed or of small estates, and so not able to make payment of the fines imposed.

Heylins observations in the history of the reign of K. *Charles.*

Many weighty and learned arguments were made in the Case of these gentlemen, before the judgement given, both by the Kings learned Counsel and their Counsel also, who objected all that could be thought of in the matter, some of which we shall mention for the better understanding of the matter in Question.

That this was a priviledge of Parliament, whereof the Court were not competent Judges. *Obj.* 1.

To which was answered, in 8 *Eliz.* it was the opinion of *Dyer, Catlin, Welsh, Brown* and *Southcot*, Justices, that Offences committed in Parliament are punishable out of Parliament, and *Plowden*, in the time of Queen *Mary*, was fined for words spoken in Parliament against the dignity of the Queen, and in 6 *H.*6. a judgement given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the said judgement was reversed in Parliament there. Upon which Writ of Errour was brought in this Court and the judgement reversed. *Answ.*

This is an inferiour Court to Parliament, and cannot meddle with matter done in it. *Obj.* 2.

To which was answered, the Court Questions not the judgement of Parliaments, for what is done in Parliament by consent of all the House shall not be questioned elsewhere, but the particular offences criminally committed there, are punishable here, for if particular members of a superior Court offend, they are punishable in an inferiour. As if a Judge shall commit a Capital offence in this Court, he may be arraigned thereof at New-gate *Answ.*

The Parliament Law differs from the Law, by which this Court judgeth in sundry Cases, as for instance, by the Statute none ought to be chosen Burgesse for a Town in which he doth not inhabi, but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary. *Obj.* 3.

The reply to this was, That they are the judges of Acts of Parliament, and if information be brought upon the said Statute against such a Burgesse, the Statute is a good Warrant for the Court to give judgement against him. *Answ.*

The Queen miscarried of a Son.

In the spring of this year the Queen being affrighted, aborted of a Son, which added something to the Kings troubles at home; though abroad matters succeeded well, for the King of *France* being in a Transalpine expedition at *Susa*, for the relief of *Casall*, was so intent on that War, that he was very inclinable to peace with us, and by the intervention of the States of *Venice*, a peace was concluded upon the ensuing Articles.

The King of *France* desirous of peace.

The State of *Venice* mediate the peace with *France.*

1. That the two Kings shall accord to renew the former Alliance between the two Crownes, and to preserve it inviolable with free Commerce, and in reference to the said comerce, liberty is given, that such things be proposed as either part shall judge convenient either to add or diminish.

2. That

1629 Articles of the peace with *France.*

2. That considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as prize, as well on one side, as the other, during the late Wars: It is agreed between the two Crownes, that for what is passed no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.

3. As to the Articles and contract of marriage of the Queen of Great *Britain*, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her domesticks it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.

4. All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crownes, saving wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.

5. The two Kings being by this present Treaty remitted to the affection they formerly had, shall respectively imploy this correspondence toward the assistance of their Allies (so far as the restitution of Affairs, and the general good will permit) for the procuring repose of the troubles of Christendom.

6. The premises being established on both sides, persons of eminency shall be reciprocally dispatched as Embassadors on either part for ratification of the accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at either Court, for the better preserving this Union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea, with letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognisance of this peace; it is agreed that what shall occurre in the nature of Hostility for the space of two moneths on either side, shall not prejudice or derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding that what shall be made prize of within the space of two months, after signature shall be resolved on either side.

8. Lastly, The two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles the 14. of this present month of *April*, and at the same time they shall be consigned into the hands of the Lords Embassadors of *Venice*, to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixt. And from the day of signing, all Acts of Hostility shall cease, to which end proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdomes the 20. day of *May*.

And for a confirmation of this League in *September* following the Marquess of *Casteau Neuf*, was sent in Embassy from *France*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* was sent thither from hence.

About the month of *July*, there hapned a great fray in *Fleet-street*, upon the rescue of one Captain *Bellingham* (an officer in the late expedition to the *Isle* of *Rhe*) which was attempted by some students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt and carried to prison. But this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the prisoner, who made a Barracade against St. *Dunstans Church*, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and released their friends; of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a band of trained Souldiers came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them; who were now encreased to the number of five hundred, and armed with swords and pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation that on pain of rebellion they should dissolve themselves, but prevail'd not, he then tryed other means, and the souldiers fired their Muskets on them charg'd with powder only; but the gentlemen provokt at this, shot bullets, and very fiercely attaqued the Train-bands, kill'd five out right, and wounded near a hundred; yet the City souldiers were so reinforced, that in the end the gentlemen, were subdued, and one *Ashhurst* and *Stamford* two Captains, with some others were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the uproar, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose advice a special commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* was issued out, and about a fortnight after the malefactors were arraign'd in the *Guild-Hall* of *London*, and *Ashhurst* and *Stamford* being found guilty of murder, were condemned and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a relation and servant to the last Duke of *Buckingham*, and much intercession was made for him: but the King would not pardon him, but said he had murdered a watch-man before and was pardon'd, and hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a third.

A great Fray in *Fleetstreet*

1629

In the month of *January*, Don *Carlos de Colomas*, sent Embassador from *Spain* arrived at *London*, and had audience six daies after; his business was to treat of a Peace, betwixt the two Crownes, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the War, and the *Spaniard* did engage that he would make use of all his interest with the Emperor for restoring the Prince Elector *Palatine* to his lost estate.

This Peace, and that with *France* brought a great encrease of Trade to us, the *Spaniards* sent hither yearly in *English Bottoms*, no lesse then 600000. Crowns in *Bullion*, for the use of the army in the *Netherlands*, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the Coinage, and no less to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being return'd into *Flanders* in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The *Dutch*, and *Easterlings* being great Traders, lookt upon *London* as the safest bank not only to lodge, but increase their treasure; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the *Thames*.

1630.

On the tenth of *April*, this Year *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of the Kings Household died suddenly of an Apoplexy, he was the Son of *Henry* Earl of *Pembroke*, Son of *William Herbert* created Earl of *Pembroke*, and Lord *Herbert* of *Cardiffe* in the fifth year of King *Edward* the sixth, whose great Grandfather was *William* Earl of *Pembroke* taken prisoner in the Battle of *Banbury* in the year 1467. in the quarel of the House of *Lancaster*, and beheaded in the ninth year of King *Edward* the fourth.

He was a comely Person, of a very generous mind, and one that in all his actions, appeared to be of the true antient stock of *English* Nobility; He was competently learned, and a great lover of his Prince and Country without flattery or faction, which made him be ever esteem'd by the first, and loved and respected by the later: He married *Mary*, the eldest Daughter, and Coheire of *Gilbert Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, by whom he had not issue. The King was somewhat touched at the death of so good a Counsellor. But to qualifie that loss, God blest him with

1630 with a Son, the Heire of his Dominions, on the twenty ninth of *May*, who on the twenty seventh of *June* following was with great solemnity baptized, and named *CHARLES*, the Godfathers were the King of *France*, and the Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of *Lenox*, and the Marquess of *Hamilton*; the Godmother was the Queen of *France*, whose Substitute was the Duchess of *Richmond*. After this joyfull Ceremony was perform'd, the King was intent on the Business of the Prince Elector, and having intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this Summer at *Ratisbone*, he sent Sr *Robert Anstruther*, his Ambassadour to the Emperour, taking that opportunity, when the Estates of the Empire were assembled, to treat of his brothers restitution to the *Palatinate*. Sr. *Robert* went in very noble Equipage, and was very well receiv'd, when he came thither, and at his first audience he deliver'd his Message to this effect.

The birth of Prince Charles.

Sr. *Rob. Anstruther* sent Ambassador to the Emperour.

His Speech to the Emperour.

"That nothing did affect his Master, the "King of *Great Brittaine*, more, then the day-"ly Calamities, undergone by his Brother the "Prince Elector, his Wife and Children: that "he deem'd no place more convenient, where "to treat of their Reconciliation, and reestablish-"ment, then in this Dyet, therefore he made "it his most ardent Request to his most Imperial "*Majesty*, that having Regard to the many In-"tercessions of his late Father, and other Kings "and Princes, he would remit the displeasure "conceiv'd against his Brother, and recall the "proscription issued out against him; true it is, "his Brother had offended, and was inexcusa-"bly guilty (unlesse the Rashnesse and precipi-"tation of youth may somewhat pleade for him) "But others had been as culpable as he, whom "yet his Imperiall *Majesty* receiv'd into Grace "and favour, and would he be pleased to ex-"tend to him the same clemency, it would ob-"lige his Master to demonstrations of greatest "gratitude, and raise a glorious imitation in "others to imitate so Majestique a Pattern. That "the Palsgrave would entertaine this favour "with an heart so firmely devoted to his ser-"vice, as all the intention of his Spirit should "be disposed to compensation and reparation of "his by-past miscarriages. That his Master held "nothing so deare, as the affection of his Impe-"rial *Majesty*, and establishment of a durable "peace between them, and as upon all occasions "he hath been forward to represent himself soli-"citous of it, so at this time he is ready to give "more ample testimony, If his *Imperiall Ma-"jesty* be pleased to incline to a treaty.

The Emperour and Estates did not answer the Kings expectation, for besides the Complements which the Ambassadour receiv'd, all the answer to this Business was. *That the present affaires of* Germany, *which call'd them thither, were of that important concernment, as would not admit of any forein debate. But when leisure served, his Master should have such satisfaction, as they hoped would give content.* The Emperour was the colder in this matter, because he had some intimation of the Kings Correspondence with the King of *Sweden*, who was at this time ready to enter into *Germany* with an Army. And he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for ever since the King of *Denmarke* was by Count *Tylly* driven out of *Germany*, The eyes of all this part of the World were upon *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*; as the fittest person, to cheque the greatness of the House of *Austria*. Him therefore, two years ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of the Garter, wherewith he was solemnly invested in the midst of his Army, at the Siege of *Darjan*, a Town of *Pomerella*, belonging to the Crowne of *Poland*, and then the grounds were laid, which (being seconded by the French, the States of the *United Provinces*, and the distressed Princes of the Empire) brought that King into *Germany*. For which Expedition on the thirteenth of June, he imbarqued himself, and all his Army, in seaventy men of Warr, and two hundred lesser Barques. He had made great preparations the year before for this designe, and had entertain'd many Scotish and English Commanders and Souldiers, lately in the Service of the King of *Denmark*, (after the Peace at *Angle* in *Holstein*, made the year before with that Crown) and had dispatch'd some of them to raise Recruits, to compleate their Regiments in *Scotland* and *England*, and likewise he entertained *Germanes*, who had return'd from the *Cesarean* Army, and from that Army that was sent to assist the King of *Poland*, under the conduct of *Harven*, and from those who had been disobliged by *Wallestein*, the Emperours Generall; he receiv'd good intelligence of the State of the Empire, and gave them Commissions to raise forces with all speed, So that with some of these & the remainder of the Army, which was brought from the warrs of *Livonia*, he had gott together above Twelve thousand horse and foote of old Souldiers; But time was very favourable to the Enterprise, for the Princes of *Germany* had been much oppressed by the late Military Government, which *Wallesteyne* had introduced amongst them. Who had under his command a hundred thousand foote, and 30000 horse of diverse Nations, dispersed over all *Germany*, whereby the Princes of *Germany* were not treated as free Princes, but Subjects. Whereupon for that the excessive Authority of private men, and over-greatness of Neighbouring Potentates is never lik'd by great ones, The Electors, which pretend to keep the Imperiall condition within its limits, could not suffer either the burthen they lay under upon this former occasion, nor that so many Souldiers should be maintain'd in *Germany*, in the time of Peace, to the peoples so great Grievances, nor that the Throne of *Cesar* should be raised so high. They therefore privately sought out all opportune meanes, how they might unarme him, and take from the *Empire* such a support; To which the *Spanish* Ministers of *Vienna* willingly concur'd, to moderate the greatness of *Wallesteine*, and prevailed with the *Emperour* to the disbanding of the supernumerary Forces, to please the Electors, and to oblige them thereby, to adhere to favour the King of *Hungary*, at Election of the King of the Romans. *Wallestein* was hereupon immediately laid aside which made him exclaim that the Emperour was betraid, and certainly there was some grounds for it. But if he had been more

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The Emperours Answer

The King of Swedens Expedition into Germany.

complacent

1636 complacent in his behaviour, his authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the forces disbanded, which whilst they were kept together made the Emperour so powerful, that the King of Sweden could never have made that impression he did into his Dominions. *Walestnie* thus removed retired into Bohemia, and lived there till he was call'd again to imployment.

Thus Germany became weakned, being not onely divided by the dissonancy of Religion, but exasperated by the late pressures upon them, whereby the King of *Sweden* had a very easie entrance into *Pomerania*, for in a very little time he had taken the Islands of *Rugue*, and *Usedon*, and all the Forts therin, and *Wolghast* and the strong Town of *Stettin* in *Pomerania*, and restored *Bogislans* Duke of *Pomerania*, to his authority.

His success.

The news of this success of the King of Sweden, made our King very willing to send aids to him, and the Marques of Hamilton had Commissions to levy six thousand men, for the service against the next spring, which were most of them to be of the Scottish Nation: For the encouragement of the Marques in this expedition, the King gave him the impost of wines in Scotland, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds Sterling a year: but for the raising of those men, and an intended supply of moneys to the King of Sweden greater sums were required, and therefore the King by advice of his Attorney General and other his Counsel, learned in the Law, was forced to use all wayes by the Law allowable to furnish himself.

Marques of Hamilton has commission to raise 6000 men to assist the King of Sweden.

By the Common Law every man of full age that could dispend a Knights fee, was compellable by the Kings writ to take the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine for the discharge or respit of the same, but because of the uncertainty of the quantity of lands thrt made a Knight fee; King *Edward* the second in the first year of his Reign granted a writ in the time of Parliament and caused it to be there entred of record, (which is therefore stiled by some a statute) wherein no man was thereafter to be distreined for Knighthood, that had not twenty pounds a year in Fee Simple or Fee tayle, or for term of life, which Sir *Edward Coke* explains to be tenant by curtesie; and almost in every Kings Reign till the time of *Edward* the 4th. men were summon'd by proclamation to take the order of Knighthood, but the valew of land was seldome limited so low as twenty pounds a year, for in the 18th. of King *Henry* the 6th. which perhaps is the last time before this wherein proclamations of this kinde were issued, the same was expressd to be 40. *l.* a year. The King having this warrantable way to supply his necessities, did cause several writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all persons of full age, and not Knights, being seized of lands or rents of the yearly valew of 40*l.* or more, to appear in the Kings presence at a certain day therein limitted, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which writs and transmitting the same with their returnes into the Exchequer, and upon other writs for enquiring of the names of such as did not appear, process by *Distringas* was made against them, and they were fined for the same, which brought a hundred thousand pounds or more, into the Exchequer.

All persons seised of 40. l. or more per annum summond to take the order of Knighthood.

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But this money would not answer the Kings occasions, wherefore Mr. *Walter Montague* was sent over to Negotiate the payment of the moyety of the Queens portion (being four hundred Thousand Crowns) behinde, and to require satisfaction for two rich Ships, taken from us by the French, since the last peace concluded; and with him *Phillip Burlamach* a Merchant, was sent to receive the money, and make it over by Exchange or otherwise. The french King received the message with kindness enough, but complain'd that one Captain *Kirk* had two years before, taken the fort of *Kelech* in *Canada*, which was in possession of the French, and put an English garrison into it, this after a little consideration was found so equitable that the King gave order to have the Fort deliver'd, and thereupon his full and just demands were satisfied. During the sitting of the last Parliament, one *Leighton* a Scotchman, writ a Book called *Zions Plea*, which he presented to them; it was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and people to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth Rib, bitterly enveighing against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of *Heth*, a Cananite, and Idolatresse, for which he was this year sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and stigmatiz'd, to have his ears cropt, and nose slit, but betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting of this censure, he made his escape into Bedfordshire, but by the diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenc'd inflicted upon him. The Romish recusants were about this time very active in England, and their Religion begun to encrease by the industry of their Priests, whoe needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent hither Docter *Smith*, the Titular Bishop of Calcedon to ordain Priests, who took also upon him to approve of such regular Priests as were to be standing Confessors, which the General of the Jesuites thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction, and that order by their insinuation being more powerful in England, prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion, to remonstrate against his authority asserting all sufficient power in the Regulars to what ever was pretended by the Bishop, and the no necessity of having a Bishop in England; The Spanish Ambassadour favoured the Jesuites in this contest, to which the Kings Proclamation for the Bishops banishment concurring, he was trighted into France, nor were this sort of men insolent in Engand only, but in Ireland also, for at Dublin whilst the Lords Justices were hearing divine service in *Christs Church*, they had as publique resort to mass as is sometimes in London, to the houses of Ambassadours of that Religion which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Arch-bishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them, which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, chalices, and copes, and delivering the Fryers and Priests into the hands of the Pursivants, whom the people threw stones at, and had rescued them, but that a guard was sent to

Leighton a Scotchman for writing a seditious book called Zions plea.

Contests in England between the Jesuites and Secular priests.

Tumuls in Dublin about restraining the liberty of the Catholicks.

defend them, nevertheleſs the Juſtices were ſo carefull to prevent the like diſorders that moſt of their houſes of Religion were immediately ſeized into the Kings hands, and ſuch Inquiſition after the reſt, that two Prieſts hang'd themſelves at the apprehenſion of this (as they then cal'd it) perſecution.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton was at this time under ſome umbrage at Court, though his power with the King quickly broke through it, The occaſion thereof was this; He had ſent a creature of his owne *David Ramſey* into Germany, on pretence to notifie his coming thither to the King of Sweden, and to inform himſelf of the condition of the Scots then in that Service, but by what appear'd after, it was ſuſpected he had another intention then the King of Swedens aſſiſtance, There were at this time eight and twenty Colonels of the Scotch nation in the Swediſh ſervice, amongſt which, there were four of the name of *Hamilton*, with whom *Ramſey* had made a near acquaintance, for he lived at a great expence; he had alſo indeer'd himſelf to Colonel *Alexander Ramſey* Governour of *Creutznach*, a perſon of good eſteeme and intereſt both with the Swedes and thoſe of his own nation; Amongſt theſe Officers, there was the Lord of *Rhees Mackey*, who commanded a Brigade of Scots, a perſon of great honour and reputation, who having diſcover'd by ſome expreſſion of *Ramſey*, that the Marqueſs had a deeper deſign then the preſent expedition to Germany, he inſinuating into him to find out the bottome of it, and was told by him in much ſecrecy, That the Marqueſs would convert thoſe Forces which he was by the Kings authority to raiſe in Scotland for foreign Service againſt England, That their Friends had provided armes and ammunition, and more were expected from Sweden and other parts, and he and Colonel *Alexander Hamilton* ſolicited him to be of their party; to this the Lord of *Rhees* made a cold anſwer, but thought himſelf bound in duty to come into England and make it known to the King, which he did the rather becauſe *Ramſey* was then return'd alſo; but he upon this accuſation denyed the whole matter, and the Lord having no proof thereof (as in ſuch ſecret practiſes it could hardly be) more then a confident aſpertions and the engagement of his honour, The King thought good to referre the controverſie to the tryal of the Conſtable and Marſhal with the aſſiſtance of other Lords in Commiſſion with them according to the antient law of the Land. The Earle of Lindſey being made Conſtable to that end and purpoſe: many days were ſpent accordingly in purſuance of it. But when moſt men expected that the matter would be tryed by Combat, as had been accuſtomed in ſuch caſes, the buſineſs was huſh'd up at Court, The Lord *Rhees* diſmiſ'd to his imployment in the war, and the Marqueſs did not only continue in the Kings great favour, but *Ramſey* was permitted to hold the place of a Gentleman of the privy chamber which had formerly been procured for him.

The Marqueſs of Hamilton ſuſpected of a deſign to convert his forces raiſed for foreign ſervice againſt England.

On the 25 of *April* this year, *Mervin Touchet Lord Audley* was indicted and arraigned of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, *Thomas* Lord *Coventry Lord-keeper* of the great *Seal*, was for that day conſtituted *Lord High Steward* of *England*, and the Peers joyned with him were; The Earle of *Portland Lord Treaſurer*, The Earle of *Mancheſter Lord Privy Seal*, The Earle of *Arundell Lord Marſhall*, and the Earle of *Pembroke*, *Kent*, *Worceſter*, *Bedford*, *Eſſex*, *Dorſet*, *Saliſbury*, *Leiceſter*, *Warwick*, *Carliſle*, *Holland*, *Barkſhire*, and *Denbigh*, The Viſcounts *Wimbleton*, *Conway*, *Dorcheſter*, *Wentworth*, The Barons *Percy*, *Strange*, *Clifford*, *Peters*, *North*, *Goring*, where divers unnatural and beſtial actions being prov'd againſt him, he had ſentence to be hang'd; but by the clemency of the *King* to him that ſentence was chang'd to a beheading, which was executed on him at *Toner-Hill* on the 14 of *May*; and in the ſame Month of *May* Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgſhire*, married his own Neece the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, for which he was queſtioned in the high Commiſſion Court, but he declined the Juriſdiction, and moved the Court of Common Pleas therein from whence he obtain'd two rules; one requiring the Commiſſioners to ſhew cauſe why a prohibition ſhould not be granted; The other, That if they proceeded further before cauſe ſhewn, a prohibition ſhould be awarded; This gave great offence to the Biſhop of *London*, who complained to the *King* thereof, and he by my Lord Keeper ſignified his diſpleaſure to the Judges for their proceeding herein, whereat they deſiſted, and the Court conſiſting of eight Biſhops, and four other Commiſſioners gave the ſentence following, againſt him to be Fined to the the *King* twelve thouſand pound; to ſtand obliged in the penalty of twenty thouſand pound, never to cohabit or come near his Neice any more: and to be committed to Priſon, or put in ſufficient bayl, till both he and his Neice ſhall have done penance at *Pauls-Croſs* and at great St. *Maries* at *Cambridge* at a day appointed by the Court. Never was delinquent cenſured there, by a more ſolemner and venerable Conſiſtory: many ſpake excellent well, but Sir *Henry Martyn*, whoſe cuſtome it was before to out-go others, did then ſurpaſs himſelf.

and of Sir Giles Allington.

The tryall of the Lord *Audley*

About the midſt of *July* the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* arrived in the *Oder* with ſix thouſand foot, well arraied and furniſhed of Artillery for the Service of the *King* of *Sweden* and with three hundred thouſand Dollers in money, he himſelf came to the *King* at his Leaguer at *Werben* on the *Elve*; The *King* received him very reſpectfully, and ſhewed him all the fortifications, and the preparations he had made againſt the Count *de Tilly*, who was marched as farr as *Wolmeſtat* towards him; ſo that he had no leiſure to entertaine him as he would, but after he had form'd his inſtructions he was diſmiſ'd, and his forces were appointed to Joyne with General *Bavier*; he told him he was very ſorry his Army arrived in ſuch parts of the Country that were ruined, in that both the Armies had lyn there above a year before, but within a while, he ſaid, they ſhould have better quarters, but the men were almoſt all loſt whilſt they were there finding not only famine to conſume them, but the Plague alſo, which did ſo rage that two hundred a week of them dyed, and they were much weakened, but thoſe that ſurvived did good ſervice, and their coming at this time was great furtherance of the *King* of *Swedens* cauſe, for thereby a good part of the Enemies forces, were for feare of them diverted

the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* arrival with his forces in the *Oder*

1631 diverted towards *Sileſia*, and this diverſion aided much to the Coniunction of the Kings Army with that of the Duke of *Saxony*, and conſequently of his further advance into *Germany* and his victory obtained at *Leipſigh* on the ſeventeenth of *September* following, likewiſe the reputation of this ſupply, and the King of *Englands* friendſhip and concordance brought in the Landgrave of *Heſſen* and Duke *Barnard Weymer* to offer their ſervice to the King, and moſt part of the Townes of the upper Cyrcle of the Empire were deſirous to Joyne in Confederacy with him.

Sir Henry Vane ſent Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*.

Our *King* immediately after the diſpatching the Marqueſs *Hamilton* ſent Sir *Henry Vane* his Ambaſſador to the King of *Sweden*, who arrived at *Wertzburg* on the *Main*, a fortnight after the Battel of *Leipſigh*, about which time *Magdeburgh* was block'd up by the Forces under the Command of Marquiſs *Hamilton* and General *Bannier*, who had a little before took in the Town of *Vauſleber* in *Pomerania*, the Embaſſador after ſome refreſhment, went to the King of *Sweden* at *Franckford* on the *Main* which had open'd his Gates to him; on the 17 *th.* of *November*, hither alſo came the Marquiſs of *Hamilton* with a very Magnificent Train, and the French Embaſſador and a little before them the Palſgrave arrived, and the Queen of *Sweden* alſo came thither attended by the *Rix Chancellor Exceſtine* and Sir *Patrick Ruthen* the eldeſt Colonel of the *Scotiſh Nation*; here the King gave audience to our Ambaſſadour, and many treaties were in agitation both for the proſecution of the Warr, the next year, and the reſtitution of the Palatinate, but the ſhortneſs of the Kings Stay hindred the bringing of any Counſels to Maturity, for he was not here a week when upon advice that divers troops of Spaniards and Flemings raiſed in *Luxemberg* were marching towards the Palatinate recruite the Garriſons of *Mentz*, *Worwes*, *Franckendal*, *Heidleberg* and other townes in thoſe parts, he broke of the negotiations for that time, and haſten'd to his Army, with a purpoſe to paſs over the *Rhine*, in order whereunto he firſt lay down before a Sconce lying on the *Rhine* over againſt *Appenheine*: it was a place very well fortified with deep and broad Foſſes full of water, with a draw bridge over, and well provided of Victuals and Amunition and it was ſo Scituated that the men had free paſſage to the towne and back againe without any danger; after the Batteries were made the King left the old Scotiſh Brigide Commanded by Colonel *Hepburne*, and the blew Regiment Commanded by Colonel *Winckles* before it, and he gave order to have ſome Boats that the Spaniards had ſunk taken up and emptied of water, by which meanes he paſſed over two thouſand Scots of the Lord *Rhees* Regiment, Sir *James Ramſeys* Regiment, and old *Spenſe* his Regiment, and with theſe he ſecured the landing place, till he had paſſed over a good part of his Army, and unexpectedly came before *Appenheine*; and the next day theſe in the ſconce (hearing the King had paſs'd the *Rhine*,) capitulated and ſurrendred the place to Colonel *Hepburne*; *Oppenheime* was alſo after a while ſurrendred to the King of *Sweden*, and from thence he made a farther impreſſion on the Palatinate with ſo great ſucceſs that he quickly took in all the Cityes and Townes thereof except *Heidleburg* and *Franckendal*, where we ſhall leave him victorious and returne to *Domeſtique* affaires. 1631

About five years ſince certain Feoffees were intruſted to purchaſe in impropriations with their own and the money of other well diſpoſed perſons, and with the profit thereof to ſet up and maintain preaching Miniſters in places of greateſt need, where preaching was much wanting, whereupon in a ſhort while many great ſumes were advanc'd. There are in England Nine thouſand two hundred and eighty four Pariſh Churches endowed with Glebe and Tyth, but of theſe when theſe truſtees entred on their work three thouſand eight hundred forty and five, were either appropriated to Biſhops, Cathedrals, and Colledges or impropriated as lay fees to private perſons, as formerly belonging to Abbies, to purchaſe which laſt ſort they had made ſuch progreſs that it was beleived in fifty years rather purchaſers then money would have been wanting to them. The King was perſwaded that this project would prove dangerous to the Church, and *Noy* the Attorney General at the later end of the year exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer Chamber againſt the Feoffees. 1631

1632

The proceedings of the Feoffees for impropriations condemned as dangerous to the Church and State.

It was charged againſt them that they diverted the charity wherewith they were intruſted, for being by their Feoffment directed to ſetle preaching Miniſters in diſtant obſcure places where preaching was moſt wanting; they firſt ſetled a morning Lecture at St. *Antholines* in London: To this they anſwer'd, that London being the chiefeſt place from whence their charity derived, it was fit they ſhould have ſome benefit of their own bounty, and that they were not ſo confined to the uſes in their Feoffment, but that in their choyce they might reflect as well on the eminency as neceſſity of the place, that they expended much of their own as well as other mens charity, and hoped they might do with their own as they pleaſed: it was urged againſt them that they generally perſerv'd Non-Conformiſts to the Lectures of their erection: to which they ſaid none were placed therein, but ſuch whoſe ſufficiency and conformity was approved by the ordinary, and moreover that one of the Feoffees acquainted the Biſhop of London at his houſe at *Fulham*, that if he either diſliked the perſons who managed, or the order they took in the work he would ſubmit the alteration to his diſcretion, In concluſion the Court condemned their proceedings as dangerous to the Church and State, pronouncing the gifts and Feoffments to be illegall and ſo diſſolved the ſame, confiſcating the money to the Kings uſe; their criminal part was refer'd to the Star-Chamber but never proſecuted, becauſe rous many diſcreet and devout men were rather deſi-of the regulation then ruine of ſo pious adeſigne.

Duke *Hamilton* returnes inglorious from *Germany*.

Duke *Hamilton* in *September* this year came from *Germany*, his men being by Famine, Plague and the accidents of Warr drawn to ſo ſmall a number that they were not fit for his care, The King of *Sweden* had many communications with the Palſgrave and our Ambaſſador about the affaires of the Palatinate, in which the French Ambaſſador, and *de Pauch* the Ambaſſador of the United Provinces, did mediate ſo as matters

were near drawn to a good Concluſion, when
1632 all was again made deſperate by the death of the
King of *Sweden*, which hapned at that memorable
The King of Swedens death. battel of *Lutzen* on the ſixth of *November old Stile*: the Palſgrave was in hopes of recovery, when news came to him of the death of the King of *Sweden*, which reſented him with ſo intenſe a paſſion that he dyed on the 29 of the ſame Moneth, nor could the rendition of *Franckendall* then ready to be ſurrendred to the Engliſh Officers then before it any whit moderate his grief; the Earl of *Leiceſter* was now ſent Ambaſſador to the King of
The Earl of Leiceſter ſent Ambaſſadour to the King of Denmark. *Denmark* to condole the death of our Kings Grand-Mother Sophia Queen Dowager of *Denmark*, and to demand the dividend of a ſixth part of what ſhe left as due to him and the Queen of *Bohemia* in right of Queen *Anne* their Mother, which ſixth part amounted to a hundred and fifty thouſand pound Sterling; The King of *Denmark* told the Ambaſſador when the accompt was ſtated of what was due to him in arreare of thirty thouſand pound a moneth from the Crown of England upon the contract made in the year 1625. towards the ſupport of his Army, he would make up the reſt, ſo that the Earl was faine to returne *re infecta*. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulneſs of the Lord Viſcount *Wentworth* (whom he had lately raiſed to that honour and made him Lord Preſident of the North) made him Deputy and chief Governour
Viſcount Wentworth made Lord Deputy of Ireland. of the Realm of *Ireland*, where affairs were in much diſorder by the inſolence of the Romiſh Catholiques who did not uſe moderately the Kings clemency to them in relaxation of the Rigor of ſome penall Statutes; they are indeed a people that cannot bear any indulgence towards them with temperance but are too apt to be alienated in the apprehenſion of favour to their own detriment and the ſcandall of the Kings proteſtant Subjects. On the ſecond of *December* this year the King fell ſick of the ſmall Pox, but there was ſo little malignity in the diſtemper that he ſoon recover'd; The ſame moneth the Earl of *Arundell* was ſent to the Hague in *Holland* to the Queen of *Bohemia*, to condole the death of her husband and ſolicite her and her Childrens Journey into England, which at this time ſhe refuſed becauſe of the griefe ſhe lay under, and an indiſpoſition of health that made her unfit in the Winter ſeaſon to take ſuch a Journey.

The King had this yeare a great check to the proſperity of his Government, which firſt ap-
The firſt occaſion of the diſcontents in Scotland. peared in *Scotland*, where ſome factious and ſeditious male-contents beganne to ſow ſome ſeeds of diſcontent, which afterwards encreaſed to that degree, as well neare deſtroyed the proſperity and happineſſe of three flouriſhing Kingdomes, on this occaſion.

In the minority of King *James*, the Lands of Cathedrall Churches, and religious Houſes, which had been ſettled on the Crowne, by Act of Parliament, were ſhared among the Lords and great men of that Kingdome (by the Connivence of the Earle of *Murray*, and ſome other of the Regents) in the minority of King *James*, to make them ſure unto their ſide. And they being thus poſſeſt of the ſaid Lands, with the regalities and tythes belonging to theſe Eccleſiaſticall Corporations, lorded it with pride & inſolence enough in their ſeverall territories, holding, the Clergy to ſmall ſtipends, and the poor peſant under a miſerable Vaſſalage and ſubjection to them. 1632

King *CHARLES*, ingaged in War at his firſt coming to the Crowne, and having little aid from thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice of his Counſell of that Kingdom, was put upon a courſe of reſuming thoſe lands, Tythes, ad Regalities into his owne hands, to which the preſent poſſeſſors could pretend no other Tytle, then the unjuſt uſurpation of their Anceſtors. This he endeavoured firſt by an Act of Renovation, but that courſe not being like to ſpeed, he followed in the way of a legall proceſs, which drew on a Commiſſion for ſurrendring of Superiorities and Tythes, to be retaken from the King on ſuch conditions, as might bring ſome profit to the Crowne, ſome augmentation to the Clergy, and far more eaſe and benefit to the Common people. But theſe occupants choſe rather to expoſe their Countrey to the danger of a publick ruine, then to part with any of that power, which they had exerciſed on their vaſſals (as they commonly called their tenants;) and thereupon conſpired together, to oppoſe the King in any thing, that ſhould be offer'd in the following Parliament, which had Relation to the Church or to church-affaires.

But becauſe Religion and the care thereof is commonly the beſt bait, to catch the vulgar they muſt finde out ſome other meanes, to divert the King from the proſecuting of that Commiſſion, then the conſideration of their owne perſonall and private Intereſt, and they found meanes to do it on another occaſion, which was briefly this.

King *JAMES*, from his firſt coming to the Crowne, had a deſigne, to bring the Kirk of *Scotland* to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, both in Government and form of worſhip. And he proceeded ſo far as to ſettle Epiſcopacy amongſt them, naming thirteen new Biſhops for ſo many Epiſcopall Sees, as had been anciently in that Church; three of which received conſecration from the Biſhops of *England*, and conferred it on the reſt of their Brethren at their coming home: which Biſhops he arm'd alſo with a power of high Commiſſion, the better to keep downe the inſolent and domineering Spirit of the Presbiterians. In order to the other he procured an Act, to be paſſed in the Aſſembly at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616. for compoſing a Liturgy, and extracting a new Booke of Cannons out of the ſcattered Acts of their old Aſſemblies, and at an Aſſembly, held at *Perth*, Anno 1618. he obtained an order for receiving the Communion kneeling, for adminiſtring Baptiſme, and the Lords Supper in private houſes in caſes of extreme neceſſity, for Epiſcopall confirmation; and finally, for the celebrating the Anniverſary of our *Saviours* Birth, his Paſſion, Reſurrection, and Aſcenſion, and the coming down of the Holy Ghoſt. All which he got to be confirm'd in Parliament.

So far that wiſe King had advanced the work of Uniformity before his engaging in the cauſe of the *Palatinate*; his breach with *Spaine*, and the war, which did iſſue upon it, had took of his thoughts from proſecuting that deſigne, which his Son being more intangled in wars abroad, and diſtempers at home, had no time to finiſh till he had

had setled his affaires, and attain'd to some mea- 1632
sure both of power and glory, but being it was a businesse, which was to be acted leasurely, and by degrees he deferred the execution of his purpose, till he came into *Scotland*, towards which he went this yeare about the middle of *May*, and arrived at *Edenburg* the tenth of *June*, and on the eighteenth following, his Coronation was celebrated with great solemnity; he had before summoned a Parliament, to meet at *Edenburgh*, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he caused an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father, to be proposed to them, determining, as soon as that was passed, to go in hand with introducing a publique Liturgie, in the effecting whereof he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament, then he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that assembly.

The King takes a journey into Scotland to be crowned there.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his person and Government, but he went forward notwithstanding, in pursuite of those purposes, which he brought thither with him, for not long after his returne into *England*, he gave order to the *Deane* of his Chappell Royall in *Edenburg*, for Prayers to be reade therein, according to the English Liturgie, a Communion to be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees; that he who officiated it, if he were a Bishop, should performe it in his Rochett, and other Episcopall Robes, and in his Surplice if a common Presbyter: And that not onely the Lords of his Counsell, but the Lords of the Session, and as many of the principall Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not faile of their attending the divine Service there, on Sundays and Holydays, for by this meanes he gave himself no improbable hopes, that the English *Liturgie* passing a probationership in the Chappell Royall, might finde a plausible entertainment in the Churches of *Edenburg*, and be reteined by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

The King commands that the English Liturgie, with its usuall Ceremonies, should be used in his Royall Chappell at Edenburg.

But the Presbyterian *Scots*, not ignorant of the Kings intentions, insinuated into the mindes of the common people, that this was a design onely to subject that Kirk to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, which they said was superstitious, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together, as one man, to oppose their entrance.

The Presbyterians beget a dislike of it in the minds of the Vulgar.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realme, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Surrenders, before mentioned, laid hold of this occasion also, and they being seconded by male-contented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigall of his favour to them, as his Father hath been before, endeavoured to possesse them with feare and Jealousies, that *Scotland* was to be reduced to the forme of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as *Ireland* was, the like was done also by some Lords of Secret Councell, who before had governed, as they listed, and thought their power now diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them to direct in chiefe.

Which is further promoted by the insinuations of the Lords and Gentry

So that the People generally being fool'd into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civill Liberties were in no small danger, became capable of any impression, which the Presbyterian faction could imprint upon them, which visibly appeared by a virulent and seditious Libell, published in the yeare 1634. wherein the King not onely was charged with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the chiefe abettor whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord *Palmerino*, for which he was legally committed and condemned of Treason, but pardoned by the Kings great Goodnesse, though by his following actions he deserved not that favour. The Fire thus breaking out in *Scotland*, it was no Marvel, if it had laid hold on *England* also, the discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their counsells, and designs unto one another. As will hereafter appeare.

And occasions the like stirs in England.

This yeare ended with some stirs in *Somersetshire*, where some of the Justices were much offended, at the keeping of wakes, Church-ales, and Bride-ales on the Lords day, which occasioned many disorders and misdemeanors to be committed: and therefore they moved the Lord Chief-Justice *Richardson*, and Baron *Denham*, then in their Circuit in the Lent Vacation to make some Order therein; these in complyance with their desire, make an order on the 19th of *May*, (founded on former presidents signed by the Chief Justice *Popham*, in the later end of Queen *Elizabeths* Reigne) therein suppressing such Revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences, dayly arising by meanes thereof, injoyning the *Constables* to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minister of every Parish, who on the first Sunday in *February*, and likewise the two first Sundayes before *Easter*, was to publish the same every yeare; This was look'd on by the Bishops, as an usurpation of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and they therefore procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of *Bath*, and other Divines, to enquire into the manner of publishing this order, and the carriage of the Judges in the Business; Nothwithstanding which the Chiefe-Justice, at the next Assizes, gave strict charge against these Revells, and required an account of the publication and execution of the former order, punishing some persons for the breach thereof; after whose returne the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* sent for him, and told him it was the Kings pleasure, he should revoke his order, as he would answer it at his perill; which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this Limitation, *as much as in him lay*,) but this ended not here, for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chiefe-Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King, for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Fathers Declaration, about lawfull sports, on the Lords-day published in the 16th yeare of his Reigne; hoping thereby, by the restriction therein directed, to hinder the abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Consciences of his Subjects from those servile yokes, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, maintaining the indispensible morality of the fourth Commandment, and consequently the necessary observation of the Jewish Sabbath, for it was in the declaration prescribed,

The King published a declaration for lawfull sports on the Lords-day.

1. *That*

1. *That these pastimes should be no impediment, or lett to the publique duty of the day.*

2. *That no recusants should be capable of the benefit of them.*

3. *That none should use them, that were not diligently present at all divine offices, which the day required. And*

4. *That the Benefit should redound to none, but such as kept themselves in their owne Parishes.*

The Publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence and the rather, because, though there was nothing expresse in the declaration, that the Minister of the Parish should be pressed to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were some suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived, and more molested in the High-commission; the truth is the ill reception it had among the people, in the former Publication of it, in the time of the Kings Father, might have deterred the like at this time, for that the first observation of the Lords day was much increased since that time, though it was not known in *England* till the yeare 1595. when Dr. *Bond* first published it in his Book of *Sabbath Doctrines*; nor in *Ireland*, till just twenty years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion, there established, nor in *Scotland* till above twenty years after that, and at this day in *Geneva*, shooting in long bowes, tennis, bowling, and other sports of that kinde are used, and the like in all foreigne places, where the Protestant Religion is professed, but it was generally disliked, here many complaining that mans badnesse tooke occasion to be worse, under the protection of those sports, permitted to them: for though liberty on the Lords-day may be so limited in the Notions of learned men, as to make it lawfull, it is very difficult so to confine it to the actions of the people, but that they will degenerate into licentiousnes, so that the declaration after a while dyed of it self, and it was wished by many prudent men of that time, it had never lived.

Ministers suspended and deprived for refusing to publish the Declaration.

The Merchants of *London*, and other parts made great complaints at the end of the last year, of the obstructions of Trade, for want of good Convoyes, to secure them against the Turks and other Pyrats, that infested our Coast, which made the King very earnest in making preparations, to make himself strong at Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his Just Authority of the Soveraignty of the British seas, which was not onely actualy usurp'd by the Hollanders, but the right it self disputed by a tract, written by *Hugh Grotius*, a learned man of that time, called *Mare liberum*, but whilst the King by his power omitted not to maintaine his right, our learned *Selden*, by his pen encountred *Grotius*, in a learned book called *Mare clausum*, wherein he did not onely assert the Soveraignty or Dominion of the Brittish seas to the Crowne of England, but clearely proved by constant and continual practise, that the Kings of England used to levy money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships andother necessaries, to maintaine that Soveraignty which did of right belong unto them, butbefore the writing of this tract, The King had well advised how to enable himself with Treasure, to support his authority, and defend the Kingdomes by the industry of *Noy*, his Attorney-Generall, a most indefatigable Inquisitor in our antient records, who had found many presidents for levying a Naval aide upon the Subjects by the sole Authority of the King, whensoever the safety and preservation of the Kingdome did require it of him, and that such aid had been heretofore levyed in the same yeare in which the Kings that took it, had received subsidies in the way of Parliament, for which he gave this reason; when a King of England wants money to support his own expences, or for the enlarging his Dominions in foreign Conquests, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the world, he ought to be beholding to his Subjects for it by aid in Parliament; but when the Kingdome is in danger, and the safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our lands raise such sums of money as he thinkes expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publique safety of himself and his; And thereupon by this advice, writts were issued and directed to all the Port Townes and maritine Counties of the Kingdome to set out a certaine number of Ships furnisht with mariners, ammunition, victuals and all other necessaries for defence of the Realme, whereby the King had quickly equipped a very good fleet, though not great enough for the end intended, which occasioned the like writs to be issued out to all the counties in the Kingdome, in the yeare 1636. of which more hereafter.

The King makes preparation to maintain his right of Soveraignty of the seas.

Ship mony designed by Noy the Kings Attorney Generall.

This year was unfortunate to the Swedes in Germany, were General *Arnheim* was constrained to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*: The City of *Ratisbone*, was regained by the Imperialists, General *Alldringer* slain at *Landshut*, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of *Hungary*, and the Cardinal *Jusaule* at the battail of *Norlington*, after which ensued the surrender of that Town, and the conquest of the Dukedome of *Wittemburge*, whose Duke fled to *Strasburgh*, but though this gave a great stop to the Swedish greatnes, yet it brought a little repose to Germany, for shortly after this succes, a peace was concluded though it lasted not long.

The Swedish succes declining in Germany.

A peace concluded between the Swedes and the Emperor.

In Ireland the Lord Deputy *Wentworth*, was very busie in setling the quiet of that Nation and becaus popery was chiefly encreased for want of able Ministers, and that occasion'd by the poor maintenance they had in most places, he procured of the King by the mediation of Archbishop *Laud* that all the impropriations then in the Crown should be restored to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, though the King was never sensible of any loss to himself, if thereby gaine might redound to God in his Ministers.

The Lord Deputy Wentworth's care for suppressing popery, and setling an able ministry in Ireland.

On Candlemas night, the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, presented a Masque to the King and Queen at *whitehall*, riding in Stately Chariots from the Temple thither, it was indeed a Pompous and Magnificent shew, but made more glorious, by a long train of *Christian* Captives, who having been many years inslaved in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the Heriffe or Emperour of Maroco in testimony of the assistance received from our King, whose fleete assisted in the taking of *Sallee* then in Rebellion against him, and in enmity to all the world, it being a nest of Pyrats, by whose destruction

A maske presented to the King & Queen, by the Inns of Court.

destruction commerce was very free in those parts.

The death of the Earl of Portland Lord high Treasurer of England.

This year dyed Sir *Richard Weston*, Earl of Portland, Lord high Treasurer of England, a great States man, but suspected to be too much a favourer of the Religion of Rome, in which he was reputed to have dyed, and some of his Children were educated therein, his place for the present was intrusted to Commissioners, till a fit person could be found on whom to bestow it.

His place given to Commissioners.

It was now the year 1635. when a gallant fleet was set out by the aid of Ship money, under the Earl of *Lindsey* Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* Vice Admiral; whereby our trade was not onely made secure by scowring the Seas of pyrats, but the King became very formidable to all his

1635

Neighbours, and by his interposition this summer Flanders was preserved, which had else probably been swallowed up by the French and Hollanders, for the King of Spain could not bring 8000 men into the field and leave his Garrisons provided, and the French King and they were in confederacy for that purpose, by which it was agreed that he should invest *Dunkirk* with an Army, whilst the Hollanders did block it up with their Navy, that so all passages into the Country being secured, they might the more easily subdue the inward parts; which design had taken effect, if the English fleet had not dislodged the Hollanders from before the Town and releiv'd it, and the French by their insolencies at Diet and *Tellemont* inflamed and incouraged the peoples heats against them, for before they had been so practis'd on by the Holland faction that few or none would arme to repulse their enemies.

A fleet set out under the Earl of Lindsey to scour the seas.

September the 29*th*. the Earl of Arundel brought up to London out of Shropshire, one *Thomas Parr*, as the wonder of the time for the proxevity of his age, he had almost reach'd to the hundred and sixtieth year, and in all likelihood had outlived that time some years, had not so tedious a Journey and the over violent agitation of his body together with the change of his wonted course of dyet, accelerated his end.

Thomas Parr brought up to the Court by the Earl of Arundel.

Charles Prince Elector Palatine came into England at this time to visit his Uncle, & to consult with him for his restitution to the Palatinat, and a while after his arrivall, his brother Prince *Rupert* came also.

Charles Prince Elector with his Brother Prince Rupert come into England

The Kings reputation was very high, and the Hollanders a wise and industrious people took all occasions to endeare themselves to him, at this time they sent an Ambassadour over to congratulate with the King and Queen, for the birth of their second Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, and to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich present, a massie peice of Amber-greece, two huge basons of China, a noble Clock, the workmanship of *Rodulphus* the Emperour, and some exquisite peices of painting, of *Titian* and *Tintaret*, which were well accepted.

The princess Elizabeth Born.

The King finding some inconvenience in the managing of his Treasure by Commissioners gave the office to the Bishop of London, which was a very good choice, for whereas most of the Treasurers of these later times, had rather served themselves in that Office then the King, raising themselves to great Estates and dignities thereby, he thought fit to choose this Church man, who having nor Family to raise, nor wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treasury to his advantage, then they had been formerly; and so it proved, for by his care of the revenue, the King began to be rich and he was of so well temper'd a disposition, that he gave exceeding great content to all the people.

The Bishop of London made Lord high Treasurer.

1636

The Kings Naval preparations were very great this yeare; The Fleet consisting of sixty good Ships, under the Command of the Earle of Northumberland now made Lord high Admirall of England, who sayling Northward and finding a great number of Dutch Busses fishing on our coast, he seized on many of them and dispers'd the rest. This made a great consternation amongst the people of the *United Provinces*, many of whose subsistance depended on this fishing, wherefore upon a supplication from the States to the King, they had permission granted by him, for he was more displeased at their presumption in doing it as in their own right and in contempt of his authority in the Dominion of these Seas, then at the thing done; As the Navy was greater this year then before, So the charge of it was much augmented, wherefore, whereas the last year the Ship writs had been sent only to the maritime Counties, they were now issued to all the Counties in England, and the people generally paid what rates and assessements were set upon them in pursuance thereof, but some few refused, and many of the Clergy complain'd that they were unreasonably rated by their neighbours some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the tax of the parish; for satisfaction of the refusers, The King writ to the Judges for their opinion, who are by their oaths his proper Counsellors in all difficulties concerning the law, and to ease the Clergy; he writ to all the Sheriffs of England, requiring that the Clergy possessd of Parsonages, should not be assess'd above a tenth part of the land rate of their severall parishes and that consideration should be had for vicars accordingly.

Another fleet set out under the command of the Earl of Northumberland.

The King refers the case of ship money to the Judges.

The Letter to the Judges was.

His letter to them requiring their opinions.

To our trusty and well beloved. Sr. *John Bramston* Knight, chief Justice of our Bench; Sr. *John Finch* Knight, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; Sr. *Humphrey Davenport* Knight, Chiefe Baron of our Court of Exchequer; And to the rest of the Judges of our Court of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

CHARLES REX.

TRusty and well beloved we greet you well; Taking into our Princely consideration that the honour and safety of this our Realm of England, the preservation whereof is onely entrusted to our care, was and is more dearely concern'd then in late or former times; as well by divers Counsels and attempts to take from us the Dominion of the seas, of which we are sole Lord, and right owner, or Proprietor, and the Losse whereof would be of greatest danger and peril to this Kingdom, and other our Dominions, and many other wayes:

Wee

1636 *Wee for the avoiding of these and the like dangers, well weighing with our Self, that where the good and safety of the Kingdime in generall is concern'd and the whele Kingdome in danger, there the charge and defence ought to be borne by all the Realme in general; did for the preventing so publick a mischief, resolve with our self to have a Royal Navy prepared, that might be of force and power (with Almighty Gods blessing and assistance) to protect and defend this our Realme, and our Subjects therein, from all such perills and dangers, and for that purpose wee issued forth writts under our great Seal of* England, *directed to all our Sheriffs of our several Counties of* England *and* Wales, *Commanding thereby all our said subjects, in every City, Town, and Village, to provide such a number of Ships, well furnisht, as might serve for this Royal purpose, and which might be done with the greatest equality that could be. In performance whereof, though generally throughout all the Counties of this our* Realme, *we have found in our Subjects, great chearfulness and alacity, which wee gratiously interperet as a testimony, as well of their dutifull affection to us, and our service, as of the respect they have to the Publick, which well becometh every good Subject; Nevertheless, finding that some few, happily out of ignorance what the* Laws *and* customes *of this* Realm *are, or out of a desire to be eased in their particulars, how generall soever their charge be, or ought to be, have not yet paid and contributed to their severall rates and assessments that were set upon them. And foreseeing in our* Princely *wisdome, diverse suits and Actions, are not unlike to be commenced, and prosecuted in our several Courts at* Westminster; *Wee desirous to avoid such inconveniences, and out of our* Princely *love and affection to all our people, being willing to prevent such errours as any of our loving subjects may happen to run into, have thought fit in a case of this nature to advise with you, Our* Judges, *who wee doubt not are well studied and informed in the Rights of our* Soveraignty, *and because the tryals in our several Courts, by the formalities in pleading, will require a long protraction, Wee have thought fitt by this letter directed to you all, to require your Judgements in the Case, as it is set downe in the inclosed paper, which will not onely gaine time, but also be of more authority to over rule any prejudicate opinions of others in the point. Given under our signet, at our Court of* Whitehall, *the 2d. of February, in the 12th. yeare of our Reign.* 1636.

CHARLES REX.

The State of the case propounded.

VVHen the good and safety of the Kingdom in generall is concern'd, and the whole Kingdome in danger; whether may not the King by writ under the great seal of England, command all the Subjects in his Kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as he shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom, from such danger and perill, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractorines: and whether in such case is not the King the sole Judge, both of the danger and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

1636 To which, the Judges delivered their opinions as followeth. 1636

MAy it please your most excellent Majesty, Wee have according to your Majestyes ,, command severally and every man by himself, ,, and all of us together, taken into serious consi- ,, deration, the case and questions signed by your ,, Majesty, and inclosed in your letter. And ,, we are of opinion, that when the good and ,, safety of the Kingdom in generall is concerned, ,, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Ma- ,, jesty may by writ, under your great seal of ,, England, command all the Subjects of this your ,, Kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish ,, such number of Ships with men, victual, muni- ,, tion, and for such time as your Majesty shall ,, think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the ,, Kingdom from such perill and danger. And ,, that by Law your Majesty may compell the ,, doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractori- ,, nes. And we are also of opinion that in such ,, case your Majesty is the sole Judge both of the ,, danger, and when, and how the same is to be ,, prevented and avoided.

The Judges opinions about it.

John Bramston.	*George Crook.*
John Finch.	*Thomas Trevor.*
Humphrey Davenport.	*George Vernon.*
John Denham.	*Robert Barkley.*
Richard Hutton.	*Francis Crawly.*
William Jones.	*Richard Weston.*

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, were enrolled in all the Courts of *Westminster Hall*, and the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against the defaulters, the chiefest whereof, was one Mr. *Hambden* a Gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who being summoned by proces appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read, he demur'd in law thereunto, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the Legall sufficiency thereof. This great case came to be argued in the *Exchequer* chamber, and the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the writts, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgement against Mr. *Hambden*; yet did not the question altogether so repose, but Master *Hambden* observing that two of the Judges *viz.* *Crooke* and *Hutton*, were of a contrary sense, held up the contest still though all in vain, all his inquietude not gaining him the least acquittal, untill an higher power interposed.

The Earl of Arundel sent Ambassador to Ferdinand the third about the restitution of the Prince Palatine.

There was an Imperial dyet held this year, for the electing of a King of the *Romans*, and the King sent thither the Earl of Arundel his Ambassador to treat with the Emperour and the Princes for the restitution of the Palatinate to the *Palsgrave*. But that Embassy could effect nothing, for the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had in his possession the upper Palatinate, and the electorall dignity would by no means heare of any Propositions to part with either, But the lower Palatinate he might have had upon some tearms which the Emperour proposed: but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in diminution

1637 diminution of the Electors Right: so that the Palsgrave had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his hopes a little raisd by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the King of *Poland*, and one of his Sisters, which was almost effected by the legation of Prince *Radzovill* here in *England*. But the Emperour privately obstructed it, and by the insinuation of the *Jesuites*, so instigated the Clergy of *Poland* against it, because of her Religion, that the Treaty was broken of, and the King afterwards married the Lady *Cecilia*, second Sister to the Emperour.

On the 14th of *Jannary* Mr *William Pryn* an Utter barrister of *Lincolnes Inne*, Doctor *John Bastwick*, Dr of Physicke, and *Henry Burton* a Minister, were censured in the *Starr-chamber*: The offence of *Pryn* was for writing & dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of *England*: That of *Bastwicke* for inveying against the proceeding of the High Commission against him, before which he had beene accused for writing a Booke, called *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialium*, and committed to the Gatehouse, in which time besides his arraigning the high Commission Court, he published a Latine Apologie (called by the Court a Libell) *ad Præsules Anglicanos*, and a Letany very virulent against them. That of Mr *Burton* was, for publishing a Sermon, which he preached on the fifth of *November* before, wherein the Prelates were charged for introducing severall innovations into Divine worship, which was deemed a Libell: For these offences, the judgement of the Court was, *That they should loose their Eares in the Palace yard at Westminster; be each of them fined five thousand pounds to the King, and imprisoned during life in three remote places.* *Finch*, the chief Justice, moved the Court, that it might be added to Mr *Pryns* censure, to be branded in each Cheeke with *S. L.* for slanderous Libeller, which was consented to, for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Offendor before in the like kinde, having been three years before censured to loose his Eares on the Pillory, for writing a Book, called *Histrio-mastix*, or the *Whip of Stage-players*, wherein some indecent reflections were taken to be on the Queen her self, as too much delighted in Masques.

Dr Bastwick Mr Pryn & Mr Burton censured.

The Prince Elector, and his Brother Prince *Rupert* went to *Holland* about this time in order to a designe, which was put in practise the next year, to attempt some thing with an Army in the *Palatinate*; The Assistance and credit of the Kings Purse, did so prevaile under hand with the Prince of *Orange* and the States of the *United Provinces*, that a small beginning of an Army was raysed, with which they advanced into *Westphalia*, and beseiged *Lemmingen*: But *Hatsfeild* one of the Emperours Generalls came so soone upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slaine, and most of the rest dispersed, and many Prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Craven*, the Prince Elector himself escaped by flight, and retired to the *Hague*.

The Bishop of Lincolne fined and imprisoned for certain misdemeanors

Williams, Bishop of *Lincolne*, was on the 11th of *July* censured in the Starr-chamber, for tampering to suborne witnesses, to be fined 10000 *l.* to the King, and imprisoned during the Kings pleasure, being referred to the high Commission for a further censure: The occasion whereof we shall briefly relate: 1637

This Bishop, after the great Seale some ten yeares since had been taken from him, retired to *Bugden* in *Huntington-shire*, where he lived very hospitably, and had great concourse; Amongst others Sr. *John Lambe*, Doctor *Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden*, two Proctors, came to visit him, and being at Dinner with him, there was much discourse about *Non-Conformists*, and the Bishop knowing these to be busy men in the prosecution of such, advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence he could not supply his necessities, adding that he had communicated this unto him by his owne mouth.

A few years after, *Lambe*, upon some difference with the Bishop, informed against him for revealing the Kings Secrets, whereupon an Information was put in against him in the Starr-chamber: To which he put in an especial answer, declaring how all was contrived by a conspiracy and combination of *Lambe*, *Sybthorpe*, *Allen* and *Burden*, out of an intent to advance themselves and hatred to him, for not permitting them to Poll and Pill the Kings Subjects in *Leicester-shire* in their Ecclesiasticall courts, by haling them into their Nets, *Ex officio mero*, without any previous Complaint under an imaginary color of Puritanisme. To this answer the Kings Attorney rejoyned in Issue, admitting the Bishop to prove his speciall matters, who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein: but after a while the Attorney being somewhat remiss in the prosecution: one *Richard Kilvert* was entertained to be the Bishops Prosecutor, who had found out, that one *John Prigion* a Register of *Lincolne* and *Leicester*; was a most materiall witnesse in the Bishops defence: And the credit of this Testimony he designed to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Bastard, on one *Eliz. Hodson*: The Bishop thought it behoved him to support the Reputation of *Prigion*, and engaged himself more zealously therein, than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate, to such who knew not that he and one Doctor *Morrison* were the only persons of note present at his table, where the discourse above mentioned passed between him and Sr. *John Lambe*. This Bastard was by the Sessions at *Lincolne* ordered to be kept by *Prigion*, as the reputed father thereof, but at a Sessions following, that order was reversed, and the childe fathered upon one *Borne*, and *Prigion* acquitted; in the doing whereof, it is sayd *Powel* and *Owen*, two Agents of the Bishop, did menace and tamper with the witnesses: But at a third Session, *Prigion* was again charged and *Borne* freed: yet this last order, being upon a *Certiorari* brought to the Kings-Bench, was there quashed as insufficient, and *Prigion* was after cleered from the childe: *Kilvert* nevertheless in the traverse of this affaire, let fall the first information in the Starr-chamber, and proceeded upon that, whereon the Sentence before named was grounded, *viz.*

1637 for Subornation, and therein he succeeded: This dealing with the Bishop was very rigorous, and the rigor of it imputed to *Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who thought him one that too much opposed his intentions, in reducing the Clergy to an exact and strict conformity to the orders of the Church, in point of Ceremony, and therefore unfit to have any Government in it, for after that part of his sentence came to be executed, which was referred to the High-Commission, he was by that suspended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, and all his preferments in the Church sequestred to the use of the King: And the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, as Arch-bishop of the Province, exercised all kind of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction throughout the Diocese of *Lincolne*, not not onely as Ordinary of that Diocese, but as Visitor of all those Colledges, which had any dependances on thatSee.

New broiles and commotions in Scotland about reading the common prayer.

On the 23th day of *July*, being the day before this last part of the sentence against the Bishop of *Lincolne* was executed, there was a very great commotion in *Edenburgh*, about reading a Booke of Common-prayer, some time before sent thither, and because it was an action that drew after it great misery and confusion to the King, and all his Kingdome, we shall be a little more particular in the narration of it, and the consequences thereof, then is suitable to the brevity herein used in other transactions of lesser moment.

In the year 1616, as has beene related, King *James* obtained an Act of the generall Assembly at *Aberdeen*, for the compiling a Liturgy or Common-prayer, which was to be first presented to the King, and after his approbation universally received throughout the Kingdome; this book in pursuance thereof was framed, and sent up to the King, who himselfe perused, and considerably revised it, and referred it also to the consideration of others, in whom he reposed much trust, and after all his own and their observations, additions, expunctions, mutations and accommodations, he returned it to *Scotland*, to be commended to that Church, but before a period and consummation was put to that Business, the King dyed. This pious intention of King *James*, for an Unity and Uniformity in the publique prayer, Liturgy, and Service of the Church of *Scotland*, was so farr intended by the King, that shortly after his returne from that Kingdome, he did not onely enjoyne a stricter celebration of the English Liturgy in his own chappel at *Edenburgh*, then had been formerly, but frequently consulted how to have it universally used through the whole Kingdome, but the Scots-Bishops, being jealous that this might be an argument of their dependance on the church of *England*, rather desired that the Liturgy framed in *Scotland*, in King *James* his time might be received, wherein the new Translation authorized by that King in the *Psalmes*, *Epistles*, *Gospels*, *Hymnes and Sentences* in steed of the old translation was received; and (except on *All-Saints* day, when Wisedom the 3d. and *Ecclesiasticus* the 14th are appointed to be read, for morning and evening prayer) no *Apocryph.* chapters were directed to be read therein: though above 60 chapters are read in the English Liturgy, for the first lessons from the 28th of *September* to the 24th of *November*. To this proposition the King agreed, and the book sent by King *James* formerly into *Scotland*, was remitted to *England*, and after many serious consultations and some alterations, made by advice of diverse of the Bishops, and Clergy of *Scotland*, then here it was perfited, printed and published and sent into *Scotland*: The Bishops and Noblemen of the Kings Councell, then present at *Edenburgh*, resolved, That the book should be first read in the great Church, on the before mentioned 23d. of *July*, and on the Sunday before notice thereof was publikely given in the Church: There were present both the Arch-Bishops, many of the Privy Councell, and others of the best Quality in *Edenburgh*, besides a great concourse of ordinary people: Amongst this multitude, there appeared no signe of trouble, but no sooner was the book opened by the *Deane* of *Edenburgh*, but a Number of the meaner sort with clapping their hands, and outcryes, made a great uproare and one of them, called *Jane* or *Janot Geddis*, (yet living at the writing of this relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sate, at the *Deanes* head, saying, *Out thou false theef, dost thou say the* Mass *at my Lug?* which was followed with so great noyse and confusion, that not any one could either heare or be heard; whereupon the Bishop of *Edenburgh* stept into the Pulpit, and hoping to appease them by putting them in mind, that the place, in which they were, was holy ground, and by intreating them to desist from the profanation of it, they were the more enraged, throwing at him cudgells, stooles, and what else was in the way, even to the endangering of his life: Upon this the Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews* Lord Chancellor, called downe the Provost and Bayliffs of the city from their Seates to their assistance, who (not without some difficulty) put the unruly people out of the Church, and made fast the doores: This done, the *Deane* proceeded in reading the booke, the multitude in the meane while rapping and pelting the windows with stones, to disturbe the exercise, but notwithstanding all their clamor, the Service was ended, but not the peoples rage, who waiting the Bishops retiring to his Lodging, so assaulted him, as (had he not been rescued by a strong hand) he had probably perished by their violence.

1637

The same morning the Service Book was read in the next Church to St. *Gyles*, though not without noyse and tumult, yet not so great as in the other: In the *Gray-Fryers* Church Mr. *Ramsey* refused to read it, and was afterwards suspended for the same, but the Elect Bishop of *Argyle*, his Collegue began to read it, but was so menaced, cursed and exclaimed against, that he was forced to give over; In the *Colledg* Church *Rollock* one of the Preachers, who the Sunday before at the intimation of the reading had much commended the Booke, and undertaken this day to read it, upon notice, how it was received in the Church of St. *Gyles*, broke the promise he made to read it, thinking it the safer course, to leave himselfe to the Censure of all men for his levity, then offend the multitude, whose favour he sought; but he was suspended also.

The morning thus past, the Councill assembled at the Lord Chancellors Lodging, and sent for

1637 for the Provoſt and Bayliffs, to adviſe with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon, which they promiſed to endeavor, and it was ſo effected, That the booke was read in the Church of St *Gyles*, and ſome other Churches that afternoone, without any ſuch diſturbance as it had in the morning: onely the Biſhop of *Edenburg* in his returne to his lodging was rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and otherwayes.

All this time the Magiſtrates and Counſell of the City ſeemed ſo to diſlike thoſe tumultuous proceedings, that when their Miniſters craved a diſpenſation from reading the Book, untill ſecurity were given for the Safeguard of their perſons, They drew up an obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their perſons, and alſo for their ſetled maintenance; and whilſt this was doing, to expreſs their zeale herein, they ſent two particular letters to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, into *England*, in which they deſired him "To "recommend to the King their fidelity to his "Service, and to undertake for them, their zeale "and forwardneſs for ſetling the peaceable prac-"tice of the Service-book; This undertaking of the Magiſtrates of *Edenburg*, made the King remit much of his intended Rigor againſt the offenders in the firſt uproare, hoping by that his Clemency to oblige them the more in their duty towards him: And now the Councell were in conſultation for appoynting a new day, for renewing the exerciſe of the Service-Book, to which the Biſhops, Miniſters, and Magiſtrates agreed; But before the time came, The Magiſtrates and people were ſo practiſed on by the ſuſpended Miniſters *Rollock* and *Ramſey*, and one *Henderſon* a ſilenced Reader, that thy began to relent of their former promiſes, and preſented to the Councell a Petition, requeſting that the Service-book might not be impoſed upon them, untill the Kings Pleaſure ſhould be further known; which petition they alleadged, they were neceſſitated to preſent by the Example and incouragement of all rankes from all parts of this Kingdome; And the miniſters alſo petitioned, that the orders, whereby they were enjoyned to receive the Booke might be ſuſpended: There was nothing elſe of publike note done from *Lammas* (which is the day on which the Long Vacation there begins,) till the firſt of *October*, for the time of Harveſt drew all ſorts of people (ſave the Citizens) into the Country. But ſo ſoone as Harveſt was done, the Deſigners of the following diſorders had ſo correſponded, That the conflux of Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, from all parts came, to be very numerous at *Edenburg*, in expectation of ſome great matters of Religion to be treated on in Councell, at their firſt appoynted day of ſitting, and they were ſo tumultuous in their behaviour, that a preſent inſurrection was feared, which forced the Councell, on the 27th of *October*, the firſt appoynted day of aſſembling, to make three Proclamations: The firſt intimating *That nothing ſhould be treated, concerning Church Buſineſs, till the times and meetings of the people ſhould be more quiet, and peaceable, and therefore all that come thither about any ſuch matters, were required to repayre home in 24 houres, under the paine of Rebellion.*

3 Proclamations for appeaſing the tumults in Edenburg.

The ſecond for removing the Seſſion (which is with us called the Terme) from Edenburg *to* Lithgow, *and the third for calling in, and burning a ſeditious booke, entituled* A Diſpute againſt the *Engliſh Popiſh* Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirke of *Scotland*.

1637

Theſe Proclamations rather fomented then extinguiſhed the flame then begun, for the next day the Biſhop of *Galloway* being to ſit with the Chief Juſtice upon ſome ſpeciall Buſineſs in the Councell Houſe, he was purſued with vehement raylings all along the ſtreet to the Councell-door, where he was no ſooner got, but they ſurrounded the houſe, and demanded the delivery of him to them; The Lord Treaſurer advertiſed of the Biſhops danger, came to his releiſe, but being got in, he was in no better plight then the Biſhop, for the fury of the people ſtill increaſed, hereupon the Provoſt and Councell of the City were called, to ſuppreſs the tumult, but their condition was the ſame as the others, for they were incompaſſed by the people, and threatned with fear of their lives to ſigne a paper, Firſt, *That they ſhould adhere to them in oppoſition of the Service-book*; Secondly, *Reſtore to their places* Rollock, Ramſey *and* Henderſon; Upon notice of this, the Treaſurer and the Earle of *Wigſton* went in perſon to the towne Councell-houſe, where they find the heate ſome-what abated, becauſe the Magiſtrates had ſigned the Paper, and they were going back in hopes, that the diſorders would be ſo farr quieted upon this Condeſcention, that they might ſet the Biſhop free: but no ſooner had they appeared in the ſtreet, but they were aſſaulted, and the Treaſurer had his white ſtaff, hat and Cloak taken from him, and hardly got into the Councell-houſe: In this great hazard, The Lords ſent to ſome of the Popular Noblemen, and Gentry in the Town, diſaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their ayd, who readily came, as was deſired, and they peaceably guarded the Lords to *Hally-rood-houſe*, and the Biſhop to his Lodgings.

Outrages committed by the rabble upon the Biſhop of Galloway and the Lord Treaſurer with others.

The Lords of the Councell, after the tumults were diſſolved, that very afternoone commanded Proclamation to be made at the Croſſe at *Edenburg*, for the repreſſing ſuch diſorders for the time to come, but to this litle obedience was yielded, for whereas the firſt tumults had been acted by the ſcum and baſeſt of the people, and was decryed by all the better ſort: This ſecond was the fact of the moſt ſubſtantiall Citizens (except the Magiſtrates) who were now growne ſo inſolent, that they ſent Commiſſioners to the Councell-table, to require, that their ſilenced Miniſters and Reader might be reſtored, and have aſſurance for the performance of what was promiſed to them by the Magiſtrates, at the laſt inſurrection; and a while after, there were preſented to the Lord Chancellor and Councell two Petitions; The firſt in the name of the Men, women, children and Servants of *Edenburg*, againſt the Service-book; but the Second in the Name of divers Noblemen, Gentry, Miniſters and Burgeſſes, againſt the Service-book, and Book of Canons, as impoſed contrary to Law (becauſe not allowed by a generall Aſſembly) by the procurement of the Prelates, and therefore they decline theyr authority, and crave they may not any of them ſit in councell, being partyes

Another Proclamation for repreſſing diſorders in Edenburg.

Two petitions preſented to the Lord Chancellor and Councell in Edenburg againſt the Servicebook

1638 till their complaynts be tryed: This last petition was by the Councell sent to the King, who was so much displeased therewith, that he delayed to give any answer to it, but give order to the Councell, to signify to all his good Subjects his averseness from Popery, and detestation of Superstition, the contrary whereof the heads of the commotions had abused them with. The Councell also finding *Edenburg* at this time a Seat of sedition, and disobedience to the Kings authority, caused the Session to be adjourned from *Lithgoe* (which was somewhat too neere) to *Sterlin*, about 24 miles distant, that so the disorderly multitude, there met together, might be dispersed by the necessary attendance of such as had any law business, where by the Kings Command, The Lords of the Councell published a Proclamation, for dispersing the great and dangerous multitude, yet together, and assuring the people of the Kingssincerity towards the Religion established in that Kingdom, upon the publication whereof, both at *Sterling*, *Lithgoe*, and *Edenburg*, it was received, whilst it was reading, with jeering, and after it was ended with a protestation against it by many Earles, Lords, Ministers, and Burgesses, and a confluxe of all other sorts of people; And in pursuance of this Violation of the Kings authority, They began to invest themselves with the Markes and Majesty of Soveraignty, erecting in *Edenburgh* four principall Tables or Councels, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burgesses, and a fourth of the Ministry, out out of which there was a generall Table of severall Commissioners, chosen from the other four, who consulted of what was proposed to them by the other Tables, and what they did, was put in practice with strict obedience over all the Kingdome.

Many of the Nobility Ministers and Burgesses protest against it.

Four Tables or Councels erected in Edenburgh.

The first Act of this General *Table*, was the the Renewing of a Confession of faith Subscribed by King *James* and his household, in the year 1580, taken after by all persons 1581. by Ordinance of the Lords of the Privy councel and Act of the General assembly, and subscribed agayne 1590. by a new ordinance of councell at the desire of the generall Assembly, with a generall Band for mayntenance of the true Religion, and the Kings person; This confession was called the negative confession, wherein the authority of the Pope, *Transubstantiation*, *images*, *relikes*, *opus operatum*, *merits*, auricular confession, prayer for the dead, and all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine, as outward rites are enumerated at large and particularly abjured and a clause is inserted by which the Subscribers did call God to witness, that in their mindes and hearts they did fully agree to the said confession, and did not feign and dissemble in any Sort.

The Negative Confession renewed without the authority of the King.

The occasion of the first taking thereof, we shall make a little digression to relate, for the better understanding these proceedings.

The Earl of *Lenox* being neer of blood to King *James*, alwayes bred in France, in the year 1580. came from thence to visit him, and by his curteous and modest behaviour, grew so much into his favour, that he would not let him returne thither, but gave him many preferments in Scotland. This gave a great distast to some about the Court, and because he was of the Roman confession, the ministers exclaimed much against him 1638 as sent from France to pervert the King in his Religion: The King to stay their declaymings called the ministers to *Edenburgh* together and acquainted them that he had taken great pains to convert his cosen, and had obteyned his consent to take a minister into his house, which would serve to debarre Jesuites and Romish Priests from him and win him by conference to a great liking of the Truth; Mr. *David Lindsey* a Minister of *Leith*, was held the fittest for this service, as well for his Skill in the French tongue, as for his moderation otherwise; by whose labours, the Earle was quickly brought to joyne himselfe to the Church, and openly at St. *Gyles* to renounce the Errors wherein he had been educated, yet did not this remove the jealousies of the people, which were incensed by the intercepting of certaine dispensations sent from Rome, whereby the Romane Catholikes, were permitted to promise, Sweare, subscribe and do what else should be required of them, so as in minde they continued firme, and did use their diligence to advance the Romane faith.

These dispensations being communicated to the King, he caused his Chaplayne Mr. *John Craig*, to form the confession of faith aforementioned, which he himselfe for example to others, did publickly swear to and subscribe, and the like was done by the Earle and the whole Councel and Court at that time, and it was afterward renued at the times before expressed.

This confession, was not the National confession of the Church of *Scotland*, for that was penned twenty years before, and containing the positive grounds of Divinity was ratifyed by Act of Parliament, in the year 1567. and registred in the body thereof, and confirmed by a number of Succeding Parliaments: but this Negative confession, hath little more then the mandate of King *James* in his Minority (being but 15 years of age on the occasion before recited, to which he himself afterwards manifested his dislike at the conference at Hampton Court saying, Mr. *Craig* the compiler thereof, with his *I Renounce*, and *I Detest*, did multiply so many particulars, that Simple people were not able to conceive them, and so being amazed did either fall back to Popery, or remain still in their ignorance, If I (said he) should hold my self to that forme, the confession of my Faith must be in my table-book and not in my head: but that which was an aggravation in the renewing of this confession, by these confederates was not onely the doing it without the authority of the King or his Councell, but adding a Band or Covenant to it, farre different from the Band in the year 1590. wherein they make an intepretation of the confession, contrary to the sence and true meaning of it, for the better carrying on of their intended reformation. The first Band was for maintenance of the Kings person and authority with their lives and fortunes in defence of the Gospel of *Christ*, and libertyes of the Kingdom, but in this Covenant they Sweare to the mutual defence and assistance one of another, with their best councel, bodies, means, and whole power against all persons whatsoever, wherein the King was not excepted.

This

1638 This Confeſſion and Covenant was firſt taken by the Tables, and afterwards impoſed on all ſorts of people, wherein great violence and menaces were uſed in many places with beating, tearing of clothes, drawing blood, and expoſing to thouſands of injuries and reproaches, at *Edenburgh*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Glaſcow*, *Lanerick*, and many places more; all thoſe Profeſſors in Colledges, and Miniſters, who out of conſcience towards God, and loyalty to the King, did either diſſwade others, or could not by their intreaties or threatnings be perſwaded to it themſelves; The Laws were poſitive againſt this manner of Leaguing, it being expreſly declared in two Acts of Parliament, 10 *Jac.* 6 Act. 12. and *Parliamento. nono Reg. Mariæ. Act.* 75. That all Leagues of ſubjects amongſt themſelves without the privity and approbation of the King to be Sedition, and the Authors & abetters of them to be puniſhed as movers of Sedition: but ſo great was the tranſportation of Zeal in the people inflamed by the inſinuations of the chiefs of the confederates, that the Law could take no place, All profeſſors in colledges, and Miniſters that refuſed to ſubſcribe their Covenant were removed, for many good men that diſliked the tumultuary way of offering it, were alſo ſcandaliſed, at the interpretation by the Tables put upon it, for they declared, That this Confeſſion was to be interpreted and ought to be underſtood of all the pretended Novations, no leſſer then if every one of them had been expreſſed in the ſaid Confeſſion: by which, the five articles of Perth before ſpoken of paſſed in the year 1618. concerning kneeling at the ſacrament, private communion to the Sick, private baptiſm, confirmation of children and Obſervation of Feſtivals, as alſo the Service book, the book of Canons, the High-Commiſſion, things which Mr. *Craig* never heard of (nor perhaps imagined are ſworne againſt, ſo that they made the living ſwear what was the minde of the dead, for in that confeſſion, theſe Romiſh corruptions were only abjured which in that time had infected the Church: Theſe Zealots nevertheleſs when ſome eminent Miniſters (who at their admiſſion had ſworne obedience to and practice of theſe points (when they diſputed this interpretation, and offered ſome qualification to it, they aſſured them they might ſweare, with a reſervation of not abjuring Episcopacy, the Articles of *Perth*, or any thing by Parliament or general Aſſembly eſtabliſhed; urging that it would breed great diviſion, if any alteration of the words wherein the Covenant was conceived, ſhould be admitted.

Violences uſed to thoſe that refuſed this Confeſſion.

Profeſſors of Colledges and Miniſters removed upon the ſame account.

The King being much diſpleaſed with theſe indignities upon his Royal Authority, and their refuſal of that ſatisfaction which he offered to redreſs their complaints, intended to do that by power which perſwaſion could not effect; but the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* then very prevalent with him, diverted that courſe, offering his ſervice to compoſe the differences: The King being in his nature alwaies prone to lenity, was quickly induced to condeſcend to this motion, and ſent him down in the quality of High Commiſſioner, authorizing him with large power to ſettle the peace of that Kingdom. The Marqueſs at his firſt arrival finding the City of *Edenburgh* filled with extraordinary numbers of perſons from ſeveral parts of the Kingdom, becauſe of the ſitting of the Tables, went to a place called *Dalkeyth*, about four miles from thence where he aſſembled the Council to conſider of the beſt waies and means of ſerving the King in the proſecution of the truſt committed to him; but whilſt he was in theſe conſultations, the Magiſtrates of *Edenburgh* preſented an humble ſupplication to him to repair to the Kings Palace at *Edenburgh*, where (as they pretended) they might more conveniently give demonſtration of their affection to the Kings ſervice; the Marqueſs conſidering what great influence the City had over all the reſt of the Cities and Burghs of of *Scotland*, was willing to gratifie them in their requeſt, and told them, that if they would undertake that their Citizens ſhould behave themſelves as dutiful Subjects, and take order that the multitudes now preſent there, (who call themſelves Covenanters) and the Guards which the Tables had lately ſet about the Caſtle of *Edenburgh* ſhould be diſmiſſed, he would repair to the City, or otherwiſe not; The Magiſtrates undertook to perform all that the Marqueſs propoſed, adding that they feared ſome aſperſions might be laid upon them of diſloyalty to the King, from which they doubted not to clear themſelves, when he ſhould pleaſe to hear and examine their proceedings: The Marqueſs upon this their undertaking, went the next day to *Edenburgh* to the King's Palace at *Haly-rood* Houſe, where after he was a while ſetled, he fell preſently upon the main buſineſs with the Confederates, to whom he made two Propoſitions.

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His two Propoſitions.

Firſt, what they expected from him for ſatisfaction to their Complaints; and next, what might be expected from them for returning to their former obedience, eſpecially in renouncing and delivering up their late Covenant: To which after ſome time, they made anſwer, *That they requeſted a General Aſſembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would repreſent and diſcuſs their Grievances: To the ſecond, They ſaid, they could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their obedience, and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their Baptiſme, than abate one word or ſyllable thereof*; And preſently after they had given their anſwers, they poſſeſſed the people with many miſreports, and the Sermons of the Preachers of *Edenburgh* were filled with admonitions, that they ſhould take heed of crafty compoſitions, or yielding in the leaſt point of their intended reformation.

The Marqueſs comes into Scotland to compoſe the differences.

The Marqueſs ſeem'd much troubled at theſe actions, and thought the beſt expedient he could uſe to reclaim the People, was to publiſh a Proclamation, which he had brought with him from the King of his Grace and Favour towards them, for releiving their Grievances, and ſatisfying them with his forwardneſs for the maintenance of the true Religion, and his averſeneſs from Popery; but before he did this, by advice of the Privy Council he writ a Letter to the King, to deſire him to ſweeten it with a favour of reſtoring to the City of *Edenburgh* the Sitting of the Seſſion, and all Courts of Juſtice as a thing very acceptable to the Judges, Advocates, and all Dependents upon the Law, and to all others which had buſineſs depending in the Courts, but chiefly to the City of *Edenburgh*, which complained much of being impo-

The Marqueſs obtains of the King for the reſtoring of the ſitting of the Seſſions, and all Courts of Juſtice.

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impoverish'd by their absence: To this the King returned a very Gratious Answer, consenting that the Courts of Justice should presently begin again to sit at *Edenburgh*, and in pursuance thereof Proclamation was made for the first sitting down of the Session on the third day of *July*, which was receiv'd with great joy by the Judges, Advocates, and the Magistrates and Citizens of *Edenburgh*, so that the Marquess and the Council did then hope the peoples mindes began to be prepared to receive the Declaration of the King's grace and favour which was to be publish'd in the next Proclamation: but upon the news of this, some of the Confederates pretending to know the substance of it, were so bold as to tell the Marquess, It would give no satisfaction to the people, and if they publisht it, they would make protestation against it, but not prevailing in this, they perceiving the bringing back of the Courts of Justice to *Edenburgh* had wrought very much upon many of their party, to a good resentment of the Kings kindness towards them, cast about how to pervert them; In order whereunto they sent some of their number to the Marquess, to desire that Sir *Robert Spotswood* President of the Session, and Sir *John Hay* Clerk, Register or Master of the Rolles might be removed from their places, saying they would prove bribery and corruptions against them: To which the Marquess replyed, That upon the proof thereof, they should be subjected to tryal, but he thought it not fit they should be punished for any crime before they were legally convicted of it, but this satisfied them not, nor did they expect to be gratified in so unreasonable a request, but they thought his denyal would give them occasion to irritate the people to a disgust of the Kings favour intended towards them; for they presently upon this possess'd their party that those Judges were Enemies to their Covenant, affected to Episcopal Government, and Procurers and Abettors of the late Innovations, giving out that that they would publish a Protestation, that whatsoever Act, Decree or Order should be made where any of these Judges were present, should be null and void in Law, but notwithstanding all this their threatning talk, they never proceeded in any process against them, or made any such protestation, though they were often told by the Marquess, it would be a very good service to the King, if they could prove their allegations, of which if they were found guilty, they should not only be displaced, but receive such punishment as the Law had provided for such Notorious criminals; but they perceiving their way of calumniation did not succeed, desisted from further dealing therein, which they would not have done, if the Judges had been guilty of what they alledged against them: And now the Session being setled, the Marquess caused the Kings Proclamation to be pronounced at the Cross at *Edenburgh*, wherein the King took notice that many disorders had lately happened upon the Introduction of the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, many thereby fearing Innovation of Religion and Laws, wherefore He assured his good Subjects, *that he was resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, and not thereafter press the practice of the Canons and Service-Book, nor any thing of that nature, but in such a fair and legal way as shall manifest he never intends Innovations in Religions nor Laws; That he will reform the High Commission, so as it shall not be grievous to the people, and what is further fitting to be done, shall be agitated in a General Assembly and Parliament which should be indicted in convenient time, concluding that he would not have them misled by any disaffected persons, who under pretext of Religion would draw them to Disobedience to his grief and their ruine.* This Proclamation was no sooner read, but the confederates arraigned it in a Protestation, which they caused to be publickly read, importing, *that they never doubted the sincerity of the King in defence of the Protestant Religion. That what he granted them, was not a sufficient remedy for their grievances, in that he did not wholy abolish the Service-Book, nor the High Commission, which was imposed upon them contrary to the Laws of the Land. That no Proclamation can secure them from the re-entry of the Innovations which this seemed to discharge, and that an Assembly and Parliament are the only remedies of their evils, and means to prevent the like, and that their proceeding ought not to be interpreted a drawing to disobedience under pretext of Religion, and running headlong into ruine.*

A Proclamation made for the first Sitting.

The Kings Proclamation pronounced at the Cross at Edenburgh.

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The Proclamation arraign'd in a Protestation of the Confederates.

The Marquess found by this their manner of proceeding, he was not likely to reduce them to obedience; and the most they could be brought to, was an Explication of their Covenant, wherein they pretended to express great demonstrations of affection to the King, but when it was presented and read, little more was in it then a Justification of the Confession and their Covenant, protesting they never had any intention to withdraw themselves from their dutiful subjection and obedience to the Kings Government: But whereas it was expected that to these words of their Covenant, whereby they bind themselves to mutual maintenance against all persons whatsoever, should have been added, *except the King and his Successors*, that was refused.

The Marquess was not satisfied herewith, but he told them he had spent all his Instructions, and could treat no further with them, till he had been with the King to acquaint him with his proceedings, and receive his further Orders, but he promised to return speedily to them with the Kings final answer to their demands, which he would shew to him, exhorting them in the mean time to break up their meeting, and contein themselves in quietness and peace: This they promised to do, but added, if he did not return by the 5*th.* of *August* with such an answer as they expected, that then they would hold themselves free, and proceed in the courses they had resolved on.

The Marquess went immediately to the King, whom he found at *Greenwich*, and to him he related the particular of all transactions; The King was offended at the insolencies of the Confederates, but was perswaded to try a little further if he could reduce them by Gentle means: wherefore he dispatched the Marquess with new Instructions, and gave him order to call a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament, but so as he should be first satisfied, by all Informations he could conveniently receive of the constitution of a General Assembly, none having been kept for divers years.

The Marquess comes to the King at Greenwich, and acquaints him with the affairs.

He is sent back with new instructions, and an order to call a General Assembly, and after a Parliament.

As soon as he came into *Scotland*, he deputed some of the Lords of the Councel to confer with some

1638 some of the chiefs of the confederates of all Orders concerning some necessary propositions fit to be resolved on before the calling of the Assembly, both concerning the members of which it was to be constituted, and concerning the matters to be treated of; (two consultations usually previous to that meeting; for the omission whereof, in an Assembly of later times, they had so grievously complained, that in a Petition exhibited by the Ministers of their side it was alledged for a Nullity of that Assembly) but this was rejected as a limitation of the Assembly: The Marquess then told them he could not call the Assembly till he had once again attended the King: Upon this they caused rumors to be spread, that the Marquess neither had power from the King, nor any intention from himself to give them satisfaction; Wherefore the Marquess to disabuse the people in this matter, reduced what he at first propounded to two heads, which he tendered to them in these words;

The Marquesses proposals in order to an Assembly and Parliament.

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake for themselves and the rest, that no Laicks shall have voices in chooſing the Ministers to be sent from the several Presbyteries to the General Assembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the same Presbytery.

2. If they will undertake that at the Assembly, they shall not go about to determine of things established by Act of Parliament, otherwise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the Parliament, leaving the determining of things Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly, & things setled by Act of Parliament to the Parliament.

Then I will presently Indict a General Assembly, and promise upon My Honour, immediately after the Assembly to Indict a Parliament which shall Cognosce of all their Complaints.

They dislike the propesals, and invest themselves with a power of convoking an Assembly.

This would not be condescended unto, but they told the Marquess, if he did not return from the King by the 21 *th.* of *September*, to Indict a General Assembly by the Kings authority, they would themselves call one: for they had about this time published a Book, wherein amongst other things it was asserted, that the power of Convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an Enemie of the Truth, or negligent in advancing the good of the Church, was in the Church it self.

The Marquess hastened with all diligence to the King, and informed him of all occurrences that passed, which occasioned many debates of the way to be used to bring that Kingdom to peace and quietness.

The Scots about the King advised that he should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an unavoidable extremity, the Lords of the Privy Councel in *Scotland* were many of them in private League with the Confederates, so that nothing could be relyed on from them; And therefore that which was thought the best expedient, was to take an exact view of all the Petitions, Remonstrances and Protestations of the Confederates which they had since the beginning of the troubles exhibited either to the King, or the Marquess, or Privy Counsel, and to Grant them all: And besides all these, because the heads of the Confederates had made it a principal motive to alienate the minds of the people from the King, that he was inclined to Popery, and had an aversion to the Reformed Religion, It was adjudged and consented to by the King, to command and urge the renewing of that Confession and Covenant by his authority, which they had taken without it, by which Legitimation, to save the people who were to swear it from incurring the danger of those Laws, which made it very criminal to enter into any Covenant without his Authority: And instead of that unjust band of confederacy, which they added to the confession to bind themselves to mutual maintenance and defence against all persons whatsoever: The King caused the General Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings person to be added in the same words as it was expressed, and taken in the year 1590. by an Ordinance of the Privy Counsel at the desire of the General Assembly. 1638

With these concessions all drawn up in a Proclamation, the Marquess returned into *Scotland* within eight daies after his first coming to *Oatelands* to the King, and arrived there before the time limited for his return: The Confederates had made many resolutions in his absence, and though they promised no election of Commissioners for the Assembly should be made before the 21 of *September*, the day agreed upon for his return, they gave order that the Election should be made the two and twentyth being the next day after, according to which order, Commissioners for the Assembly were elected in many Presbyteries before the Kings answer could be known, or before the Assembly was indicted, which was not till some daies after these elections, and although they would admit of no conference with the Marquess, for debating of what members the Assembly was to be constituted, and the manner thereof, which they said, would be a pre-limitation of it, they sent out to every Presbyterie several Articles, wherein many Qualifications were made limiting both the matter and manner thereof, with a form of Commission to be given to the Commissioners from every Presbyterie, requiring that the persons elected should repair to *Edenburgh* after their Election, to consult before hand of what was to be said or done at the Assembly.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the Marquess assembled the Councel at *Holy-Rood* house, and communicated to them the particulars of the Kings grace and favour for the appeasing of the troubles of the Kingdom, which they received with excessive joy, believing that malice it self could not invent a pretence of keeping the people from being fully satisfied: The news of this made the heads of the Confederates bestir themselves, fearing their reign was towards an end, and some of them came to the Marquess sitting in Councel, and moved him to delay the Publishing of the Proclamation till the Munday following, for the next day being Sunday, they intended their Ministers should in their Pulpits cast such aspersions on it as might not easily be removed, but the Marquess would not be prevailed with, and the Proclamation was that day published at the Market-Cross; which was to this effect: *That the King did annull and rescinde all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission, and the practise of them: he also dispensed with the*

The Kings Proclamation published at the Cross, where he authoriseth their confession and band annexed.

1638 *the practise of the five Articles of* Perth, *and it was declared, that all persons Ecclesiasticall or Civill of what quality, title or degree soever should be lyable to the Tryall and censure of Parliament, generall Assembly, or any other Judicatories competent, and that no other Oath should be administred to any Minister, at their Entry into the Ministry, but that which is conteyned in the Act of Parliament: Likewise in manifestation of the Kings integrity to Religion, all persons should be enjoyned by his authority, to subscribe the Confession of faith, with the Band annexed, and that no doubt may be left in the minds of the people of the King intentions, it is declared, that the Marquess the Kings Commissioner, has Warrant to summon a Free Generall Assembly, to be holden at* Glascow, *the 21th of* November, *and a Parliament at* Edenburg, *the 15th of* May.

The Lords of the Councell approve the kings proclamation, and subscribe and swear to the confession & band authorised by the King.

All the Lords of the Counsell did seem very well to approve of this Proclamation, highly extolling the Goodness and piety of the King, for having offered so just a meanes for the conservation of the purity of Religion, and the peace of the Kingdom; and in a letter, which they sent to him upon this Subject, they offered to defend his person and Royall Authority, in the profession of that confession, now by him authorised, which they all solemnely subscribed after the Marqueese, who represented the Kings person, and appointed Commissioners for all Countryes, and places, to have it sworn to, and subscribed by all the people, throughout the Realme; many of the more moderate, both Magistrates, Ministers, and others in severall Townes and places, that had taken the Covenant injoyned by the Confederates, were very well satisfied, with the expressions of the Kings condescentions, mentioned in the Proclamation, and did swear and subscribe to the confession and Band, by the King directed, which began now to be called the Kings Covenant: But the Lords, Ministers, and others of the Tables, and their Confederates did not acquiesce therein, alledging that this Proclamation did in many parts of it tacitely condemne the precedent actions, and restrayne the Liberty of the Intended Generall Assembly, and to shew their dislike, they framed a long Protestation against it, a copy whereof they tendred to the Kings Herald, at the same time the Proclamation was proclaymed, which was to this effect.

A Protestation of the confederates against the Kings Proclamation.

That what the King granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from theyr just feares and apprehensions, and was not sufficient to cure the wounds of the Church and State; That the King ascribed the last Troubles to their feare of the innovation of Religion and Law, and not to the Innovations themselves, as if the cause were rather in apprehension, then in reality and substance. That the King having extolled the present Government of the Church, according to the late innovated formes of service therein, they could not be secured with a bare suspension of their Usage; if they were not formally taken away. That the Generall Assembly would be deprived of its just liberty, both in the Election of its Members, and the matters to be therein discussed, because the King appointed Bishops in the Indiction of the Assembly, to be there present, though they ought not so to be unlesse deputed by the Presbyteries.

1638 *That the King declared, his intentions not to innovate any thing in Religion, whereas it depends on the generall Assembly, to abolish all such Ecclesiasticke constitutions, which appeare to them to be hurtfull to the Church.*

That seeing all persons Ecclesiasticall and civill are lyable to the Tryall and censure, as in the Proclamation mentioned and expressed, They protested that the Arch-Bishops and Bishops be not present, as having voyce at the Assembly, but as persons guilty to appeare, to undergo censure, for the complaints made, and to be made against them, and that the warning by this Protestation, and the Kings Proclamation should be a sufficient citation for theyr Tryall in Life, office, and benefice.

That they cannot subscribe this confession, and Band by the King appointed: because it will tend to a division of them, in regard that they had already sworne, not directly or indirectly to suffer themselves to be divided from this conjunction, which consisted not in the generall confession (which they agree to be the same) but also in the explanation and application thereof; and moreover by this new subscription they should both condemne their former subscription, and praclude the like laudable course in the like necessity to be taken by posterity.

That if they should sweare the confession, they should be obliged to mainteine the Articles of Perth *and Episcopacy, for an Oath is to be taken according to the intention of the person that commends it, and this being now appointed by the Kings Mandate of the 9th of September last, It is platne, that the Kings minde and intention is, That this confession be sworne for the maintenance of Religion, as it is now professed, including the Innovations, and Episcopacy, which under that name were ratified by the Kings first Parliament: And if it be objected, that the Marquess and the Counsell do by their Act urge the confession as it was professed in the yeare* 1580. *It is answered that no such Act is yet publisht by Proclamation: By approving the Proclamation concerning the Ministers Oath according to Act of Parliament, (which is to swear simple obedience to the Diocesan Bishop) we should, say they, seeme to determine that the confession of fayth in* 1580 *doth consist with Episcopacy, whereas that Question is referred, as other of the like kind, to the Assembly.*

And they conclude, with an appeale from the Lords of the councell to the next generall Assembly, exhorting all to subscribe the confession and Covenant, as by them explained and applyed, and hold backe their hands from all other Covenants, till the Assembly be convened and determine the present divisions and differences.

The Marqueese, and the Lords of the councell perceived by this protestation, that the confederates endeavoured all they could to blast the Kings intentions, and they wondred much at their appeal from the Councell to the Assembly, which was by an Act of the eighth Parliament of King *Iames* made High Treason: They saw also, by what the Confederates did, that like good was to be expected from the approaching assembly (which was summoned to appear at the time expressed by the Kings Proclamation) for they had used great Industry, that all that

should

should be chosen thereunto, should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant, and to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they published, that any persons, cited as criminalls before the Assembly, could have no voyce there, and in pursuance thereof they drew up a Libell against the Archbishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the 24th of *October*, to the Presbytery of *Edenburgh*, who proceeded thereon, as if all the Bishops had been subject to their authority, and after some short consideration of the Libell, which was full of scandall and reproaches of the Bishops, they ordered, that it should be referred to the next assembly, and that the Libell and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches with a publike warning and citation to the Bishops, to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the complaynts against them.

A Libel drawn up against the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, who by this means being made criminals, are excluded from having any place in their Assembly.

Many judged this proceeding so contrary to all the legall formes of Justice, was done on no other designe, but to render the Bishops odious to the people, For the Assembly when they came to consider of this matter, enter'd not into the examination of the personall vices, with which the Libell or Bill of Complaynt was filled, but upon the abolishing of Episcopacy it self, though it is evident, that if they had had proofes, they would not have spared the Bishops, whom the confederates had represented so criminous to the people.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marquess his Commission was read, and nothing else done considerable that day: The next day a Declinator was presented to the Commissioner in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, and conteyning a nullity of it, but this was not read without great difficulty, nor was this Declinator of the Bishops the onely objection against this Assembly, for the Presbytery of *Glascow*, and many other places protested against the legality thereof, because of the admission of Lay-Elders, a thing scarce before heard of in that Church: But they made very much Scrutinye in the debate of their owne constitution, for by one meanes or other they excluded every Commissioner, that was not cleerly agreable to the mindes of the Confederates. The Declinator of the Bishops they would by no meanes allow of, but put it to the question, whether the Assembly, notwithstanding the Bishops reasons against it, were not lawfull, and a competent Judge of the Complaints against them, and it was agreed in the affirmative. The Marquess admired at this carriage, since the chiefes of the confederates, who so lately protested against the sitting of the Bishops in Counsell, as partyes to their Complaints, and made a Declinator of the Councells authority, and invalidated all their acts, made while they were sitting, could now oppose the like, though with more reason offered in this case: for most or all of the members of the Assembly having bound themselves by Oathes, Covenants, Combinations and associations against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, which being analogicall to judiciall Acts) had barred themselves from being Judges, either of the persons or calling of these Bishops: But the Marquesse had yet a deeper resentment of their behaviour, for an other cause, for the King having nominated six Lords of the privy Counsell, to be assessors to him his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to entertaine them, or allow their suffrage, affirming that were the King himself present, he should have but one voyce, and that no negative one neither.

A Declinator of the Bishops against the Assembly.

Lay Elders admitted into their Assembly.

The Bishops Declinator rejected.

Six Lords of the Privy Counsell nominated by the King Assessors to the Marquess refused and denyed their Suffrage.

The Marquesse concluding from these actions, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, November the 28th consulted with the Councell, about its dissolution, and it being agreed in the Affirmative, he went to the Assembly, and sayd to them.

You are now about to settle the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have seene this Assembly met, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended, and for the further cleering the integrity of his Intentions, let this paper, which I deliver to the Clerke, to be read, beare witness.

The Marquess his Speech to the Assembly.

The Paper being read by the Clerke, was a Declaration the same in every substantiall poynt with the Proclamation, discharging the Service-book, Book of Canons &c. This Declaration soone after the reading, was signed by the Commissioner, & required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly; Provided that this act of Registring this declaration, should be no approbation of the Lawfulness of this Assembly; to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, that whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be obligatory, or be reputed an Act of a generall Assembly: The very night of the intended dissolution of this Assembly, the Marquess assembled the Councell to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being resolved upon was subscribed by all, but the Earle of *Argyle*, who began now to shew himselve for the Confederates.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly.

The Proclamation being formed, and published *November* 29th, was encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates, *That it is Lawfull for them to sit still, and continue the Assembly; and that they would still adhere to all their former protestations*, and accordingly pursuing the tenor of their Protestations, presently declared six former Generall Assemblies (which they thought would discerne them) to be null, and deprived all the Bishops, and some they excommunicated, and soon after abolished Episcopacy it selfe as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

Encountred with a Protestation of the Confederates.

Episcopacy abolished by the Assembly.

The Marquess seeing all things tending to a present rupture, sent to desire leave of the King to returne into *England*, which he obteined, but before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly, which made many Acts, not necessary here to be related, and by theyr owne Authority ordained annuall assemblies, the first whereof was assigned to meet at *Edenburgh*, the first of *July*, 1639.

Annual Assemblies ordained.

As soone as the Marquess was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, addressed to all good Christians of *England*, to justifie their intentions and actions, which had so many undutyfull reflections in it of the Government, that it was suppressed by the Kings Authority, and he published a declaration, to satisfy all his faithfull

Their declaration to justifie their actions suppressed by the Kings authority.

Subjects of the seditious practises of those in *Scotland*, who had, under Pretext of Religion, designed the subversion of his Royall Authority, which was commanded to be read in all Churches.

Mary de Medicis the Queens Mother comes into England.

On the last of *October* this year, *Marie de Medicis*, the Widow of *Harry* the 4th, King of *France*, and Mother to the Queene, came into *England*, and was very honourably entertained: whilst she staid here, she was lodged at the Kings Palace at St *James*, but she finding the King likely to be involved in troubles, to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to obedience, after some moneths stay returned into *Holland*.

The Scots prepare for War, invite home their Commanders a broad, seize on divers Castles, and the Kings Arms, and ammunition.

The *Scots* having made all things desperate to accommodation, made vigourous preparations for warre, and sent for succors to such of the neighbor Princes and States, from whom they could expect any assistance: They also invited home many eminent Commanders of their Nation, from *Sweden* and *Holland*, to take imployment in their Armyes, many of which were at the beginning of the yeare come to them. They seized on the Castles of *Edenburgh* and *Dunbarton*, and all other places of strength in the Kingdom, and tooke out of *Dalkeyth* all the Kings Armes, and Ammunition, laid there the year before by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, next they chose *Alexander Lesly*, an old experienced Officer, to be Captayne Generall of their Armyes, to whom all the chiefes of the confederates (who tooke armes) solemnely swore obedience in all orders of Warr, and he swore in like manner, faithfully to exercise his charge.

Alexander Lesly made their Captain General.

The Marquess of *Argile* was sent to take care of those places frontier of Ireland, and the Earle of *Mountrosse* had the charge of *Aberdeen*, and the more Northerne parts, and Collonell *Monroe* was sent towards the borders of *England*, to keep all things quiet till the levyes were perfected.

The King in that meane time was not idle, but made very great levyes in all places, and having got his Army together, he gave the command thereof in chief to the Earle of *Arundell*, as Generall, under whom the Earle of *Essex* was Lieutenant Generall, and the Earl of *Holland* Generall of the Horse, the rest of the Officers were many of them persons of the best quality, And the Army in Generall consisted of the Flower of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Nation: With this Army the King sets out on the 27th of *March*, and comes by easy marches, within two miles of *Berwick*, on the 28th of May, where he incamped, and Generall *Lesly* about the same time, marched with the *Scotch* Army to the borders towards *England*, and incamped at *Dunce*, within 4 miles of *Berwick*.

The Earl of Arundel Generall of the Kings Army.

The King when he begun his March, had sent the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with a Fleet of ships well furnisht with Souldiers: to *Leyth* to attempt that place, and make what impression he could in those parts to hinder any new levyes, and reduce *Edenburgh*, *Leyth*, and what other forts and strengths he could to obedience: He arrived in the moneth of *May* with his Fleet in the road before the towne called the *Fryth*, where after some stay, he landed some of his men in a little Island, to give them breath and some refreshments, and there he received a visit from his Mother, a most rigid Covenanter, which made many of the Kings Friends suspect his integrity; and the *Scots* upon the shore that saw this, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not do them hurt.*

The Marquess of Hamilton sent with a Fleet to Leyth.

The Army under *Lesly*, was but ill armed, for they had not three thousand Muskets amongst them, so that though they put a good face on the Business, they were better prepared for a treaty then a battell, nevertheless those of that Nation about the King were not wanting on their part, to make the preparations of theyr Countrymen very terrible, and the Earles of *Trequayr* and *Roxborough*, and other Noblemen of *Scotland*, who had permission to repayre to *York* to the King, as he was in his March, for mediating an attonement, did so practise upon the English Lords by their insinuations, that they mitigated much the displeasure of some, and quite tooke of the edge of others, so that after the King had been a while in his Leaguer neere *Berwick*, he was easily disposed to receive Overtures from them, to be received into his grace and favor, which they made with great protestations of theyr Resolution upon his gratious assurance of the preservation of their Religion and Lawes, to give example to others of all civill and temporal obedience, which could be required or expected from his loving subjects: This produced a Treaty, for which on the Kings part were appoynted, The Earles of *Pembrook*, *Salisbury* *Berkeshire*, Sr. *Henry Vane*, and Secretary *Cook*: and for the *Scots* the Earles of *Rothes* and *Dumfermling*, the Lord *Loudon*, the Lord *Douglas* *Alexander Henderson* and *Archibald Johnstoun*: These having had severall debates, at length, *June* the 17th concluded upon a Pacification, which on the Kings part was expressed by a Declaration of that date: so much whereof as is pertinent for the better understanding of these transactions is here inserted.

A pacification made by the King and the Scots.

We are pleased to confirm and make good whatsoever the Marquess of Hamilton *our Commissioner hath granted; And that all matters Ecclesiastical shall be determined by the Assemblies of the Kirk, and matters Civil by the Parliament, and other inferior Judicatories established by Law, which Assembly shall be kept once a year, or as shall be agreed upon by the General Assembly, and our Commissioner for the time being.*

That a free and General Assembly be kept at Edenburgh *the sixth of* August *next, where we intend (God willing) to be personally present, and thereafter a Parliament the* 20th. *of* August, *and there an Act of Oblivion to be passed; And that upon their disarming and disbanding of their forces, dissolving and discharging all their pretended Tables and Conventicles, and restoring to the King all his Castles, Forts and Ammunition, as also his Royal Honours, and to every one of his Good Subjects, their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and deteined since the late pretended General Assembly, The King will presently thereafter recall his Fleet, and retire his Forces, and cause restitution of their Ships and goods taken since the aforesaid time.*

The

The Articles of Pacification were these, the 17 *th.* of *June*, 1639.

Articles of Pacification.

1. *THE Forces of* Scotland *to be disbanded and dissolved within* 24 *hours after the agreement of the Kings Declaration.*

2. *The Kings Castles, Forts and Ammunition to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as he should send to receive them.*

3. *His Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Castles, and in the mean time no interruption of Trade.*

4. *All Persons, Goods and Ships detained by the King since the first of* November *to be restored.*

5. *No Meetings, Treatings, Consultations or Convocations of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.*

6. *All Fortifications to desist and to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.*

7. *To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and Means whatsoever taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the first of* November *last.*

The King signed the Declaration on the 18 *th.* of *June*, and the same day the Commissioners on each party signed the Articles, and the Scots Commissioners subscribed a short Declarative submission in these words.

A declarative submission subscribed by the Scots Commissioners.

In Obedience to His Majesties Royal Commands, We shall upon Thursday next the 20 th. *of* June *dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesties Castles, &c. And shall ever in all things carry our selves like humble and Loyal Subjects.*

Rothes. Dumfirmlin. London. Douglas. Henderson. Johnston.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the Scotch Lords, and informed them that he had given Orders to the Marquess of *Hamilton* to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to have been at *Edenburgh* at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had received letters from the Queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence at *London* about some pressing affairs, but he would depute the Earl of *Traquayr* with full power and authority as his High Commissioner to hold the Assembly and the Parliament.

The Earl of Traquayr deputed the Kings Commissioner.

Most men thought these graces of the King to his Scotch Subjects, would have obliged them to an intire submission to his authority, but the Confederates had some further designs of trouble: For no sooner was the Kings Declaration published, but at that instant they incountred it with a Protestation of several heads. *First, of adhering to the late General Assembly at* Glascow *as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all proceedings there, especially to the sentences of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops.* : *Secondly, of adhering to their Solemn Covenant and declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is abjured. Thirdly, in regard many of the Gentry and the Ministers, who had long attended at* Edenburgh *during the discussion of the Pacification and the preparatives to it, were to repair to their own homes, whereby such of them as had Suits depending at Law, could not stay at* Edenburgh *to attend them; they Declared, that if any members of the Colledge of Justice should attend the Session or Tearm, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgements should be void and ineffectual.*

The Scots Protestation againtt the Kings declaration.

The King could not but resent this Ingratitude, but was forced to temporise, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament, some moderate Councels might temper the minds of the people: he had been so just to those conditions of peace which he granted them, that he immediately discharged his Army, which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, until he had seen their Souldiers disbanded, their Officers casheired, their Forts and Castles delivered up to him, and some good issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at *Edenburgh*, he had preserved his Honour among Forein Princes, and crush'd those practises at home which afterwards undermined his peace, and destroyed his glories.

The Scots did not punctually perform any one Article, the Castle of *Edenburgh* was indeed put under the command of Sir *Patrick Ruthen* by the Kings Orders, but they did not slight their Fortifications at *Leyth*, they still kept their Officers in pay, and continued their meetings and consultations, disquieting, molesting and frighting all of different inclinations, and the more to stir up the people, they dispersed a Scandalous Libell Entituled, *Some Conditions of His Majesties Treaty with the Subjects of* Scotland *before the English Nobility are set down here for a Remembrance.*

The Scots breach of Articles.

This Paper consisted of eight heads which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration: This was put into the hands of the Earl of *Pembrook* at his coming from *Berwick*, who pretended not to have read it, but seal'd it up till he presented it to the King; The matter of it was very scandalous, and derogatory to the Kings honour; for all the substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole sense and intention of it was perverted: The King therefore summoned all the English Lords that were privy to these transactions, to meet in Councel, who disavowed any such consent of his Majesty as in that Paper was expressed, and therefore both they and all the rest of the Councel became Petitioners to the King that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous paper, which was done accordingly.

Upon the 6 *th.* of *August* (old stile) The General Assembly conven'd at *Edenburgh* according to the Kings Indiction, and sate till the 24 *th.* the chief matters passed were, the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at *Glascow*, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of *Perth*, the High Commission, the Liturgie, and the Book of Cannons, and ended with rendring thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the assent of his Commissioner to their Acts, and assigned another to meet at *Aberdeen* the next year in the moneth of *July*.

The General Assembly conven'd at Edenburgh.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the last of *August*, did again come together, the first four daies produced

The Parliament meet again.

duced a high debate about setling their constitution to determine what estate should supply that of the Bishops now abolish'd, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Rescissory Acts of Former Parliaments, and several consultations tending rather totally to eclipse the Kings Regal power, and to new model his Government, than to reform abuses: so that he sent an expres to the Earl of *Trequayr* to prorogue the Parliament again till the second of *June* following.

To this Prorogation they very unwillingly submitted, declaring that the King had no power to prorogue them without their consent, and they appointed some of every of the three estates to continue in *Edenburgh* till they had made a remonstrance thereof to the King, which before the separation they perfected, and the Earl of *Dumfermelin* and the Lord *Lowdon* were sent to present it to him: These coming to the Court without warrant from the Kings Commissioner, were sent back again without audience, and after a while the Commissioner himself comes up to inform the King of the present condition of *Scotland*, which being reported to the Councel, it was resolved, That the Disobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force. And thus matters stood between the King and them about the beginning of *December*, which for the better connexion of the Relations of that affair we have drawn thus far in time, but we must now look a little back to the affairs of *England*.

The Lords Dumfermelin and Lowdon presenting a remonstrance to the King without warrant from his Commissioner, are sent back without audience.

The Prince Elector in *July* this year arrived at the Court of *England* in prosecution of a design he had to get the command of the Army of Duke *Bernard*, *Saxon Weymar* lately dead, which consisted of a gallant number of *Swedes*, *Germans*, and other Nations: The King did like very well of the business, and proposed it to the French Embassador, offering that the Prince should joyn in a perpetual League with *France*, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The Embassador seemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and told the King that he doubted not but his Master would approve of it, and that Cardinal *Richlieu* the chief Minister of that State would be willing to serve the King and the Prince therein, and thereupon he dispatched a messenger to *Paris*, to acquaint the French King with the matter, but in the mean while, it was suggested to the King, that *Richlein* under-hand fomented the troubles of *Scotland*, whereby the confederate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that King for assistance, so that the reality of *Richlieu* was so much suspected, that the Prince was advised to go privately through *France* to Duke *Bernard*'s Army, of which it was believ'd he might by his appearance easily get the Command. The Prince therefore in *November* passed over to *Bullen*, and from thence endeavoured to pass by disguise through *France*, but at *Lyons* he was discovered, and taken Prisoner: And the King of *France* interpreted this action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of treaty, so that he was kept under a strict guard.

The Prince Elector comes to England.

A Sea-fight between the Spaniards & Hollanders.

The great businesses of this Summer was a Sea-Fight betwixt the two Navies of *Spain* and *Holland* in the *Downes*, which we shall here insert in the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-admiral, who made this following Narration thereof.

The Spanish Fleet consisting of near seventy Sail, bound and designed for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with a recruit both of men and money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, having in his company seventeen tall Ships, *Septemb.* the *7 th.* and entred into a very fierce dispute with them, untill the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to the windward, saying along towards *Dunkirk*, and continually firing their Ordnance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the residue of the Fleet: in the first Encounter the Hollanders had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by two of the clock the Admiral came up, and joyning with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the Spaniard, and continued a very sharp fight till past Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Gallions, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, though they were but 25 Sail to the Spaniards 60 and upwards, and at length forced them upon the English Coast near *Dover*, where they left them, and bare off for the Coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of *England*'s liberties.

The Spaniards being now got as they thought under the Lee of *England*'s protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the Spanish Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the Hollander in subjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity for shipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand newter, and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English Ships to transport their Souldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the Dutch Embassador, strictly commanded, that none should take in any Spaniards, nor pass beyond *Gravesend* without Licence, but the Spaniards and the Hollanders plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the Spaniard at length somewhat outwitted his Enemie, and by a stratagem in the night conveyed away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of *October* the King sent the Earl of *Arundel* to the Admiral of *Spain*, *Don Antonio*, *D' Oquendo* desiring him to retreat upon the first fair wind, because he would not they should engage within his Seas, but the wind continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual in that Season) as the Hollanders got daily fresh supply from *Zealand*, so that at length their Fleet was compleated to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within Pistoll-shot for four daies: But that which was so long an enterview of these two Fleets, at last turned to an ingagement.

On the eleventh of the same moneth, *Van Trump* the Dutch Admiral charged the Spaniards with Cannon and Fire-ships so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 ran on shore, and stranded in the *Downes*, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore. One of these was a great Gallion, the Vice-Admiral of *Gallicia* commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, which had 52 brass

braſs pieces of Ordnance: the remainder of the 23 ſtranded and deſerted by the Spaniards, were man'd by the Engliſh, to ſave them from the Dutch: The other 30 Spaniſh Ships under the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D'Oquendo*, and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal* went to Sea, and kept in cloſe Order until a great fogg fell upon them, when the Dutch taking the advantage thereof, interpoſed betwixt the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the Admiral of Portugal began to flame, being fired with two *Holland* Fire-ſhips, which *D'Oquendo* perceiving, he preſently took his courſe towards *Dunkirk*, with the Admiral of that place, and ſome few Ships more, for moſt of the reſt were taken. Of theſe thirty, eleven were ſent into *Holland*, three periſh'd upon the coaſt of *France*, one neer *Dover*, five ſunk in the Fight, and only ten eſcaped.

Theſe two potent Enemies being both friends to *England*, the Britiſh Seas ought by rule of State to have been an harbour of retreat to ſecure the weaker from the ſtronger, not the ſcene of their hoſtile engagement, and had this preſumptuous attempt of the Hollander been made in times of another temper it would not, it's like, have been ſo ſilently connived at, and their victory might have coſt them the loſs of *England*'s correſpondence: But ſelf-denyal is a Chriſtian, not a Martial vertue, and who is able to reſiſt the temptation of an advantage, whereby he may deſtroy his foe upon the nicety of exceeding his juſt limits? Beſides, The King, the Dutch well knew, was of a Genious as not querulous, ſo if provoked very placable, and the diſpoſition of his affairs as well as of his mind diſſwaded him at this conjuncture from expoſtulating the matter with them.

The walls of the Caſtle of Edenburgh not ſuffered to be repaired by the Covenanters.

About the 19th of *Novemb.* being the Anniverſary night of the Kings Birth day, a great part of the walls of the Caſtle of *Edenburg* fell down, and the King having given order for the repayr thereof, the Confederate Covenanters would not permit any materialls to be carryed in for that uſe, which added much to thoſe reſentments, which the King had conceived againſt them, ſo that preparations of warr went on againſt them, but the Kings treaſure being exhauſted by the laſt ſummers expedition, he conſulted with the Lords of the Counſell of his meanes of Supply, who conſidering the preſent exigent of Affaires, adviſed the calling of a Parliament, as the beſt expedient to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him, both with money, and counſell, to this the King readily agreed, being ever (till diverted by the practiſe of intemperate men) a great lover of Parliaments, and in complyance with this advice, a Parliament was intimated to be aſſembled on the 13 of *Aprill*. This reſolution was taken the 5th of *December*, and the notice given ſo long before, for two reaſons, firſt that the Lord *Wentworth*, Deputy of *Ireland* (being lately ſent for hither on the occaſion of theſe troubles) might in the meane time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did and managed ſo much to the Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 horſe and foot, were ſpeedily rayſed, and money granted by the Parliament there, to keep them in pay, and furniſh them with Ammunition and Armes, and all other neceſſaries: Secondly, That by the reputation of a following Parliament he might borrow money, for the carrying on of the Warr, which could not admit of ſo much delay, as is commonly uſed in thoſe great Counſels, in the granting of ſubſidies, which laſt being repreſented to the Lords of the Counſell, many of them ſubſcribed to a Loane of great ſummes of money for the Kings aſſiſtance: The Deputy of *Ireland* being about to returne to *Irelande*, on the errant before expreſſed, to give good example here, firſt ſubſcribed 20000 *l.* The Duke of *Richmond* as much, and moſt of the Lords (except the Marqueſs of *Hamilton*) and likewiſe the Biſhops, and the Judges and Officers, and dependants of Courts of Judicature; both of the Common and Civill Law, and generally the greateſt part of the Gentry, even the Recuſants contributed according to their abilities.

A Loan for the Kings Aſſiſtance againſt the Scots ſubſcribed to by many of the Lords of the Councel and Biſhops, &c.

The King thus buſy in providing againſt the *Scots*, they endeavoured to remove the ſtorme hanging over them, by an humble addreſſe to him, craving Leave to repreſent to him the State of all their tranſactions, The King ſaid, He was accoſtable by any ſubject he had, and would not therefore deny that, which was pretended to be from a whole Kingdom, which he never refuſed from a private man.

This anſwer being ſent, The Earle of *Dumfermelin*, Lord *Lowdon*, Sr *William Dowglas*, and Mr *Robert Barkely*, attended the King as Commiſſioners from *Scotland*, who being admitted, and their Commiſſion examined, it was found, that the two laſt were not named in, nor impowered by it, but the King hoping to gaine upon them by lenity, inſiſted not thereon.

Commiſſioners from Scotland to the King.

The King appointed a Select Committee of the Councell, to heare the allegations of the Commiſſioners, as alſo what could be ſayd by the Earl of *Trequayre*, touching thoſe matters, where things were handled with ſo much acrimony, that no good underſtanding could be arrived at, And at this very time of their addreſſes to the King by Supplication, the Confederates in *Scotland* acted very different from peaceable men, for they ſecured many of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Nation, who ſtood firme to the King, and now again as they had done the laſt yeare, invited and procured to their ſervice many Commanders from *Holland*, and other places, but that which manifeſted moſt their bad intentions to the King, was a Letter written by the Lord *Lowdon*, ſubſcribed by himſelf, and ſeverall others of the chief confederates, to the French King, to favor their proceedings, and grant them his aſſiſtance, of the which the Originall came to the Kings hands, and being known, to be *Lowdons* Character, he was therefore committed to the Tower.

Lord Lowdon committed to the Tower for a letter to the French King.

Cardinall *Richlieu* was no ſmall incendiary in this difference betwixt the King and *Scots*, for the King making it alwayes a great Maſterpiece, to keepe the ballance even betwixt *France* and *Spain*, that neither of them being too ſtrong for the other, the affairs of Chriſtendom might be the evener poyſed, he knew the French deſign of driving the *Spanjard* out of *Flanders*, and the reſt of the *Netherlands*, could not be effected, unleſs the King were imbroyled at home, So that

The King calls a Parliament in Scotland.

he sent his Chaplin and Almoner, Mr. *Thomas Chamberlayn* a Scotchman, to assist the Confederates in advancing the business, and to attempt all wayes of exasperation, and not to depart from them, till he might returne with good News, in this *Project*; *Con* also the Popes Agent to the Queen, a Scot by Nation, and one *Reed* of the same Country were very active, and many Scotch Jesuites, at this time in *England*, were not idle, and *Hamiltons* Chaplyn had often secret communication with *Con*; all which practises were discovered in a great part by one *Andreas Habernsfeild*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, then become *Physitian* to the Kings Sister, the Palsgraves Relict, who made it also apparent that many of the Nobility of *England*, and the chief favourites at Court (among whom the Earle and Counteesse of *Arundell*, Secretary *Windebanke*, and *Endymion Porter*) were named to be acquainted, and consenting with their transactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not so much credit as he ought, for in case of generall disturbance nothing is more familiar, then for severall factions, and of severall and sometimes contrary inclinations, to drive on one and the same designe.

The death of Arch-Bishop Spotwood.

About the later end of his yeare, *John Spotswood*, Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of *Scotland*, dyed at *London*, he was one that by his just desert arrived to those high dignities; in whom there alwayes appeared great prudence in conduct, clearnesse of Spirit, and solidity of Judgment, he left this world very aged, and it was his happiness, to do it without seeing that desolation, which after happened to his Country, and to be interr'd, neere his beloved Master King *James*, in the Abbey church of *Westminster*, then which none perhaps contaynes more magnificent Trophyes of death: Neere the same time also dyed, that Grave and learned Judge, Sr. *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counsellor to the King, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of *England* fifteen years, one that was a truly loyall Subject, and a good Patriot, and in the administration of Justice so incorrupt, that malice it self stands mute in the blemish of his fame: Sr. *John Finch*, the chief Justice of the Common-pleas, succeeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seale.

The death of the Lord Keeper, Coventry.

Sir John Finch Lord Keeper.

The Heere of *Somerdick*, Ambassador from the States of the *United Provinces*, in the Moneth of *January*, had audience of the King, he had with him Count *William* of *Nassaw*, and the *Rhine-Grave*, and a very splendid trayne, his business was to give him satisfaction concerning the late attaque, made upon the *Spanjards* by the *Dutch* Fleet in the *Downes*, and the Embassy was sweetned by some overture of a marriage betwixt the yong Prince of *Orange*, and the Kings eldest Daughter, of which more hereafter.

An Embassador from the States of Holland.

The Parliament sits in England.

On the 13 of *April* the Parliament sate, and the Deputy of *Ireland*, being not long before created Earle of *Strafford* and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realm, was led into the upper house by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his service in *Ireland*, where he had obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted; Mr. *John Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the choice of members to that house was so good, that great probabilities were given of a happy Union betwixt the King and this Parliament, but in the midst of this expectation some ill instruments at Court by their factious contrivances undermined all, and amongst these, the chiefest imputation was laid on Sir *Henry Vane* then principal Secretary of State, who bore a grudge to the Earl of *Strafford*, for that he had caused himself to be made Baron of *Raby*, to which he aspired, it being a mannor granted to him together with *Barny* Castle from the Crown: and because he saw the Earl very earnest to incline the King to endeavour by all fair means to gain the affections of the Commons, out of a desire to see a good issue of this Parliament, to the calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; He resolved to endeavour that the Parliament should rather be abruptly dissolved, than any good success be produced by the Earls counsels, to effect which, on the one side insinuations were made to some, of the dangers to be feared by the Army raised in *Ireland* in order to Religion, and to others of the justness of the pretences of the Scots, and the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this conjuncture; and on the other side every thing was represented to the King in the worst sense, and that so slily, as no indirect intentions could be perceived; The matter of supply gave a fit occasion to heighten discontents: For the King being intent to vindicate his Honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the insolencies of the Scots, was very earnest in preparing for the War against them, and to enable him therein, he pressed hard for supplies, and offered to the Commons in recompence of their assistance to him, to quit for ever his claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgement of all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, had as good an establishment as our Laws could give it: The Commons were somewhat deliberate in this affair of money, and first they desired security from the King for redress of grievances in three particulars.

The Commons desire redress of grievances.

First, for clearing the Subjects property.
Secondly, for establishment of Religion.
Thirdly, for the Priviledges of Parliament.

The Lords seemed somewhat more sensible of the King's Proposition for supply, and after many conferences with the Commons, did at last dispose them to a complyance, but the Question, being in that house asked how much would serve to answer the present expectation; Secretary *Vane* demanded twelve Subsidies, which drew them into such high debates, that all things became desperate, so that on the 4*th.* of *May* by a unanimous consent of the Kings Councel, he was advised to their dissolution, and the Parliament was the next day dissolved.

The Parliament is dissolved.

It is said this fatal action was precipitated upon some intelligence, that the house of Commons meant to vote against the War with *Scotland*, which was suggested, for that the day before in the debates for money, some glances had been made at an inquisition into the causes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal councel, and it was likewise reported, that the Marquess of *Hamilton* was a great Stickler in this matter,

Mr. Glanvil chosen Speaker.

matter and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Councel, thereby to imbroyle his Majesties affairs the more, that he might confirm the *Scots* and distract the *English*, to work his owne advantages on both.

The Convocation of the Clergy grant the King a benevolence of 4 s. per pound for 6 years together.

The convocation of the Clergy was continued to the 29th of *May*, and they granted the King a benevolence of four shillings in the pound, for all their ecclesiasticall promotions, to be payd six years together then next ensueing, but this their continuance, and the Acts then made by them were censured and condemned in the following Parliament.

The dissolution of this Parliament was by some ill disposed people wrongfully ascribed to the advice of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, so that on the ninth of *May* a paper was posted upon the old Exchange by one *John Lilburne*, exciting the apprentices to rise, and rifle his house at *Lambeth* on Munday following, of which he having notice, made provision of some quantity of armes and ammunition for his defence, and in the dead of the night of the day appoynted, five hundred of the rabble beset his house, and strove to force an entrance, but were repulsed, and made to depart without doeing much more mischief, then asserting their anger in Seditious Language against him and breaking the windows of the house, the next day many of them upon enquiry were apprehended and imprisoned in the white Lyon prison in *Southwark*, but within three dayes after some of their Complices got together and came to the prison and brake it open and set them free, nevertheless one of the chief imprisoned ringleaders was retaken, arraigned, condemned, hanged, drawne and quartered on the 21 of *May*.

Arch-Bishop Laud beset by the rabble in his house at Lambeth.

The King being disappointed of supply by the breaking up of the Parliament was very industrious to get money otherwayes to go on in the war, to which end the City of *London* were sent to for a loan, and all Knights and Gentlemen, who held Lands in *Capite* of the King, were summoned to send men, horses and armes, according to their abilities. The Citizens pleaded poverty by want of trade and refused to lend, though the City was scarce at any time richer and the trade greater, They were luxuriant in wealth and ease by a forty years peace, and that made them wanton, and apt to take any impressions, but that which was supposed at this time to be the reason of their backwardness, was a sentence in the Star-chamber against the city of *London-Derry* in, *Ireland*, which belonged to the City of *London*, whereby for some misdemeanours, Their Charter for that Plantation was declared forfeited to the King and many fines were imposed upon the inhabitants planted there; But though the City refused, the Gentry generally afforded their help to supply the King, and by that assistance and other before-mentioned aids, the King had quickly raised a very good Army, whereof the Earl of *Northumberland* was appointed General, The Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conwey* General of the Horse: *Northumberland* was sick, and could not go, but the King went himself in person, so soon as the Queen then great with Child was delivered of her Son *Henry* who was born at *Oatlands* on the 20*th.* of *July*, but in the mean time the Army was on their march Northward, and my Lord *Conwey* marched with the Van some dayes before the rest could come up, and as he was marching, news was brought that the Scotch Army was march'd to *Dunce*, which was their old Quarter the last year not far from *Berwick*: upon this advice he was ordered to hast forwards towards *Newcastle*, but e're he got thither, fresh intelligence came, That the Scotch Army was march'd into *England* on the 20*th.* of *August*: The King met this advice in his way to *York*, and dispatched orders to *Conwey* to do what he could to impede their advance, till the Army could come up, upon this advice *Conwey* calling his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the pass at *Newborne* upon *Tine* to hinder their possessing of *Newcastle*, where Sir *Jacob Astley* had newly entered with his Regiment, but had not time to make any fortifications: The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached *North-allerton*, about two daies march on this side of *Newcastle*, : The Lord *Conwey* sent to him an account of a defeat of the Forces under his command, which they had received at *Newborne*; The substance of which action was as followeth.

The City refuse to send the King money.

The Earl of Northumberland appointed General of the Kings Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in person.

August the 27*th.* the Lord *Conwey* upon information of the march of the Scotch Army, and their design upon *Newcastle*, drew up three thousand Foot, and about twelve hundred Horse to secure the pass at *Newborne*: The Foot he lodged behind a Brest-work newly cast up for that purpose and placed the Horse in convenient posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on. General *Lesly* marched the greatest part of his Army that night to the Rivers side, and before morning planted there nine pieces of Ordnance, which he covered with bushes, that they might not be seen by the English; the next morning he sent a Trumpeter with a Letter to the Lord *Conwey*, desiring leave therein to pass towards the King with their Petition, to which he returned answer, he would let a few pass, but not an Army: *Lesly* then commanded three hundred horse to advance into the River, whom the Musketeres from behind the Works so galled, as they were enforced to retire; *Lesly* then discharged his Cannon upon the English foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their station, and threw down their arms, and fled: The Scots horse encouraged with this success, plunged into the River, and passed over, and were gallantly received by some of the English Troops commanded by Commissary General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Digby*, Captain *Nevil*, and Captain *Daniel O Neale*, but they were so over-powered with numbers, that they were forced to retreat in disorder, three hundred of the English being killed and taken in the encounter; *Conwey* then deserted the pass, and lets the Scotch Army without any further interruption possess *Newcastle*, which was a little before quitted by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, as not at that time tenible, but he first sunk his Cannon in the River, *Conwey* retreated with his Troops towards *York*, to which place the King and the Earl of *Strafford* with the rest of the Army were marched before, and there by the Lieutenant General he was accused of not doing his

The Lord Conwey's Forces defeated at Newtorn.

duty

duty at *Newborne*, which he as well as he could excuſed, but acquitted not himſelf thereby (in the opinions of many men either) of Cowardiſe or Treachery, though matters proceeded not ſo far as to a publick cenſure Judicially upon him.

Whil'ſt the Scoth Army were on their march towards *Newcaſtle*, a party from *Berwick* marched to *Dunce*, and drew of ſome Ordnance which General *Leſly* had left there, but the Earl of *Haddington*, who had ſome Troops neer to Guard the Borders, came in ſo ſoon upon them, that they were forced to leave them, and retreat haſtily to *Berwick*: The Earl a while after with two of his Brothers was ſmothered in the Ruines of the Caſtle of *Dunglaſs*, which was blown up by an accident of Fire, that blew up the Magazine, which was done as the Scotch Writers ſay, either by accident, or the malice of One of the Earls Pages.

The Earl of Haddington kill'd by the accidental firing of the Caſtle of Dunglaſs.

The Scots at their being in *England* had ſo formed a way of intelligence with ſome of the Engliſh Nobility and Gentry, that nothing ſucceeded well in the Counſels or actions of the King againſt them, and by this means they took courage to invade the Kingdom, which otherwiſe they durſt not have done, and this treachery was afterwards in the Uſurpation of *Cromwell* boaſted to the writer of theſe Papers by *Archibald Johnſton* then Laird of *Warriſton*, who valued himſelf to have been the chief contriver in it, as that which thereby gave the occaſion of ruine to the Royal Family of the *STUARTS*. Mr. *Froſt* of *Cambridge*, afterwards Clerke of the Counſel of State in the year 1648, after the murder of this King was often imployed to *Scotland* in that correſpondence, and he carried his letters in a hollow ſtaff to prevent diſcovery, and many others that were in thoſe intrigues, who are yet alive, and we have charity to believe, never intended to ſee ſuch ſad effects of their Counſels as afterwards inſued to the ſubverſion of our Government, and the deſolation of one of the moſt flouriſhing Kingdoms of *Europe*.

The Scots find their friends and Favourers in England.

The Scots confederates in purſuance of what their friends in *England* had agreed, declared in a Pamphlet, publiſhed at the head of their Army, (which was diſperſed in *London*, and many other places) not to lay down Arms till the reformed Religion were ſetled in both Nations upon ſure grounds, and the cauſers and Abetters of their preſent troubles brought to publick Juſtice in Parliament, and theſe Abettors they declared to be the Prelates and their adherents, but more particularly the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*: They pretended upon their march into *England* to take nothing from any of the Engliſh, but for ready money or bonds, but they were no ſooner ſeated in *New-Caſtle*, but they ſeized on four ſhips laden with corn, and impoſed a tax of 350 *l. per diem* on the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, and 300 *l. per diem* upon *Northumberland*, which was more than their whole Kingdome could provide for ſome years after, when an Engliſh Army had the power of *Scotland*, though their trade was free and greater than it had been many years before, and when much money was monethly brought in by the Engliſh in Specie, yet could not more than 6000 *l.* a moneth be rais'd in the whole Kingdom, and that not without extremeſt rigour.

The Scots publiſh a Pamphlet not to lay down their arms till the reformed Religion were ſetled in both Nations, and the oppoſers of it brought to puniſhment.

The King having loſt the occaſion of getting a reputation in arms by being perſwaded to the laſt years treaty at *Berwick*, and being now in great perplexity by the unfaithfulneſs of many of thoſe about him, could think of no expedient ſo good as to call together the great councel of his Peers to adviſe with them, and therefore Writs were iſſued to them to aſſemble at *York* on the 24*th.* of *September*, but this was not very well liked by thoſe who favoured the Scots, whoſe chief deſign aim'd at the calling of a Parliament, which they feared the meeting of the Peers might prevent; wherefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Eſſex*, *Warwick*, *Mouldgrave*, *Bullingbrook* and *Briſtoll*, and the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mandevile*, and the Lord *Edward Howard* preſented a Petition to the King, repreſenting many great diſtempers and dangers, threatning the Church and State, and his Royal Perſon, under ſeven heads.

The Favourers of the Scottiſh Faction put up a Petition to the King to hinder the meeting of the Peers, and to cauſe the calling of a Parliament.

1. *The Danger and hazard to which he is expoſed in the War, the waſte of his Revenue thereby, and the diſcontents occaſioned by the diſorders of the Souldiers.*

2. *Sundry Innovations in matters of Religion.*

3. *Increaſe of Popery by imploying thoſe of that Religion in places of truſt, in commanding men and arms in the Field, they being not permitted by Law to have any arms in their Houſes.*

4. *The great miſchiefs that may enſue, if the Forces raiſed in* Ireland *ſhould be brought into* England.

5. *The urging of Ship-money.*

6. *The heavy charge upon Merchandiſe, to the diſcouragement of Trade, and the multitude of Monopolies whereby the Manufactors of the Kingdom are burdened.*

7. *The grief of the Subjects by long intermiſſion of Parliaments, and the diſſolution of ſuch as have been called without effect.*

"For Remedy whereof, They pray that a Par-
"liament may be ſummoned, whereby the cauſes
"of the Grievances that the people lye under
"may be taken away, and the Authors and Coun-
"ſellors of them be brought to tryal and puniſh-
"ment as their offences ſhall require. And that
"the War may be compoſed without blood, to
"the honour and ſafety of the King's perſon,
"the comfort of the people, and the uniting both
"Realms againſt the Common Enemie of the
"reformed Religion.

A Petition fram'd in the name of the Citizens of London tending to the ſame end.

Many of the Citizens of *London* who were in combination with ſome of theſe Lords and the Scots, did ſo influence the Common Councel, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of *London*, alſo to the ſame purpoſe as this of the Lords.

The King ſaw by theſe applications, what endeavours were uſed to weaken him in the opinions of his people, and was forced to comply to the neceſſity of the time; wherefore he acquainted the Lords, that before the receipt of their Petition, foreſeeing the danger that threatned himſelf and the Crown, he had ſummoned the Peers to conſult with them what was fit to be done for his own honour and ſafety of the Kingdom, where they with the reſt might offer any thing conduceable to thoſe ends.

The

The Scots proceeded hand in hand with their friends in *England* in the substance of a Petition to the King about this time presented, requesting that a Parliament might be called in *England* for setling a Peace between the two Nations, they sent the Petition to the Lord *Lenerick* Secretary of State for *Scotland*, who delivered it to the King, but an answer thereunto was respited to the meeting of the Peers.

The Scots join also in a petition for calling a Parliament.

On the 24 *th.* of *September*, the Peers assembled at *York*, and the King at the opening of the Assembly spake to them to this effect, *That an Army of Rebells being within the Kingdom, he thought it adviseable according to the Practise of his Predecessors in like cases to call them together, that with their advice and assistance, he and they might proceed joyntly to the chastisement of their insolencies, and secure him and his good Subjects from their malice: He said, He had of himself resolved to call a Parliament to meet on the third of* November *next, and in the mean time he desired their advice on two poynts. First, what answer to give to the Petition of the Rebells* (for so he now on all occasions termed the Scots) *and in what manner to treat with them: Secondly, how the English Army should be maintained till supplies from the Parliament might be had.*

The Peers Assemble at York.

The substance of the King's Speech.

The Lords entered into Consultations of these matters, and for their better information, the King caused a true relation to be given to them of the state of the whole business, and upon what reasons and advices, the unanimous consent of the Privy Counsel for this War was guided: After many debates, To the first point, they advised the King to a treaty with the Scots; and to the second, they used their mediation with the City of *London* for a Loan to the King for the present support of his Army: A message was hereupon sent to the Scots to intimate his Majesties consent that a treaty should be had at *York* betwixt him and them, The Scots replyed, They held that no place of security for their Commissioners, considering that the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who had his residence there, commanded his Majesties Army, and who proclaimed them Traytors in *Ireland* before the King had done it in *England*, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain; hereupon it was concluded that the treaty should be at *Rippon*, and the King appointed six Earls, and as many Barons to be Commissioners on his part, and the Scots nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better understanding of the state of the Affair, the Earl of *Trequayr*, the Kings late Commissioner in *Scotland*, was ordered to be present, to give account as occasion offered of what had passed in *Scotland* from the beginning of the troubles; the Earl of *Bristol* managed the Treaty for the English, and the Lord *Lowdon* for the Scots, the greatest part of the demands of each side were accorded without great difficulty, That which seemed hardest to the English, was to consent to the raysing of moneys in *England* for the Scots, having an Army of their own at the same time in being: For the Scots notwithstanding their pretences of coming into *England* without a charge to the Nation, had by this time increased their levies to the the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day: Nevertheless, the English Lords willing on any condition to make peace, agreed with the Scots in the ensuing Articles; Which on the 26 *th.* of *October* were signed by the Commissioners, and afterwards by the King, but there were many other demands of the Scots referred to a further treaty, which the King consented to be afterwards holden at *London*. The Articles agreed at *Rippon*, were these following.

A Treaty with the Scots at Rippon.

The Articles of Agreement signed by the Commissioners at Rippon.

1. *That there be a cessation of Arms both by Sea and Land from this present.*

2. *That all acts of Hostility do henceforth cease.*

3. *That both parties shall peaceably retain during the treaty whatsoever they possess at the time of the cessation.*

4. *That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forts beyond the River of Tees, shall not exempt their lands which lye within the Counties of* Northumberland *and the* Bishoprick *of* Durham *from such contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds* per diem.

5. *That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of* Tees *shall give any impediment to such contributions as are already allowed for the maintenance of the Scottish Army, and shall fetch no Victuals nor forrage out of their bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victuals, Cattel or forrage which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their maintenance, shall be no breach.*

6. *That no recruit shall be brought into either Armies from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treaty.*

7. *That the contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds* per diem, *shall be only raised out of the Counties of* Northumberland, Bishoprick, *Town of* Newcastle, Cumberland *and* Westmerland: *and that the not payment thereof shall be no breach of the Treaty, but the Countreys and Towns shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the sum agreed upon, unless it be for charges of driving to be set by a Priser of the Forrage.*

8. *That the River of Tees shall be the bounds of both Armies (excepting alwaies the Town and Castle of* Stockton, *and the Village of* Egliff) *and the Countreys of* Northumberland *and* Bishoprick, *be the limits within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoys as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the contribution, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of* Northumb. *and* Cumberl.

9. *That if any person commit any private insolence, it shall be no breach of the Treaty, if upon complaint made by either parties, reparation and punishment be granted.*

10. *If no Victuals be delivered upon the prices which shall be agreed upon, and ready money offered for the same & refused, it shall be no breach of the Cessation to take such Victuals, paying such prices.*

11. *No new Fortifications to be made during the Treaty against either parties.*

12. *That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their trade of Commerce freely pass to and fro, without any stay at all, but it is particularly provided that no member of either Army, pass without a formal pass, under the hands of the General, or of him that commands in chief.*

The Earl of *Mountross* having long adhered to

the Confederates after some time discovered, that notwithstanding their fair pretences, they had no good intentions to the King, and was therefore willing to leave their party; he had in the Army two Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, and there were five or six Regiments amongst his Friends: the first distaste he took, was a little time after the Pacification, when he perceived the Confederates to make no further use of it than to gain time of greater strength, to set up thereby a kind of arbitrary Despotical Government, but finding the people so infatuated by the speciousness of their pretences, he was forced to continue his former vigor in acting with them, that they might have no jealousie of him, and upon the advance of the Scotch Army to invade *England*, he was the first that march'd out of the Kingdom at the head of his own Regiment, but during the Treaty at *Rippon*, he found means to write a letter to the King, wherein he assured him of his fidelity, and a most ready obedience to him; this letter was by some of the Scotch of the Kings Bed-chamber secretly taken out of his pocket, and a copy thereof sent to General *Lesly*: he presently sends for the Earl to him, and told him he had managed a Correspondence with their Enemies, and that he had known the heads of Princes tost off for lesser matters: The Earl required an instance, and thereupon *Lesly* produced a copy of his Letter to the King, to which he boldly answered, *That he understood not that writing to the King was to hold intelligence with an Enemie, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Soveraign*; this answer did so amuse the General, that he thought it not at that time convenient to pursue the business farther for fear of a revolt in the Army, wherein *Montross* had a great party.

The Earl of Monteith being displeased at the proceedings of the Confederates, sends a Letter to the King to assure him of his Fidelity.

The time now approach'd for the meeting of the Parliament, and great endeavours were used in many parts of the Kingdom, to have such persons chosen as shewed their dislike of the Government of the Church, or had been earnest pretenders for reformation in former Parliaments.

On the third of *November*, being the day prefixt, the Parliament assembled, and the King express'd himself to this purpose, *He declared his earnest desire for the happiness and prosperity of the Kingdom, desiring them as he promised he would, to lay aside all prejudice, and he would now clearly and freely put himself upon the Love and Affection of his English Subjects; willing them to consider the best way for the safety and security of the Kingdom of* England, *and in order to it, first to think of the chasing out of the Rebells (for so he termed the Scots) and next for satisfaction of their just grievances, wherein he would heartily concurr, that the World might see his intentions were to make this a glorious and flourishing Kingdom; freely leaving it to them where to begin, and adding that it should not be his fault if this were not a good and a happy Parliament, and in the conclusion he told them, for their better understanding the state of all affairs, he had commanded my Lord Keeper to give them a short and free account of all matters.*

The Parliament assembled. The Kings Speech.

The King having ended, the Lord Keeper gave them a summary relation of all things relating to the Scotch invasion, we will not say Rebellion, for it was ill resented by some considerable persons, that the King in his Speech had represented them under that character, whereof he having notice, told them two daies after, he must needs call them Rebells who had invaded *England* with an Armie.

Great was the expectation of all people concerning the success of this Parliament, which was much raised, upon the Kings declared resolution at the opening of it to concurr with them in satisfying all their just Grievances.

The long intermission of Parliaments had produced many mischiefs and inconveniences in the Government by the remissnesse of some, and the rigor of others in Church and State, which inflamed the zeal of many good men of both houses at this their meeting to be very earnest in their endeavours for the redress of Grievances, wherein they were very much heightened by some others of the Lords and Commons House, who were in confederacy with the Scots; and in a kind of Combination to alter the Government of the Church, and therewith to have so much influence of that of the State also, as to gain to themselves honours and advancement into places of power and trust: The pursuit of these things made them exceed the method and pathes of their Predecessors, and by fomenting Jealousies, countenancing and procuring tumultuous Petitions and Assemblyes by menaces and force, they often obtained the accomplishment of their purposes, contriving without doors in private meetings, what they designed to prosecute in their Assemblies. Raysing of money by extraordinary means, when necessity was the best argument for so doing, Billeting of Souldiers, innovations in matters of Religion and illegal Imprisonments, were the great grievances of the subject now to be redress'd: but the means used to remove these, engaged the reformers in process of time in a bloody War to act over all the same things with greater excess, demonstrating thereby the extreme hazard of intemperate counsels.

Success in this War enlarged their desires, and extended their ambition, it bred thoughts in them they never thought before, and this was that which drew on the ruine of the King, and with him for some time the subversion of our Monarchy, for many of those that were in the beginning most active for reformation, had not in their prospect the calamity that ensued, and too late repented the errors of their former actings, when they could not stem the violence of that tyde, their impetuosity had swell'd to too great a height. These matters will appear more plainly by what follows in the course of the History, whereof the greatest part as to this Kings Reign will be taken up in the proceedings of this Parliament.

The first weeks business was in setling the five standing Committees, For Grievances, Religion, Courts of Justice, Trade and Priviledges in Elections, & in several declamatory speeches against the exorbitances of Government both in Church and State. A great part whereof were ascribed to the Councels of the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*.

Five standing Committees setled.

The Scottish Commissioners were now come to *London* in order to the conclusion of some things undetermined at *Rippon*: These had many private Conferences with their friends of the house of Commons, And it was agreed by them, That the Earl should be immediately impeached

at

The Scottish Commissioners agree with their friends of the house of Commons to impeach the Earl of Strafford of High-Treason.

at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he was not yet come from *York*, and this they resolved on to prevent, and be before hand with him in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. *Pym*, and some of the Leading Members of both Houses for holding intelligence with the Scots, which he intended to have offered in the House of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst them: Wherefore those in the Commons house that were concerned, were very industrious in their designs, and the house had not sate many daies before he was therein declared to be guilty of High-Treason, and a secret Committee of five were nominated to collect matter for an impeachment against him: This was like to take up more time than the Prosecutors could with convenience to themselves allow of, so that the house were prevailed with upon assertions of particular persons to vote that a General Impeachment of High-Treason should be made against him to the Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him sequestred from that House. And on the 11 *th.* of *November* Mr. *Pym* was sent from the Commons to the Lords with a Message, which he delivered in these words.

Mr. Pyms message from the Commons to the Lords

My Lords,

"The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses now "assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have "received information of divers traiterous designs and practises of a great Peer of this house: "And by vertue of a Command from them, I "do here in the name of the Commons now assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all "the Commons of *England*, accuse *Thomas* Earl "of *Strafford*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* of "High-Treason; and they have commanded me "further to desire your Lordships, that he may "be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith "committed to Prison; They have further commanded me to let you know, that they will "within a very few daies resort to your Lordships with the Particular Articles and Grounds "of this accusation.

The Earl being required to withdraw, it was much debated by the Peers, whether he should be imprisoned on a General accusation without any particular Act of Treason charged against him, but upon the Question it was carried in the affirmative: and he being called in, kneel'd at the Barr, And after standing up, The Lord Keeper spake to him as followeth.

The Lord Keepers Speech to the Earl of Stafford upon his Impeachment.

My Lord of *Strafford*,

"The House of Commons in their own name, "and in the name of the whole Commons of "*England*, have this day accused your Lordship "to the Lords of the higher House of Parliament, of High-Treason, The Articles they "will in a very few daies produce, in the mean "time they have desired of my Lords, and my "Lords have accordingly Resolved, That your "Lordship shall be committed to safe custody to "the Gentleman Usher, and be sequestred from "the House till your Lordship shall clear your "self of the accusations that shall be laid against "you: And hereupon he was immediately taken "into Custody.

The next day the Commons considering the great Pressures of the Northern Counties by the two Armies that lay upon them, resolved that a hundred thousand pound should be forthwith raysed for their maintenance, and till it could be regularly levied, a hundred thousand pound was borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of the Members of the House of Commons: Many Petitions from all parts were brought to them for redress of Grievances, and to be relieved against Orders and Decrees of the Councel Table, Starr-Chamber, and High Commission Court, which were referred to several Committees, and diverse were ordered to be inlarged out of Prison upon these Petitions, especially *Pryn*, *Burton* and *Bastwick*, who seemed more eminent than the rest of the Sufferers, and a while after by the intercession of the Lords with the King, The Bishop of *Lincoln* also was freed from his imprisonment in the Tower.

A hundred thousand pounds borrowed of the City to maintain the army in the North.

Pryn, Burton, Bastwick, and the Bishop of Lincoln enlarged.

The King willing to be rid of the Scotch Army, hastened the Commission to the Lords who were imployed in the Treaty at *Rippon*, or any ten of them to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, or any seven of them, being the Earls of *Rothes* and *Dumfermlin*, *John* Lord *Lowdon*, Sir *Patrick Hepburne*, Sir *William Douglas*, *William Drummond*, *John Smyth* Bayliff of *Edenburgh*, *Alexander Wedderburn*, *Hugh Kennedy*, *Alexander Henderson* and *Archibald Johnston* to take into consideration their demands, and compose all differences arising thereupon, which commission was passed under the Great Seal of *England* on the 23 *th.* of *November*, and in a while after the Scots presented their demands, which were eight in number, and afterwards they put in seventeen heads, wherein One, (and that not the least considerable) was, That some Scottish men of respect might be in places of trust about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was that which all their Pretences aimed at notwithstanding their Zeal to reformation of Religion, and though all they desired else was granted, they never attained their ends in this, for the troubles which they raysed, did not not only bring after them a misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and the ring-leaders of them wanted not their part thereof.

Lords appointed to treat with the Scots Commissioners in order to a full pacification.

The Scots present eight demands.

Sir *Francis Windebanke* Secretary of State was aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the opinion of the Parliament, being one suspected in his Religion, a great favourer of Priests of the Romish Church; for whom he had obtained many Reprieves, and was thought to be guilty of misdemeanors of a higher nature: But he thinking himself not sufficiently provided to ride out the approaching storm, made his escape into *France*, where he dyed a Roman Catholick.

Secretary Windebank foreseeing a storm, makes his escape into France.

In the consideration of grievances, the charge imposed upon the Subject for providing and furnishing of Ships, and the Assessments for raysing money for that purpose, commonly called Ship-money, are voted by both Houses to be against the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in the case both at the Councel Table, Starr-Chamber, and Courts of Justice declared null and void. This was thought a strange way of proceeding; First, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared

Ship-money voted unlawful.

to be judge: Secondly, because being brought to a publick test after it had been argued by Councel on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, They passed a definitive sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirdly, because the votes of the Houses of Parliament were passed without hearing the Kings Councel, or calling the Judges to shew the reasons of their opinions; And fourthly, because the arguments of Justice *Crook* and Justice *Hutton* for the illegality thereof were ordered to be put in print, and those of the other Judges for the Legality of it suppressed: But those Votes were not by the makers of them deemed a sufficient security against imposing the like charge for the future, but they took in the King's aid to an Act of Parliament for the confirmation of them. And they now began to consider of a charge of High Treason against the Lord Keeper, *Finch*, and the Judges: In the first whereof they made some expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges being willing to keep a rod over them that nothing should be declared for Law against their intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money led them to consider of the first occasion of the raising of it, which was because the Parliament immediately preceding the last was dissolved without those supplyes the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of several violations of the Priviledges of Parliament by the commitment of divers members, and a Judgement against them in the Kings Bench: And then all the Inconveniences were summ'd up that hapned by the Long intermission of Parliaments, to provide against which, they resolved of a Bill for a tryennial Parliament. These debates took up many daies: but in the mean time, whilst these consultations were had for a reformation of the civil state, the Scottish Commissioners and their friends were not idle in their endeavours to reform or alter the Ecclesiastical State: In Order whereunto many Petitions from all places were delivered to the House of Commons against Ecclesiastical discipline; The Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, amongst which one was presented by Alderman *Pennington*, subscribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of *London*.

The Citizens present a Petition against Church-Ceremonies.

This Petition was very surprising to many sober men in the house of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the abuses in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of the Government it self, so that after some debate, the Petition was transmitted to another time, but those that favoured the business, though they were not succesful in it, fell a while after upon another argument more plausible, which was an inspection into the legality of the late convocation,, which produced this resolution of the Commons.

The illegality of the late Convocation resolved upon, and their Canons and Constitutions voted down.

That the Clergie in a Synod or Convocation, hath no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws Ecclesiastical to bind either Laity or Clergie without a Parliament: And that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the Kings Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergie of this Convocation thought themselves hardly used in these Votes, who thought to have been called by themselves or their Councel to have justified their proceedings, alledging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependance upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the confirmation and authorising of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himself, as appears by the Statute made in the 26 *th.* of *Henry* the Eighth, and the constant practise ever since, and it is certain that before the Canons were subscribed, they were imparted to the King, and by him communicated to the Lords of the Privy Councel, the Judges and the Kings Councel learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending; In the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been strange if any thing tending to faction and sedition, or to the diminution of the Subjects property and the Kings Prerogative, or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land had been found in them: but the Reputation of the Commons was at this time so great, it was not safe for any to dispute their actions: The very same day that the Canons were thus voted down, the Scots Commissioners had presented a Paper to the Parliament, wherein they named the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* an Incendiary, and promised to bring in a complaint against him the morrow after, this produced an Order in the House of Commons for a Committee to draw up a charge against him, but the Scots fayling to bring in their Complaint, the next day, Mr. *Hollis* the day after was sent up to the Lords from the Commons with a General Impeachment of High Treason against him, praying that he might be sequestred from Parliament, and in a few daies they would resort to them, with the particular ground of their accusation; immediately upon this the Scots Commissioners sent in their charge, upon the reading whereof he was committed to the custody of the Usher of the *Black Rod*, where he continued ten weeks before any particular charge was brought against him: The Lord Keeper *Finch* was the next great Delinquent against whom the Commons designed to proceed, whereof he having gained intelligence, he moved by his friends in that House, that he might be permitted to clear himself before them of several imputations that lay upon him, which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21 *th.* of *December* he made an Elegant and Queynt Oration, tending to the Vindication of himself in every particular, but notwithstanding all that he could say, they voted him that very day a Traytor, upon these considerations.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury being impeached of High Treason, is committed to the Black Rod.

Lord Keeper Finch voted a Traytor.

1. *For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer* Weston, 4 Caroli *when the Parliament desired it.*

2. *For soliciting, perswading, and threatning the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-money.*

3. *For several illegal actions in Forrest matters.*

4. *For ill offices done in moving the King to dissolve the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.*

He flyes over into Holland, Sir Edward Littleton succeeds in his place

The next day he was accus'd before the Lords, but he wisely withdrew himself into *Holland*, and thereby escaped the danger that threatned him, and

and a while after Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in his place.

The King having been ſometime in treaty with the Dutch Embaſſador for a match betwixt the young Prince of *Orange* and the Lady *Mary* his daughter, before he would make any concluſion therein, thought fit to communicate the ſame to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the tenth of *February*; the conſideration that induced to this treaty, he ſaid were three; Firſt, the matter of Religion, wherein there needed no diſpenſation, nor fear that his daughters conſcience ſhould be any way perverted.

A Match propoſed between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, approved by the Parliament.

Secondly, he eſteemed a ſtrict allyance and confederacy with the States, as uſeful to the Kingdom as that of any of his neighbours, eſpecially conſidering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of ſtrength; And laſtly, the uſe he might make of this allyance towards the eſtabliſhing of his Siſter and Nephews; he told them, the articles of Marriage were in a manner concluded, but not to be ratified till that allyance ſhould be ended and agreed, which he ſaid he thought not fit to enter upon without their aſſiſtance, he then delivered to them, the propoſitions offered by him to the States Embaſſador, which he left to their conſideration and free debate, deſiring them to make as much expedition in their Counſels as ſo great a buſineſs ſhould require: The Lords communicated this favourable Propoſition of the King to the Commons who reſented it very well, and indeed nothing from the King ſince the firſt ſitting of this Parliament was ſo acceptable to both Houſes, which was a wonder, conſidering the jealouſies of the times. About this time, or a few daies before the particular charge againſt the Earl of *Strafford* was brought up to the Lords by Mr. *Pym* under 28 Articles; They had a little while before exhibited ſome General Articles, to which he could not be forced to anſwer, but upon this further impeachment, the Lords required him to anſwer to the whole, and though the charge was very long, yet were the Commons ſo preſſing for his anſwer, that by the 24*th.* of *February* he delivered it to the Lords, and it was read in the Houſe, the King being preſent.

A particular charge brought by Mr. Pym againſt the Earl of Strafford, whereupon he is committed to the Tower.

Upon the carrying up of this Impeachment, he was taken out of the cuſtody of the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, and committed to the Tower, he moved the Lords to have Councel allowed him, which was much oppoſed by the Commons, but his accuſation having much in it of matter of Law, he had permiſſion to have Counſel: The Articles as they conſiſted firſt of Generals, and as they were after diſtributed into particulars, we ſhall inſert when we come to the relation of his Tryal.

The King gives his aſſent to the Bill for a Tryennial Parliament.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having paſſed both Houſes, was on the 16*th.* of *Febrnary* offered to the King, it was entituled An Act for the preventing inconveniences happening by the Long intermiſſion of Parliaments: and at the ſame time the Commons preſented an Act for the relief of his Majeſties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of four intire Subſidies: to both which the King gave his Royal aſſent.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments was an Act of as great Favour to the Subject as ever paſs'd in Parliament, for if the King ſhould refuſe to ſummon a Parliament at the time therein limited, the Chancellor or Keeper might iſſue out Writs to ſummon the Peers, and for election of the Commons: and if the Chancellor or Keeper ſhould not do it, any twelve of the Peers might ſummon the Parliament, and if the Peers ſhould omit the iſſuing out of ſummons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magiſtrates reſpectively might cauſe Elections to be made, and if the Sheriffs ſhould refuſe, the Freeholders in Counties, and all other perſons that have right of chooſing, might make Election of Members: And the Members ſo choſen, were under great penalties obliged to attend: with many other clauſes to accompliſh the end deſigned by the Act, which alſo had in it ſeveral expreſſions too reflecting on the Prerogative: but the King really believing moſt of the miſchiefs then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermiſſion of Parliaments, and being reſolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with his Subjects, he conſented to it: And this Act of his Grace and Favour was ſo pleaſing to the Parliament, that upon a conference with both Houſes it was unanimouſly agreed to wait upon the King at *White-Hall*, and return him their humble thanks, and that night Bone-fires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

On the ſame day the charge againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was carried from the Commons to the Lords by Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the *Tower*, but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his commitment was reſpited till the firſt of *March*.

The Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury ordered to the Tower.

The Scots Commiſſioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian diſcipline into the Church of *England*, and by their confederates had made an active party in the Houſe of Commons, who took frequent occaſion of aſperſing the Biſhops, and in theſe debates they ſpared not Epiſcopacy: alſo the debate of the forementioned City Petition was now reſumed, and many members ſpake for the eradication of the Epiſcopal Hierarchy, amongſt which *Nathaniel Fiennes* the younger Son of the Lord *Say* was moſt vehement, but the Lord *Faulkland*, the Lord *Digby*, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did by the weight of reaſon ſo far prevail, that the Order of Epiſcopacy was yet preſerved, though their power was much leſſened by a vote paſſed in the Houſe of Commons preparatory to a Bill, *viz.* that no Biſhop ſhall have any vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the Starr-Chamber, nor bear any ſway in temporal affairs, and that no Clergie-man ſhall be in Commiſſion of the Peace: The next thing of note was the Tryal of the Earl of *Strafford*, which began on the 22*th.* of *March*, and was ſo remarkable in the circumſtances of it, that we ſhall be very particular in the relation thereof.

The Biſhops Votes in Parliament voted down.

The Earl of Strafford brought to his Tryal.

He came from the Tower about ſeven of the clock in the morning, accompanied with ſix Barges, wherein were 100 Souldiers of the Tower all with Partiſans for his Guard, and 50 pair of Oares: at his landing at *Weſtminſter* he was attended with 200 of the Trained Bands, and was

Guarded by them into the Hall: The King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a clock, but kept themſelves private within their cloſets, ſo that the King ſaw and heard all that paſſed, but was ſeen of none: When the Earl entred the Hall, the Porter asked the Uſher of the *Black Rod*, whether the Axe ſhould be carried before him or no, who anſwered that the King had expreſly forbidden it, nor was it the cuſtome of *England* to uſe that Ceremony, but only when the party accuſed was to be put upon his Jury, Thoſe of the Upper houſe ſate with their heads covered, thoſe of the Lower houſe that were preſent (for they ſate not there as a houſe) were all uncovered. The Biſhops upon the Saturday before did voluntarily decline the giving of their Suffrages in matters criminal, and of that nature, according to the proviſion of the Cannon Law and practiſe of the Kingdom to this day, and therefore would not be preſent, yet withal they gave in a Proteſtation that their abſence ſhould not prejudice them of that or any other Priviledge competent to them, as the Lords ſpiritual in Parliament, which was accepted.

The Biſhops decline the giving of their Suffrages in the matter.

The Earl of *Arundel* ſate as Lord high Steward of *England*, and at the Earls appearing commanded the Proſecutors to proceed. Mr. *Pym* being Speaker of the Committee of the Commons that were appointed to proſecute, gave in the Articles of Impeachment, which we ſhall here inſert as they were read in Court.

The Articles of Impeachment.

1. That he the ſaid *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford* hath trayterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and inſteed thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by trayterous words, Counſels and Actions, and by giving his Majeſty advice by force of Arms to compell his loyal Subjects to ſubmit thereunto.

2. That he hath trayterouſly aſſumed to himſelf Regal power over the lives, liberties, perſons, lands and goods of his Majeſties ſubjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exerciſed the ſame tyrannically to the ſubverſion of many both of Peers and others of his Majeſties Leige people.

3. That the better to inrich and enable himſelf to go through with his trayterous deſigns, he hath detained a great part of his Majeſties Revenew, without giving legal account, and hath taken great ſums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own uſe, when his Majeſty was neceſſitated for his own urgent occaſions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath trayterouſly abuſed the power and authority of his Government, to the increaſing, countenancing, and incouraging of Papiſts, that ſo he might ſettle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himſelf and that party, and by their help proſecute and accompliſh his malitious and tyrannical deſigns.

5. That he hath malitiouſly endeavoured to ſtirr up enmity and hoſtility between his Majeſties Subjects of *England*, and thoſe of *Scotland*.

6. That he hath trayterouſly broken the great truſt repoſed in him by his Majeſty of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majeſties Subjects to death, his Army to a diſhonourable retreat by the Scots at *Newborn*, and the Town of *Newcaſtle* into their hands, to the end that by the effuſion of blood, by diſhonour, and ſo great a loſs of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſties Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and irreconcilable Quarrel with the Scots.

7. That to preſerve himſelf from being queſtioned for theſe and other his trayterous courſes, he laboured to ſubvert the rights of Parliaments, and the antient courſe of Parliamentary proceedings, & by falſe and malitious ſlanders to incenſe his Majeſty againſt Parliaments. By which words, councels and actions, he hath trayterouſly, and contrary to his allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majeſty, to ſet a diviſion between them, and to ruine and deſtroy his Majeſties Kingdoms, for which they impeach him of High Treaſon againſt our Soveraign Lord the King his Crown and dignity.

8. And he the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* was Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant General of the Army there, (*viz.*) of his moſt Excellent Majeſty for his Kingdoms both of *England* and *Ireland*, and Lord Preſident of the North, during the time that all and every of the crimes and offences before ſet forth were done and committed: And he the ſaid Earl was Lieutenant General of all his Majeſties Army in the North parts of *England* during the time that the crimes and offences in the 5 and 6 Articles ſet forth were done and committed.

The further Impeachment which was more particular, was thus expreſs'd.

1. That he the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* the 21 *th.* day of *March* in the eighth year of his now Majeſties Reign, was Preſident of the Kings Councel in the Northern parts of *England*.

That he the ſaid Earl being Preſident of the ſaid Councel, on the 21 *th.* day of *March*, a Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* with ſchedules of inſtruction thereto annexed was directed to the ſaid Earl and others the Commiſſioners therein named, whereby amongſt other things, power and authority is limited to the ſaid Earl and others the Commiſſioners therein named, to hear and determine all offences and miſdemeanors, ſuits, debates, controverſies and demands, cauſes, things and matters whatſoever therein contained, and within certain precincts in the ſaid Northern parts therein ſpecified, and in ſuch manner as by the ſaid ſchedule is limited and appointed.

That amongſt other things in the ſaid Inſtructions, it is directed that the ſaid Preſident and others therein appointed ſhall hear and determine according to the courſe of proceedings in the Court of Star-Chamber, diverſe offences, deceits and falſities therein mentioned, whether the ſame be provided for by the Acts of Parliament or not, ſo that the fines impoſed be not leſs than by Act or Acts of Parliament provided for by thoſe offences is appointed.

That alſo amongſt other things in the ſaid Inſtructions, it is directed that the ſaid Preſident and others therein appointed, have power to examine,

amine, hear, and determine, according to the courſe of proceedings in the Court of Chancery all manner of complaints for any matter within the ſaid Precincts, as well concerning Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, either Freehold, Cuſtomary or Copy-hold, as Leaſes and other things therein mentioned, and to ſtay proceedings in the Court of Common Law by injunction or otherwiſe by all waies and means as is uſed in the Court of Chancery.

And although the former Preſidents of the ſaid Councel had never put in practiſe ſuch inſtructions, nor had they any ſuch inſtructions, yet the ſaid Earl in the moneth of *May* in the ſaid 8 *th.* year, and divers years following, did put in practiſe, exerciſe and uſe, and cauſed to be uſed and put in practiſe the ſaid Commiſſion and inſtructions, and did direct and exerciſe an exorbitant and unlawful power and juriſdiction on the perſons and eſtates of his Majeſties Subjects in thoſe parts, and did diſinherit divers of his Majeſties Subjects in thoſe parts of their inheritances, ſequeſtred their poſſeſſion, and did fine, ranſome, puniſh and impriſon them, and cauſed them to be fined, ranſomed, puniſhed and impriſoned, to their ruine and deſtruction, and namely Sir *Conyers Darcy*, Sir *John Bourcher*, and divers others againſt the Laws, and in ſubverſion of the ſame: And the ſaid Commiſſion and inſtructions were procured and iſſued by advice of the ſaid Earl.

And he the ſaid Earl to the intent that ſuch illegal and unjuſt power might be exerciſed with the greater licenſe and will, did adviſe, counſel and procure further directions, in and by the ſaid inſtructions to be given, that no Prohibition be granted at all, but in caſes where the ſaid Councel ſhall exceed the limits of the ſaid Inſtructions: And that if any writ of *Habeas Corpus* be granted, the party be not diſcharged till the party perform the Decree and Order of the ſaid Councel.

And the ſaid Earl in the 13 *th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, did procure a new Commiſſion to himſelf and others therein appointed with the ſaid inſtructions and other unlawful additions.

That the ſaid Commiſſion and Inſtructions were procured by the ſollicitation and advice of the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*.

2. That ſhortly after the obtaining of the ſaid Commiſſion dated the 21 *th.* of *March* in the 8 *th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, (to wit) the laſt day of *Auguſt* then next following, he the ſaid Earl, (to bring his Majeſties Liege people into a diſlike of his Majeſty and of his Government, and to terrifie the Juſtices of the Peace from executing of the Laws; he the ſaid Earl being then Preſident as aforeſaid, and a Juſtice of the Peace) did publickly at the Aſſizes held for the County of *York* in the City of *York* in and upon the ſaid laſt day of *Auguſt*, declare and publiſh before the people there attending for the adminiſtration of Juſtice according to the Law, and in the preſence of the Juſtices ſitting, that ſome of the Juſtices were all for Law, but they ſhould finde that the Kings little finger ſhould be heavier than the Loynes of the Law.

3. That the Realm of *Ireland* having been time out of mind annexed to the Imperial Crown of this his Majeſties Realm of *England*, and governed by the ſame Laws: the ſaid Earl being Lord Deputy of that Realm, to bring his Majeſties Liege people of that Kingdom likewiſe into diſlike of his Majeſties Government, and intending the ſubverſion of the fundamental Laws and ſetled government of that Realm, and the deſtruction of his Majeſties liege people there, did upon the 30 *th.* day of *September* in the ninth year of his now Majeſties Reign, in the City of *Dublin* (the chief City of that Kingdom, where his Majeſties Privy Counſel and Courts of Juſtice do ordinarily reſide, and whither the Nobility and Gentry of that Realm do uſually reſort for Juſtice) in a publick ſpeech before divers of the Nobility and Gentry, and before the Mayor, Aldermen and Recorder, and many Citizens of *Dublin* and other his Majeſties liege people, declare and publiſh that *Ireland* was a conquered Nation, and that the King might do with them what he pleaſed, and ſpeaking of the charters of the former Kings of *England* made to that City, he further ſaid, that their Charters were nothing worth, and did bind the King no further than he pleaſed.

4. That *Richard* Earl of *Corke* having ſued out Proceſs in courſe of Law for recovery of his poſſeſſion, from which he was put by colour of an Order made by the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* and the Councel Table of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*. The ſaid Earl of *Strafford* upon a paper Petition without legal proceedings did the 20 *th.* day of *February* in the 11 *th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, threaten the ſaid Earl of *Corke* (being then a Peer of the ſaid Realm) to impriſon him, unleſs he would ſurceaſe his ſuit, and ſaid, he would neither have Law nor Lawyers diſpute or queſtion any of his Orders: And the 20 *th.* day of *March* in the ſaid 11 *th* year, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* ſpeaking of an Order of the ſaid Councel Table of that Realm made in the time of King *James*, which concerned a Leaſe, which the ſaid Earl of *Cork* claimed in certain Rectories or Tythes which the ſaid Earl of *Cork* alledged to be of no force, ſaid, that he would make the ſaid Earl and all *Ireland* know, ſo long as he had the Government there, any Act of State there made or to be made, ſhould be as binding to the Subjects of that Kingdome as an Act of Parliament, And did queſtion the ſaid Earl of *Cork* in the Caſtle Chamber upon pretence of breach of the ſaid Order of the Councel Table, and did ſundry other times, and upon ſundry other occaſions by his words and ſpeeches arrogate to himſelf a power above the fundamental Laws and eſtabliſhed Government of that Kingdom, and ſcorned the ſaid Laws and eſtabliſhed Government.

The Caſtle-Chamber is the ſame with the Star-Chamber in England.

5. That according to ſuch his Declarations and Speeches, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* did uſe and exerciſe a power above and againſt, and to the ſubverſion of the ſaid fundamental Laws and eſtabliſhed Government of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* extending ſuch his power to the Goods, Freeholds, Inheritances, Liberties and Lives of his Majeſties Subjects of the ſaid Realm, *viz.* the ſaid Earl of *Straford*, the 12 *th.* day of *December*, *An. Dom.* 1635. in the time of full peace, did in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* give and procure

to

to be given againſt the Lord *Mount-Norris*, (then and yet a Peer of *Ireland*, and then Vice-Treaſurer and Receiver General of the Realm of *Ireland*, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the ſaid Kingdome) a ſentence of death by a Councel of War called together by the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, without any warrant or authority of Law or offence deſerving any ſuch puniſhment: And he the ſaid Earl did alſo at *Dublin* within the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* in the moneth of *March* in the 14*th.* year of his Majeſties Reign without any legal or due proceedings or Tryal give or cauſe to be given a ſentence of death againſt one other of his Majeſties Subjects, whoſe name is yet unknown, and cauſed him to be put to death in execution of the ſaid ſentence.

6. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Petition of *Richard Ralſtone*, did cauſe the ſaid Lord *Mount-Norris* to be diſſeized and put out of his Freehold and Inheritance of his Manor of *Tymore* in the County of *Armagh*, in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, the ſaid Lord *Mount-Norris* having been two years before in quiet poſſeſſion thereof.

7. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* in the Holy Trinity in the 13*th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, did cauſe a caſe commonly called *The caſe of* Tenures *upon defective Titles* to be made or drawn up without any Jury or Tryal, or other legal Proceſs, and without the conſent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the ſaid Realm of *England* to deliver their opinions and reſolutions to that caſe, and by colour of ſuch opinions and reſolutions, did without any legal proceeding cauſe *Thomas* Lord *Dillon* a Peer of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, to be put out of poſſeſſion of divers Lands and tenements, being his freehold in the County of *Mayo* and *Roſecomen*, in the ſaid Kingdom, and divers other of his Majeſties Subjects to be alſo put out of poſſeſſion, and diſſeized of their freehold by colour of the ſame reſolutions, without legal proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majeſties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

8. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* upon a Petition of Sir *John Gifford* Knight, the firſt day of *February* in the ſaid 13*th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, without any legal proceſs made a Decree or order againſt *Adam* Viſcount *Loftus* of *Elye* a Peer of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, and Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and did cauſe the ſaid Viſcount to be impriſoned, and kept cloſe Priſoner on pretence of diſobedience to the ſaid Decree or Order.

And the ſaid Earl without any authority, and contrary to his Commiſſion required and commanded the ſaid Lord Viſcount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of *Ireland*, which was then in his Cuſtody, by his Majeſties command, and impriſoned the ſaid Chancellor for not obeying ſuch his command.

And without any legal proceedings did in the ſame 13*th.* year impriſon *George* Earl of *Kildare* a Peer of *Ireland* againſt Law, thereby to enforce him to ſubmit his title to the Manor and Lordſhip of *Caſtle-Leigh* in the Queens County (being of great yearly value) to the ſaid Earl of *Straffords* will and pleaſure, and kept him a year priſoner for the ſaid cauſe, two moneths whereof he kept him cloſe Priſoner, and refuſed to enlarge him, notwithſtanding his Majeſties letters for his enlargement to the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* directed.

And upon a Petition exhibited in *October* 1635. by *Thomas Hibbots* againſt Dame *Mary Hibbots* Widow, to him the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* recommended the ſaid Petition to the Councel Table of *Ireland*, where the moſt part of the Councel gave their vote and opinion for the ſaid Lady, but the ſaid Earl finding fault herewith, cauſed an Order to be entred againſt the ſaid Lady, and threatned her, that if ſhe refuſed to ſubmit thereunto, he would impriſon her and fine her 500*l.* that if ſhe continued obſtinate, he would continue her impriſonment, & double her fine every moneth by moneth: Wherefore ſhe was enforced to relinquiſh her eſtate in the land queſtioned in the ſaid Petition, which ſhortly after was conveyed to Sir *Robert Meredith* to the uſe of the ſaid Earl of *Strafford*.

And the ſaid Earl in like manner did impriſon divers other of his Majeſties Subjects upon pretence of diſobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended debts, titles of lands, and other cauſes in an arbitrary and extrajudicial courſe, upon paper Petitions to him preferred, and no other cauſe legally depending.

9. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* the 16*th.* day of *February* in the 12*th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, aſſuming to himſelf a power above and againſt law, took upon him by a General warrant under his hand to give power to the Lord Biſhop of *Downe* and *Connor*, his Chancellor or Chancellors, and their ſeveral Officers thereto to be appointed to attach and arreſt the bodies of all ſuch of the meaner and poorer ſort, who after citation ſhould either refuſe to appear before them, or appearing, ſhould omit or deny to perform or undergo all lawful decrees, ſentences and orders iſſued out againſt them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaol untill they ſhould either perform ſuch ſentences, or put in ſufficient Bail to ſhew ſome reaſon before the Councel Table, of ſuch their contempt and neglect; and the ſaid Earl the day and year laſt mentioned ſigned and iſſued a warrant to that effect, and made the like warrant to all other Biſhops and their Chancellors in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland* to the ſame effect.

10. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* being Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, procured the cuſtoms of the Merchandiſe exported out and imported into that Realm to be farmed to his own uſe.

And in the ninth year of his now Majeſties Reign, he having then intereſt in the ſaid Cuſtoms (to advance his own gain and lucre) did cauſe and procure the native commodities of *Ireland* to be rated in the book of Rates for the Cuſtoms (according to which the cuſtomes were uſually gathered) at far greater values and prices than in truth they were worth: That is to ſay, Every Hide at 20*s.* which in truth is worth but five ſhillings, Every ſtone of Wooll at thirteen

ſhillings

ſhillings four pence, though the ſame ordinarily were worth but five ſhillings at the utmoſt, by which means the cuſtome which was before but a twentyth part of the true value of the commodities, was inhanced ſometimes to a 5 *th.* part, and ſometimes to a 4 *th.* and ſometimes to a 3 *d.* part of the true value, to the great oppreſſion of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandiſe.

11. That the ſaid Earl in the 9 *th.* year of his now Majeſties Reign, did by his own will and pleaſure, and for his own lucre reſtrain the exportation of the commodities of that Kingdom without his licenſe, as namely Pipe-ſtaves and other commodities, and then raiſed great ſums of money for licenſing of exportation of theſe Commodities, and diſpenſation of the ſaid reſtraint impoſed on them, by which means the Pipe-ſtaves were raiſed from 4 *l.* 10 *s.* or 5 *l. per* thouſand to 10 *l.* and ſometimes 11 *l. per* thouſand, and other Commodities were inhanced in the like proportion, and by the ſame means by him the ſaid Earl.

12. That the ſaid Earl being Lord Deputy of *Ireland* on the 9 *th.* of *January* in the 13 *th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, did then under colour to regulate the importation of Tobacco into the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, iſſue a Proclamation in his Majeſties name, prohibiting the importation of Tobacco without licenſe of him and the Councel there, from and after the firſt day of *May* 1638, after which reſtraint the ſaid Earl notwithſtanding the ſaid reſtraint, cauſed divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own uſe, and fraighted divers Ships with Tobacco, which he imported to his own uſe; And that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the ſaid Earl and his Agents uſed to buy the ſame to his own uſe at their own price: And if that the owner refuſed to let him have the ſame at under-values, then they were not permitted to vent the ſame, by which undue means, the ſaid Earl having gotten the whole trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he ſold it at great and exceſſive prices (ſuch as he liſt to impoſe) for his own profit.

And the more to aſſure the ſaid Monopoly of Tobacco, he the ſaid Earl on the 23 *th.* day of *February* in the 13 *th.* year aforeſaid, did iſſue another Proclamation commanding that none ſhould put to ſale any Tobacco by whole-ſale from and after the laſt day of *May* then next following: but what ſhould be made up into Rolls, and the ſame ſealed with two Seals by himſelf appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And ſuch as was not ſo ſealed to be ſeized, appointing 6 *d.* the pound for a reward to ſuch perſons as ſhould ſeize the ſame; And the perſons in whoſe cuſtody the unſealed Tobacco ſhould be found, to be committed to Gaol, which laſt Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the reſtraining the ſale of unwholſome Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the ſaid Monopoly.

Which proclamation the ſaid Earl did rigorouſly put in Execution by ſeizing the goods, fining, impriſoning, whipping, and putting the offenders againſt the ſame Proclamation on the Pillory, as namely *Barnaby Hubbard*, *Edward Cavenah*, and *John Tumen*, and divers others; and made the Officers of State and Juſtices of Peace and other Officers, to ſerve him in compaſſing and executing theſe unjuſt and undue courſes, by which Cruelties and unjuſt Monopolies, the ſaid Earl raiſed an hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* gain to himſelf: And yet the ſaid Earl though he inhanced the cuſtoms where it concerned the Merchants in General, yet drew down the impoſt formerly taken on Tobacco from 6 *d.* the pound to 3 *d.* the pound, it being for his own profit ſo to do. And the ſaid Earl by the ſame and other rigorous and undue means, raiſed ſeveral other Monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, *viz.* on Starch, Iron-pots, Glaſſes, Tobacco-pipes, and ſeveral other commodities.

13. That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of *Ireland*, the ſaid Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own lands, did iſſue out ſeveral Proclamations, *viz.* One dated the 21 *th.* day of *May* in the 11 *th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, and the other dated the one and thirtyth of *January* in the ſame year, thereby preſcribing and injoyning the working of Flax into yarn and threed, and the ordering of the ſame in ſuch waies, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractiſed and unskilful: which Proclamations ſo iſſued were by his commands & Warrants to his Majeſties Juſtices of Peace and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution, and the flax wrought or ordered in other manner than as the Proclamation preſcribed, was ſeized and imployed to the uſe of him and his Agents, and thereby the ſaid Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the ſole ſale of that native Commodity.

14. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* by Proclamation dated the 16 *th.* day of *October* in the 14 *th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, did impoſe upon the Owners, Maſters, Purſers and Boatſwains of every Ship, a new and unlawful Oath, *viz.* that they (two or more of them) immediately after the arrival of any Ship within any Port or Creek in the ſaid Kingdom of *Ireland*, ſhould give in a true invoyce of the outward bulk of wares and merchandiſes, and number of goods, and the qualities and conditions of the ſaid Goods as far as to them ſhould be known, and the names of the ſeveral Merchants proprietors of the ſaid Goods, and the places from whence they were fraighted and whither they were bound to diſcharge, which Proclamation was accordingly put in Execution, and ſundry perſons enforced to take the ſaid unlawful Oath.

15. That the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* trayterouſly and wickedly deviſed and contrived by force of arms in a war-like manner to ſubdue the ſubjects of the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in purſuance of his wicked and trayterous purpoſes aforeſaid, the ſaid Earl of *Strafford* in the 8 *th.* year of his Majeſties Reign, did by his own authority without any warrant or colour of Law, tax and impoſe great ſums of money upon the Towns of *Baltemore*, *Baudenbridge*, *Talowe*, and divers other Towns and places in the ſaid Realm of *Ireland*, and did cauſe the ſame to be levied upon the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns by Troops of Souldiers with force and arms in a war-like manner: And on the 9 *th.* day of *March* in the 12 *th.*

year of his now Majesties Reign, trayterously did give authority unto *Robert Savile* a Sergeant at Arms, and to the Captains of Companies of Souldiers in several Parts of the Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lye on the lands and houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submission (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons: And did also issue the like warrants unto divers others, which warrants were in warlike manner with force and arms put in execution accordingly, and by such war-like means he did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the said 12 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of *Strafford* did trayterously cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot armed in war-like manner, and in war-like array with force and arms to expel *Richard Butler* from the possession of *Castle Cumber* in the territory of *Idough* in the said Realm of *Ireland*, and did likewise, and in the like war-like manner expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their Houses, Families and Possessions, as namely *Edward Brewman*, *Owen Oberman*, *Patrick Oberman*, and Sir *Cyprian Horsefeilde*, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them prisoners to *Dublin*, and there detained them till they did yield up, surrender or release their respective estates and rights.

And the said Earl in like war-like manner hath during his Government of the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, subdued divers others of his Majesties subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied war within the said Realm against his Majesty and his liege people of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of *Strafford* the 22 *th.* of *Feb.* in the 7 *th.* year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of *Ireland*, did make a proposition, and obtained from his Majesty an allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in *Ireland*, should be received in *England* against any, unless it first appeared that the party made first his address to him in *Ireland*: And he restored divers Fryeries and Mass-houses (which had been formerly suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that Kingdom, two of which houses were in the City of *Dublin*, and had been assigned to the use of the University there) to the pretended owners thereof, who have since imployed the same to the exercise of the Popish Religion.

17. And in the moneth of *May* and *June* last, the said Earl did raise an Army in the said Realm of *Ireland* consisting of eight thousand Foot, all of which except one thousand or thereabouts, were Papists, and the said 1000 were drawn out of the old Army there consisting of 2000 Foot, and in their places there were 1000 Papists put into the Army by the said Earl. And the more to ingage and tye the new Army of Papists to himself, and to encourage them, and to discourage and wear out the old Army, the said Earl did so provide, that the said New Army of Papists were duly paid, and had all necessaries provided for them, and permitted the exercise of their Religion, but the said old Army were for the space of one whole year and upwards unpaid.

18. And the said Earl being appointed Commissioner within eleven several Counties of the Northern parts of *England*, for compounding with Recusants for their forfeitures due to his Majesty, which commission beareth date the 8 *th.* day of *July* in the 5 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign that now is, and being also Receiver of the composition money thereby arising, and other debts, duties and penalties for his Majesties use, by Letters Patents dated the ninth day of the said *July*: he to ingage the said Recusants to him, did compound with them at low and under-rates, and provided that they should be discharged of all proceedings against them in all his Majesties Courts both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, in manifest breach of, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that behalf established.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said impositions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal command, he the said Earl in *May* in the 15 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign, did of his own authority continue and frame a new and unusual Oath, by the purport whereof among many other things, the party taking the said Oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal commands, but submit themselves in all obedience thereunto, which Oath he so contrived to enforce the same on the Subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in *Ireland*, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent of his Majesty and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said subjects there to take the said Oath, some whereof he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely the tenth of *October An. Dom.* 1639. he fined *Henry Steward* and his Wife who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds a-piece, and their two daughters and *James Gray* 3000 *l.* a-piece, and imprisoned them for not paying the said fines. The said *Henry Stewards* wife and daughters, and *James Gray*, being the Kings liege people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner, And the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, that the said Oath did not only oblige them in poynt of allegiance to his Majesty, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church established or not established by his Majesties Royal Authority, and said that the refusers to obey he would prosecute to the blood.

20. That the said Earl in the 15 and 16 years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majesty an ill opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the Pacification made by his Majesty with his said Subjects of *Scotland* in Summer in the 15 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign; he the said Earl did endeavour to perswade, incite, and provoke his Majesty to an offensive war against his said Subjects of the Scottish Nation:

and

and the said Earl by his Counsel, actions and endeavours, hath been, and is a principal and chief incendiary of the war and discord between his Majesty and his Subjects of *England*, and the said Subjects of *Scotland*, and hath declared and advised his Majesty that the demands made by the Scots in their Parliament, were a sufficient cause of war against them; The said Earl having formerly expressed the height and rancor of his mind, towards his Subjects of the Scottish Nation, *viz.* the 10 *th.* day of *October* in the 15 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign, he said that the Nation of the Scots were Rebells and Traytors, and he being then about to come to *England*, he then further said, that if it pleased his Master (meaning his Majesty) to send him back again, he would root out of the said Kingdom, (meaning the Kingdom of *Ireland*) the Scottish Nation both root and branch. (Some Lords and others who had taken the said Oath in the precedent article only excepted.) And the said Earl hath caused divers of the Ships and Goods of the Scots to be stayed, seized and molested, to the intent to set on the said War.

21. That the said Earl of *Strafford* shortly after his Speeches mentioned in the last precedent Article, to wit, in the 15 *th.* year of his Majesties Reign came into this Realm of *England*, and was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and continued his Government of that Kingdom by a Deputy: At his arrival here, finding that his Majesty had with much wisdome and goodness composed the troubles in the North, and had made a pacification with his Subjects of *Scotland*: he laboured by all means to procure his Majesty to break that Pacification, incensing his Majesty against his Subjects of that Kingdom, and the proceedings of the Parliament there: And having incensed his Majesty to an offensive War against his said Subjects of *Scotland* by Sea and by Land, and by pretext thereof to raise money and forces for the maintenance of that War, he counselled his Majesty to call a Parliament in *England*, yet the said Earl intended, if the said Proceedings of that Parliament should not be such as should stand with the said Earl of *Straffords* mischievous designs, he would then procure his Majesty to break off the same, and by waies of force and power to raise moneys upon the said Subjects of this Kingdom.

And for the incouragement of his Majesty to hearken to his advice, he did before his Majesty and his Privy-Councel then sitting in Councel, make a large Declaration, that he would serve his Majesty in any other way, in case the Parliament should not supply him.

22. That in the moneth of *March* before the beginning of the last Parliament, the said Earl of *Strafford* went into *Ireland*, and procured the Parliament of that Kingdom to declare their assistance in a War against the Scots; and gave directions for the raising of an Army consisting of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, being for the most part Papists as aforesaid, and confederating with one Sir *George Ratcliff* did together with him the said Sir *George*, trayterously conspire to imploy the said Army for the ruine and destruction of the Kingdom of *England*, and of his Majesties Subjects, and of altering and subverting the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And shortly after the said Earl of *Strafford* returned into *England*, and to sundry persons declared his opinion to be, that his Majesty should first try this Parliament here, and if that did not supply him according to his occasions, he might then use his Prerogative as he pleased, to levy what he needed, and that he should be acquitted both of God and man, and if he took some other courses to supply himself, though it were against the will of his Subjects.

23. That upon the 13 *th.* day of *April* last, the Parliament of *England* met, and the Commons House (then being the representative body of all the Commons in the Kingdom, did according to the trust reposed in them, enter into debate and consideration of the great grievances of this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and the publick liberty of this Kingdom, and his Majesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of *Strafford* and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* the ordering and disposing of all matters concerning the Parliament: He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty by sundry speeches and messages, to urge the said Commons House to enter into some resolution for his Majesties supply for maintenance of his War against his Subjects of *Scotland*, before any course were taken for relief of the great and pressing grievances, wherewith the Kingdom was then afflicted: whereupon a demand was then made from his Majesty of 12 Subsidies for the release of Ship-money only; and while the said Commons then assembled (with expressions of great affection to his Majesties Service) were in debate and consideration of some supply before resolution by them made; He the said Earl of *Strafford* with the help and assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parliament upon the 5 *th.* day of *May* last: And upon the same day, the said Earl of *Strafford* did treacherously, falsely and malitiously endeavour to incense his Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, who had been members of the said House of Commons, by telling his Majesty they had denyed to supply him: and afterwards in the same moneth, did treacherously and wickedly counsel and advise his Majesty to this effect, *viz.* That having tried the affection of his people, he was loose and absolved from all rules of Government, and was to do every thing that power would admit, and that his Majesty had tryed all waies, and was refused, and should be acquitted both of God and man; And that he had an Army in *Ireland* (meaning the Army above-mentioned consisting of Papists his Dependants as is aforesaid) which he might imploy to reduce this Kingdom to obedience.

24. That in the same moneth of *May*, he the said Earl of *Strafford*, falsely, treacherously and malitiously published and declared before others of his Majesties Privy Councel, That the Parliament of *England* had forsaken the King, and that in denying to supply the King, they had given him the advantage to supply himself by other waies, and divers times he did malitiously, falsely and wickedly publish and Declare, That seeing the Parliament had refused to supply his Majesty

in the ordinary and usual way, the King might provide for the Kingdom in such waies as he should hold fit, and that he was not to suffer himself to be mastered by the frowardness of the people.

And having so malitiously slandered the said House of Commons, he did with the help and advice of the said Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Lord *Finch* late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, cause to be printed and published in his Majesties name a false and scandalous Book, entituled, *His Majesties Declaration of the Causes that moved him to dissolve the last Parliament*, full of bitter and malitious invectives, and false and scandalous aspersions against the said House of Commons.

25. That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament, (*viz.* in the moneth of *May* and *June*) he the said Earl of *Strafford* did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying thereof, divers of which were threatned by him to be sued in the Star-Chamber, and afterwards by his advice were sued in the Star-Chamber for not levying the same, and divers of his Majesties Loving Subjects were sent for, and imprisoned by his advice about that and other illegal payments.

And a great Loane of 100000 *l.* was demanded of the City of *London*, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Sheriffs of the said City were often sent for to the Councel-Table to give an account of their proceedings in raysing of Ship-money, and furthering of that Loane, and were required to certifie the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refusing to do, he the said Earl of *Strafford* did use these or the like speeches, *viz.* That they deserved to be put to fine and ransome, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

26. That the said Earl of *Strafford* by wicked Counsel having brought his Majesty into excessive charges without any just cause, he did in the moneth of *July* last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous projects.

1. To seize upon the Bullion, and the money in the Mint.

2. And to embase his Majesties coyn with the mixtures of brass.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchant-strangers and others to be seized on and stayed to his Majesties use: And when divers Merchants of *London* owners of the said Bullion came to his house to let him understand what great mischief that course would produce here and in other parts, and what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom by discrediting the Mint, and hindering the importation of Bullion: He the said Earl told them that the City of *London* dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majesty, and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes to make use of such moneys to serve their occasions.

And when in the same moneth of *July*, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the embasing of the said money, he told them, that the French King did use to send Commissaries of Horse with Commissions to search into mens estates, and to peruse their accounts, that so they might know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy: and turning to the Lord *Cottington* said, That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.

27. That in or about the moneth of *August* last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at *York*, did in the moneth of *September* by his own authority, and without any lawful warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of *York* of 8 *d. per diem* for maintenance of every Souldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which sums of money he caused to be levied by force: And to the end to compell his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terror to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Souldiers should be satisfied out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than guilty of High Treason.

28. That in the moneth of *September* and *October* last, he the said Earl of *Strafford* being certified of the Scots Armies coming into the Kingdom, being then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the Town of *Newcastle* as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that so he might the more incense the English against the Scots: And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malitious desire to engage the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in a National and bloody War, he did write to the Lord *Conwey* the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scottish Army at the passage over the *Tyne*, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding that the said Lord *Conwey* had formerly by letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to encounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his command, to apparent danger and loss.

After these Articles were read, the Earls answer thereunto which he had delivered in writing into the Lords house was also read, and this took up the time till two in the afternoon: at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the Tower, with orders to be there again the next day at eight in the morning.

On Tuesday He came accompanied as before, and staid in the Exchequer-Chamber till nine in the morning, at which time the Court being sate, and the *King*, *Queen* and *Prince* within their Closets, the Earl was brought in.

Mr. *Pym* one of the Prosecutors began first, and aggravated the charge which was the day before read with many superlative expressions, The main points whereof were, "That it was a

Mr. Pym one of the Prosecutors first aggravates the charge against the Earl.

Treason

"Treason far beyond the reach of words, that a "Native Subject and a Peer of *England*, the "prime Governour of *Ireland*, the Commander "of his Majesties Forces, and a Protestant in "Religion, should have in such an impious and "gross manner recompenced his Majesties fa- "vors, abused his goodness, and drawn all his "Dominions into hazard and peril of their Reli- "gion, Lives, Goods and Priviledges: That one "of these faults alone had been enough and too "much for the fulfilling of the exorbitancie and "wickedness of any one man, and what punish- "ment could be thought upon sufficient to expi- "ate crimes of such a transcendent nature.

The Earl begins to make his defence.

The Earl with great moderation spake in his own defence to this purpose: "He modestly re- "recounted his services done to the King and "Crown of *England*, and his endeavors for ad- "vancement as well of the honor as commodity "both of *England* and *Ireland*; and as to *Ire-* "*land* he said, That there had been more Par- "liaments there since his Government than in "fifty yeers before; that he had opposed divers "projects and Monopolies, and improved the "Kings revenew from 50000 *lib. per Annum*, to "120000 *lib. per Annum*: That he had resto- "red the Churches maintenance, suppressed the "Outlaws, established obedience to Royal Au- "thority, and restrained the tyranny and usurpa- "tion of Great ones over the Commons, yet for "the effecting of all these actions, he reputed "himself the most weak and meanest instru- "ment.

Pym offers three new Articles against him.

Mr. *Pym* after the close of his Speech, told the Lords, there were three new Articles that the Commons had adjoined to his Charge by an after-search, and moved that he might presently reply to the same: Whereunto the Earl answered, "It was very strange that after the close of "the Process, and where matters were come to "be scann'd and examined by proofs, that any new "Charge should be given in, yet lest he should "seem to decline the maintenance of his own "innocencie and the just defence of his honor, he "said he was willing to hear them, and have them "alleadged, provided that a convenient time "might be allowed to make his replies to them.

To which the Earl answers.

Pym excepts against the Earls answer.

But Mr. *Pym* excepted against this, and told them, That the House of Commons did conceive it to be dangerous to grant any further time on this occasion: Upon this importunity, the Lords did retire themselves, and after a little time of stay returned, and declared, that they had found the Earls suite to be equitable in desiring further time for answering, yet seeing the Articles themselves neither for number nor weight seemed to be of that importance, but that he might furnish out a present answer, they thought it fitting to grant no delay. The Earl then intreating them to pardon the weakness of his extemporary answers, desired to hear the Articles read, which were these.

The Lords retire a while and return.

and grant him no further time.

The Articles are then read.

1. That he had within these two years withdrawn 30000 *li.* sterling from the Exchequer in *Ireland*, and imployed it to his own private uses.

2. That in the beginning of his Government, the Garrisons in *Ireland* had been maintained by the English Treasury.

3. That he had advanced Popish and infamous persons, as the Bishop of *Waterford* and others to the prime Dignities of the Church of *Ireland*.

The Earl answers to the three Articles newly enforc'd.

1. To the first, he answered, "That thirty "thousand pounds were set apart for the King's "late service at his most special and most per- "emptory command, for which he produced "the Kings own Letter already approved, as his "acquittance at the Exchequer-board in *Ire-* "*land*.

2. To the second, "That at the beginning of "his Government, as ever before his time, the "Garrisons had been burthensome to the King- "dom of *England*, but that he had so improv'd "the Revenew, that they were now paid by that "Crown without any charge to this; for which "if the best endeavors of a Subject may justly "expect any reward from his King and Country, "he craved leave to think that he rather deserved "many thanks than the least punishment.

3. To the third, "He attests all the Clergy "of *Ireland*, if ever he had taken upon him any "particular medling in advancing their Church- "men, or whether he had done any thing con- "cerning such affairs: but upon the special ad- "vice of the best and wisest of their number: "adding, That when he befriended the Bishop "of *Waterford*, he conceived of him as a man "of integrity and learning fit for such an imploy- "ment, nor was there then the least suspition of "those monstrous impieties, wherewith he was "afterwards charged. That he had now justly "suffered for the same, and that he hoped they "would not lay a necessity upon him to prophe- "cie and divine of the future conditions and de- "portments of men: For others of the Church, "suspected of Popery, he knew none such, but "should answer to the Particulars so far as "as they concerned him, when they should hap- "pen to be alleadged.

This was all the business of this day; the Lords rose, and the Earl was appointed to come again the next morning, at which time they intended to proceed upon the particular Articles, and give Oath to the Witnesses, for hitherto they had only been upon the general heads.

On the first of the special Articles they insisted not.

The names of the Committee of the House of Commons prosecutors of the Earl.

The Committee of Prosecutors were, Mr. *Jeffry Palmer*, Mr. *John Maynard*, Mr. *Bulstrod Whitlock*, Mr. *John Glyn*, the Lord *George Digby*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *John Selden*, Mr. *John Hampden*, and Mr. *Stroud*.

The Lords being sate, and the Earl present on *Wednesday* in the morning, Mr. *Glyn* first spake: He said,

Mr. Glyn's Speech to the charge in the second Article.

"The Earl of *Strafford* was impeached not "with simple but accumulative Treason, for "though in each particular such a monstrous "crime could not be deprehended, yet when all "conceived in the mass, and under one view, "he should be undoubtedly found the most wic- "ked and exorbitant Traytor that ever was ar- "raigned at the Bar: he added, That his charge "was intending to subvert and change the fun- "damental Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges of "both the Kingdoms, and to introduce an arbi- "trary and tyrannical Government: This, he "said, could not appear but by the fruits, which

"were either in expreſſion or action. The ex "preſſions were:

1. "That in the preſence of the Juſtices ſitting at *York* he ſaid, Some were all for Law, but "they ſhould find, That the Kings little finger "ſhould be heavier than the loyns of the Law.

The Earls anſwer. To this, being the ſubſtance of the ſecond Article, the Earl replied, "That having ſpoken ſufficiently before to his juſtification in general, "he would by their Lordſhips favour add theſe "few words, That it did ſtrike him to the heart, "to be accuſed of ſuch a wicked crime, and that "ſuch honourable perſons who were the Companions of his youth, and with whom he had ſpent "the beſt of his days, ſhould now riſe up in judgment againſt him; yet he thanked God for it, "it was not guilt but grief, that ſo much troubled "him; he added, That it was a wonder how he "had gotten ſtrength ſufficient in ſuch infirmity "of body and anguiſh of mind, to collect his "thoughts and ſay any thing at all for himſelf: "But the Almighty God who knows him to be "innocent, had furniſhed him with ſome abilities "to give teſtimony to the truth and a good Conſcience: He therefore intreated, that if either "in judgment or memory, he ſhould at any time "fail, it might be imputed to his great weakneſs: "And although the Gentlemen his Accuſers "ſhould ſeem more ready in their Accuſations, "than himſelf in his defence, that it might not "prejudice his cauſe, who in very unequal terms, "had to do with learned and eloquent Lawyers, "bred up a long time and inured to ſuch judiciary pleadings, & whoſe Rhetorick he doubted "not might preſent many things to their view in "a multiplying Glaſs; he told them farther, that "for theſe many years he had been weary of Public ſervice, and that now it was his reſolution "after he had vindicated his honor to retire himſelf, and to enjoy his much longed-for privacie: And yet he could not but ſay, it had been "his hearty wiſh and deſire to have rather voluntarily reſigned his places of honor like a ripe "fruit fallen from the tree, than to be violently "pulled from thence as a fruitleſs and unprofitable withered branch.

"To the charge of Treaſon, he ſaid, That under favour he conceived, although all the Articles contained in his impeachment were verified againſt him, yet they could not all amount "to Treaſon, neither ſimple nor accumulative, "for, ſaid he, I do not underſtand by what interpretation of Law, the diverſion of Juſtice "can be called a ſubverſion of the ſame, or the "exceeding of a Commiſſion, the Uſurpation of "a new Power; To the particular alledged, he "replied, that his words were inverted, for that "his expreſſion was, That the little finger of the "Law, (if not ſupported by the Regal Power "in granting Pardons for the Penalties of the "ſame) was heavier than the Kings loyns. That "this was his expreſſion, he verified.

1. Firſt by the occaſion, for he ſpake the words "a long time ſince to ſome who had been impriſoned at *York*, and were then by the Kings favor ſet at liberty, whom he incited to thankfulneſs towards his Majeſty by this expreſſion.

2. "Secondly, by Sir *William Pennyman*, a "Member of the Houſe of Commons who was "there preſent and heard the words: which Sir "*William* declared to be true.

In the examination of the witneſſes againſt him to this Article, he convinced one of them of untruth by interrogating, where he was when the ſpeech was heard, and how far diſtant from him; to which the man replied, "He was twelve yards "from him: the Earl then ſaid, It was impoſſible for him to hear a man three yards off, by "reaſon of a deafneſs he had, which had held "him fourteen years, which being found true, the "witneſs was rejected:

Another witneſs Sir *David Fowles* was brought againſt him, againſt whom he excepted as his known and profeſt enemy, but that was not allowed of, becauſe in matters of Treaſon, a mans enemy may witneſs againſt him *pro Domino Rege*: this was all that was done for that time.

On *Thurſday* he appeared again, and the ſecond expreſſions in the third Article of the Charge, was charged againſt him, *viz.* 1641.

The ſecond expreſſion in the third Article charg'd againſt him. That he had declared that *Ireland* was a Conquered Nation, and that the King may do with them what he pleaſed; and ſpeaking of the Charters the former Kings of *England* made to the City of *Dublin*, he ſaid, They were nothing worth, and did bind the King no farther than he pleaſed.

This was aggravated as a prime note of his tyrannical will and diſaffection, that would permit no Law to bound the Subject, but what himſelf and ſuch as he ſhould appoint might draw by ſiniſtrous informations from a gracious and well-meaning Prince, and if this were admitted, the whole power and liberty of the Republike would utterly be loſt.

The Earl anſwers thereunto. To this he replied, "That the firſt part of it "cannot be denied: and to the ſecond, That he "ſaid only, That the King was the Law-giver, "which he hoped none could deny without incurring the crime of Treaſon; and that the "Kings ſentence was a Law in matters not determined by Acts of Parliament, which all but "diſloyal Subjects would grant: profeſſing withal, that it had been ever his endeavour to have "the liberty of the Subject, and the Royal Prerogative follow both in one channel; knowing "that, if either of them croſſed other, we could "expect nothing but a ſubverſion of the Commonwealth, either by tyranny or rebellion: "That the Prerogative was like the firſt; the liberty of the Subject like the ſecond Table, "either both or neither can be preſerved: That "in his duty, he ſtood obliged, firſt to the King "as God's Anointed, then in the ſecond place to "his Countrey, if it did not croſs the Regal "power: And therefore hoped that what he "had ſaid was ſo far from being Treaſon, that he "thought a thouſand ſuch expreſſions would not "make up one Felony. This was all the proceedings of this day.

On *Friday*, two other expreſſions were urged againſt him out of the 4*th.* Article:

Two expreſſions out of the fourth article urged againſt him. 1. That he would neither have Law or Lawyers diſpute or queſtion any of his Orders.

2. In ſpeaking of the Earl of *Cork*, he ſaid he would make him and all *Ireland* know, ſo long as he had the Government, That any Act of State there

there made or to be made, ſhould be as binding to the ſubjects of that Kingdom as an Act of Parliament.

The Earl of *Cork* was the main Witneſs to prove theſe expreſſions.

The Earls Anſwer.

The Earl anſwered, *It were hard meaſure for a man to loſe his honour and his life for a haſty word, he confeſſed, he had often ſaid he would not ſuffer his orders to be contemned, becauſe in contempt of him, his Maſters honour would be wounded.*

To the ſecond he ſaid, *If a proportionable obedience was not as well due to Acts of State as to Acts of Parliament, in vain did the Councel ſit: And that he had done no more than what former Deputies and chief Governors of* Ireland *had done: And what was agreeable to his Inſtructions for the Councel Table, which he produced.*

He convinced the Earl of *Cork* of two ſhameful overſights in his Depoſition, for he had declared upon his Oath, that the Earl had cauſed an Ordinance made againſt him to be interlined, and ſome words to be ſcraped out, which words were notwithſtanding ſtill found to be in the Ordinance by an Authentick Copy under the hand of Sr *Paul Davies*, Clerke of the Councel board in *Ireland*, which the Earl of *Strafford* produced.

In the next place, the Earl of *Cork* alledging amongſt other things that he had advanced a Groom of his to be a Preacher.

He diſproves what the Earl of Cork alledged againſt him.

To diſprove which, the Earl produced a teſtimony from the Univerſity of *Dublin, that the man had been a Maſter of Arts of ten or twelve years ſtanding before his advancement, adding withal that my Lord* Corke *was an excellent Scholar that could breed ſuch Grooms.* Theſe matters took up the whole day on Friday.

Upon Saturday he appeared again, and having (as they ſaid) done with expreſſions, they would next proceed to his actions, and begin with thoſe concerning the execution of Martial Law againſt the Lords *Mount-Norris* and another perſon, as the matter is laid down in the 5 *th.* Article;

Which they diſtinguiſhed under four heads.

1. That he exerciſed Martial Law in time of Peace.

2. That he was both party and Judge in *Mount-Norris* his cauſe.

3, That he proceeded ſummarily in the matter.

4. That he had not heard the exceptions made by *Mount-Norris* againſt his Witneſſes.

To the firſt he anſwered;

The Earl anſwers the firſt head of the firſt Article.

1. *That all Armies have been, and muſt be governed by martial Law.*

2. *That there is a ſtanding Army in* Ireland, *and therefore the caſe is all one in time of Peace or War; And that the Army might be undone if they ſhould not uſe Martial Law, but were to expect remedy for the ſetling of a Mutiny, or aſſurance of Obedience from the Common Law.*

3. *That it had ever been the practiſe of the Deputies, particularly of* Wilmot, Faulkland, Chicheſter, *yea* Corke *himſelf, and therefore was no new thing brought in by him:* This he proved both by the production of the military Ordinances, and by divers Witneſſes who knew ſentences given in that kind by them.

4. *That he had a particular Warrant in his Commiſſion for this power.*

5. *That in the Lord* Mount-Norris *his Caſe, he was commanded to exerciſe the ſame by the Kings particular letter, both which he cauſed to be read.*

His anſwer to the ſecond head.

To the ſecond he ſaid, *he was not a Judge in the Tryal, but a party which appear'd, in that he ſate bare in the Court all the time of the Tryal, and gave no ſuffrage in it, and for further evidence of his being a party, he cauſed his Brother Sir* George Wentworth *in regard of intereſt of blood to decline all acting in the proceſs.*

His anſwer to the third head.

To the third he ſaid, *That he being not a Judge in this matter, the Court of War was to be anſwerable for their own proceedings, and that after a long reaſoning he had heard them ſay, No delay could ſafely be granted in Martial Courts.*

His anſwer to the fourth head.

To the fourth he anſwered, *That he was not a Judge in the caſe, and remembers not the exceptions againſt any Witneſſes, adding, that as he had been regular in his proceedings, ſo he had been moderate in the execution of that ſentence: for though the Lord* Mount-Norris *juſtly deſerved to dye, yet he had obtained for him the Kings Pardon for the ſaving of his life, and proteſted that he intended nothing by that ſentence, but in ſome meaſure to repair his own honour, and to give* Mount-Norris *fair reproof, who was known to be of an exorbitant and licentious tongue and ſpirit:* Adding, that if the Houſe of Commons would go on the ſame way with him, and aſſure him that the iſſue of his charge ſhould be nothing elſe but to admoniſh him for the time to come, he would thank them heartily for it, and ſtudy amendment in all his pretended overſights: And whereas *Mount-Norris* complained, that he had jeeringly told him, when the ſentence was paſſed and pronounced againſt him, That e're he loſt his head, himſelf would loſe his hand; he anſwered that although he had been thought to be inſolent and haughty, yet he was never ſo impertinent to uſe this expreſſion: if any ſuch were, it was for undervaluing himſelf in ſaying, That e're a hair of *Mount-Norris* ſhould periſh, he would loſe his hands; And truly (ſaid he) if *Mount-Norris* would ſay ſo to me, even in the worſt ſenſe that can be conceived, That e're I dye, he would loſe his hand, I would take it very kindly from him. For the other man he avouched that he himſelf had voyced to hang him, both becauſe he was an errant thief, and alſo had fled from his colours, which by the very Common Law was juſtifiable: (and to this effect he cited a Statute 20 *Henr.* 6, and 7 *Henr.* 7.) That to fly from their colours is felony: He concluded, *that ſeeing he was not acceſſary to the ſentence againſt* Mount-Norris, *had not ſate there as Judge, had a power to keep Martial Courts by his Commiſſion, had not exerciſed the ſame till a new command came from his Majeſty, had done no more than ever was practiſed in* Ireland *before his time, and had at laſt obtained* Mount-Norris *his pardon, He hoped there was nothing accuſable in him but his too remiſs and too moderate proceedings.*

Mr. Glyns aggravation of the firſt Head.

Mr. *Glyn* in aggravation of the Exerciſe of Martial Law ſaid, That he knew the time when the Earl of *Strafford* was no leſs active and ſtir-

ring

ring to enlarge the liberty of the Subject, and advance the Petition of Right, than now he is for extending his own arbitrary and tyrannical Government.

The Earls Reply.

To this he replyed, without the least semblance of Passion, *That if at any time he had done the least service to the House of Commons, he thought his whole life well spent, nor could they ever so gratifie him as to give Commission to that Gentleman to express so much before that honourable Assembly, But withal, he said, if ever any such thing was done by him, he intreated it might now be remembred, and serve to over-ballance some slight and mean over-sights committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty of Treason, unless it were Treason for a man to have no more wit and prudence than God and Nature had bestowed upon him.* And so much for Saturday.

On Monday the Court sate again, and the Earl appeared and was charged with the sixth Article concerning the dispossession of the Lord *Mount-Norris* of the Manor of *Tymore*, which the Prosecutors inforced with many arguments, saying this fact was

1. Against an Act of the 7 *th.* of *Henr.* 6. which provides all matters to be determined by the ordinary Judges.

2. Against the late Proclamation of the King.

3. Against the practise of all Deputies before that time, withal they added, that it was a tyranny that could not be express'd, to exercise this power over the persons of the Peers of the Land and their Goods.

The Earls answer to the Sixth article.

To this he replyed, *That for his part in matter of justice* (under favour he spake it) *he thought there was no distinction to be made betwixt a Peer of the Land, and one of the Commons, except they did think that either fear or faction should do something, which had no place in him.* He said,

1. *That the Act of* Henr. 6. *answered it self sufficiently, both because it excepted the Court of Requests* (*and that his proceedings were nothing else in* Ireland, *and also it makes an express reservation of the Kings Prerogative, which he said was his Strength, because he derived his Commission from the King, and that the Act was the most express warrant in the World for him.*

2. *The Kings Proclamation mentioned came not out in five years after, wherefore he thought it hard to have a disobedience objected to him for a thing that was not in being, adding, that he wish'd from his heart they would respect the Kings command and Commissions, with that tenderness of affection and obedience as he did his Proclamations: He then proved that the like course by summary proceedings before the Deputies of* Ireland, *was the constant practise of all Deputies that went before him, but nevertheless he said, he was tender to exercise that power, till the King* (*induced by the humble Remonstrance of the meaner sort of people*) *had most peremptorily and upon just reasons commanded him,* causing the Kings letter in that behalf to be read.

Obj. It was objected, that other Deputies had indeed determined upon suits of Equity, and matters of debt, but not of land.

He replyed, *That neither he nor they had ever given sentence or determined any thing concerning matters of inheritance, but only concerning violent intrusion, which was this case in question, and which fell directly within a suit of Equity: And in deciding this controversie he had, he said, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolles, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to assist him, nor did he hear the business, till the Complainant by Petition had complaind of delay of Justice in the Chancery, where the suit had long depended, & upon the proofs exhibited in that Court, he made the Decree. He said moreover, the Natives would unwillingly be debarred of relief in this summary way of Proceeding, because they had that dispatch in a day or two which the Common Law would not yield in so many years, that as to this matter charged on him, seeing he had done nothing therein but what was customary, necessary and equitable, and the sentence just, he expected rather thanks from the state than a charge for ill department; he likewise shewed with what extortion and violence the Lord* Mount-Norris *had taken seisure of that piece of Land, and made the action to appear on his part very foul, and at last he concluded saying, That he had done no more in* Ireland, *than the Court of Requests in* England *usually doth: And that the Chancery Court in* Ireland *doth the same daily, and the last Chancellor was never charged for such proceedings, though his power and authority was less than his; But the difference of the person and his authority* (*it seemeth*) *doth difference the matter.* And this was the business on Monday.

His answer to the seventh Article.

On Tuesday *March* the 31 *th.* he was charged with the 7 *th.* Article, to which he answered, *That the Lord* Dillon *with others producing his Patent according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Majesty, the said Patent was questionable, upon which a case was drawn and argued by Counsel, and the Judges delivered their opinions thereupon. But the Lord* Dillon *or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their possessions, but might have traversed the office, or otherwise have legally proceeded, notwithstanding the said opinions.*

His answer to the eighth Article.

They then proceeded to the 8 *th.* Article concerning a Petition exhibited by *Thomas Hibbets* against Dame *Mary Hibbets* Widow, to which he answered, *That true it is he had voted against the Lady* Hibbots, *and thought he had reason so to do, the said Lady being discovered by fraud and circumvention to have bargained for lands of a great value for a small sum. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his use, or that the Major part of the Councel board voted for the Lady, the contrary appearing by the sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Councel: which being true, he said, he might well threaten her with commitment, in case she disobeyed the said Order; Neither had he any underhand dealings with Sir* Robert Meredith, *for the Lady had her own land back from him, he also declared with what fraud and deceit the Lady had come to her Lands.*

After this Article they fell the same day upon the ninth, about the giving of Warrants to the Bishop of *Downe* and *Connor*, for apprehending all such persons (and presenting them before the Councel Table) as contemned the Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

This was aggravated as a new and Tyrannical form of proceeding against the liberty of the Subject.

To

To this he replied:

His answer to the ninth Article.

First, *He produced the Primate of* Irelands, *Arch-Bishop* Usher's *testimony under his hand, (he being himself sick) that the same course had been used in* Ireland *before, and that Bishop* Montgomery, *the Primates Predecessor in the Bishoprick of* Meath *had had the same Warrant.*

Secondly, *He shewed the equity that such assistance should be given to Church-men, who otherwise because of Papists and Schismaticks either to God or the King, would have no respect or obedience given them in that Kingdom.*

Thirdly, *He proved by two witnesses, that such Warrants were in use before his time.*

Fourthly, He said, *He had never granted any but that one, and had presently within some few moneths called the same in again; What* (said he) *was the Bishop of* Downs *carriage in it, he had no reason to answer for: But he presumed the Bishop could give a satisfactory answer for himself when he should be called in question*; and so he concluded, *That a matter so just, so necessary, so customary and practical before, he hoped should not be charged upon him, as an introduction of a new and Tyrannical form of Government. And therefore submitted himself to the mercy of God, and the equity of his Peers in his Tryal thereon.* And this was the work on *Tuesday*.

On *Wednesday* they charged him with the 12 *th.* Article, which was pressed hard upon him by Mr. *Glyn*, who said, That the Earl of *Strafford* having established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over the Lives, Lands and Liberties of the Kings Subjects, his next desire was to make intrusion upon the Crown it self. That by applying to his own use, the publike Revenews he might be the more enabled to accomplish his disloyal and trayterous intentions; to which end having by a new Book of Rates inhanced the Customs he had gotten by advantage of a Lease from the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (which he procured for her far different from a former Lease to the Duke her Husband) above twenty six thousand pounds yearly, which was a crime of a higher nature than those contained in the preceding Articles, because in those there was some color or pretext of Justice, here none; those in particulars, this in general; those against the Subject only, this against the King himself.

For the proof of the Charge, they produced the Lease of the Duke of *Buckingham*, which was read and compared with that Lease to the Dutchess of *Buckingham* (which the Earl hath now by assignment) and some differences were shewn arising to the sum of 2000 *lib.* in the Dukes Lease, the moiety only of concealed and forfeited goods were due to him: but the whole goods to the Dutchess in her Lease. Again, the Kings ships of prizes did not pay customs in the Dukes Lease, in the Dutchesses they did: Again, the Impost of the Wines (then belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*) was not in the Dukes Lease, in the Dutchesses it was: Lastly, Whereas the Earl of *Strafford* paid but 14000 *lib. per annum* for the Custome, it was worth to him, they said, as was apparent by the Books of the Exchequer 40000 *lib.* Witnesses were examined.

First, Sir *James Hay*, who deposed that the Earl of *Carlisle* had an advantage of 1600 *lib. per annum* by his Lease of Wines.

Secondly, The Lord *Ranelaugh*, who deposed that by the inspection of the Books of Accompts, he had found the Customes to be *Anno* 1636. thirty six thousand pounds. *Anno* 1637. 39000 *lib.* *Anno* 1638. 54000 *lib.* *Anno* 1639. 59000 *lib.*

With the Proofs they concluded the Charge; That notwithstanding the Lord *Strafford* pretended a great measure of zeal and honesty in his Majesties service, yet it is evident, he had abused the trust put upon him, and by withdrawing so great sums of money from the Crown, had weakned the King, prejudiced the Subject of the protection they were to expect from him, and had been the cause that the extraordinary ways of Impost and Monopolies had been taken, for supplying of the Royal necessity: And that this Act therefore ought to be enough to make the Charge and Impeachment of High-Treason laid against him.

The Earl answers to the twelfth Article.

The Earl replied, *That he conceived he had given full satisfaction to all hitherto brought against him, about his pretended arbitrary Government, nor would he spend time in vain repetitions, and for the present Article, though in all parts it were granted to be true, yet he could not perceive by what interpretatation of Law it could imply the least act of Treason, and when it should be directly charged upon him as a point of Misdemeanor, Oppression, or Felony, he made no doubt, but he should be very able to clear himself abundantly in that point also, yet lest any prejudice might stick to his Honor by these bold assertions, He was content to step so far out of the way as to give answers.*

First, "That it concerned him nothing, what "particulars in the Lease had past betwixt the "King and the Dutchess of *Buckingham*; or "whether she had obtained more easie conditi- "ons than the Duke her Husband, especially see- "ing the same was granted some years before "his coming to that Government; yet thus much "he could say, that the Dutchess had paid thirty "thousand pounds fine, and therefore no marvel "that her yearly Rent was no less.

Secondly, "For the Book of Rates (where- "in the chief matter of oppression and grievance "seemed to rest) the same was there established "by the Deputy *Falkland*, *Anno* 1628. three "years before his going into *Ireland*, and there- "fore it was exceeding strange in his apprehen- "sion, how that could rise up in judgment a- "against him.

Thirdly, "That he had his interest in the Cu- "stoms by assignation of a Lease from the Dutch- "ess of *Buckingham*, which was granted her be- "fore his Government, and he never heard it be- "fore alledged as a crime of Treason, for a man "to make a good bargain for himself.

Fourthly, "That not of his own accord, but "at the Kings special command, he had under- "gone that Charge, on hopes that upon the en- "quiry into the worth thereof, the Customes "might be improved for the benefit of the "Crown, and the true value thereof discover- "ed; this he proved by the Lord *Cottington* and "Sir *Arthur Ingram*.

Fifthly, "That when a new Book of Rates

"was recommended to him by the Councel-"board of *England*, in the time of his Leaſe, "which might have been of great advantage to "him, he ſo preferred a fear he had, That the "trade of *Ireland* might thereby be diſcouraged, "before his own commodity, as he preſumed in "all humility to refuſe the ſaid Book, and tend-"red his reaſons thereof to the Kingdom and "Councel-table of *England*.

Sixthly, "That he never underſtood that the "Cuſtomes could ariſe to thoſe great ſums alledg-"ed, but though they ſhould, yet his advantage "was but ſmall; For firſt, dividing the fourteen "thouſand pounds he paid to the King into eight "parts, five parts thereof was yearly given in "upon Oath (and that procured firſt by himſelf) "at the Exchequer-board, the other three parts "was divided amongſt four of them, which were "equal ſharers in the Leaſe, granted before his "time: And therefore he was confident, he "ſaid, the Lords would rather take his accuſation "in this Article as an exerciſe of Rhetorick in "the Gentlemen his Adverſaries, than as a thing "ſpoken in good earneſt by them.

The ſame day the 11 *th.* and 12 *th.* Articles were charged againſt him.

He anſwers to the 11th. Article.

To the 11 *th.* concerning Licenſes for exportation of Pipe-ſtaves, he anſwered, "That Pipe-"ſtaves were prohibited in King *James* his time, "and not exported but by licence, paying *6 ſhil.* "8 *d.* a thouſand, and that he had not raiſed ſo "much thereby to himſelf as his Predeceſſors had "done for ſuch Licences.

The 12 *th.* Article was more inſiſted on, and in the opening of it, Mr. *Glyn* ſaid, That for the further advancement of his tyrannical and avaritious deſigns, he had of himſelf eſtabliſhed a Monopoly for the reſtraint of Tobacco in that Kingdom: where they offered five particulars to the proof:

1. That he had reſtrained the importation of Tobacco.

2. That in the mean time he had brought in a great quantity himſelf, and ſold the ſame at exorbitant prices.

3. That of Tobacco already imported, he had forbidden any to be ſold, but what was firſt ſealed by his Officers.

4. That upon a pretended diſobedience, he had puniſhed a great number of people by ſeiſure, impriſonments, fining, whipping, pillory and ſuch like cruel and inhumane uſages.

5. That by theſe means he had gained 100000 *lib.* yearly.

For proof whereof they produced.

1. The Proclamation for reſtraining Tobacco, which was read.

2. The Proclamation about Sealing the ſame.

3. Some witneſſes who declared that ſhips had been reſtrained from landing Tobacco.

4. Others who had known ſome Tobacco ſeized on as forfeited.

5. A Remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, declaring that the Earl had ſold 500 Tun of Tobacco, which ſold at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* *per* pound, amounts to an hundred thouſand pounds.

They concluded the Charge, That he had ſucked up the Blood of the Kings Liege people, and had by this one point of oppreſſion raiſed greater ſums to himſelf than all the Kings Revenew in that Kingdom extended unto, and therefore was liable to the crime of Treaſon, for troubling the peace, and bereaving the people of their goods, who were intruſted into his care and Government.

The Earls Reply to this was:

He anſwers to the 12th. Article.

1. *That long before his coming to* Ireland, *the ſame reſtraint had been of Tobacco, and the ſame Impoſt of eighteen pence* per *pound, enjoyned by King* James.

2. *That at that time the Tradeſmen for this Commodity paid but* 20 lib. *a year to the Crown for the Impoſt, but now* 400.

3. *That the Parliament in* Ireland 1628, *had Petitioned to have the Impoſt ſetled by an Act of State for ever afterwards as a part of the Revenew of the Crown.*

4. *That he had expreſs command from the King for iſſuing thoſe Proclamations, and therefore could not imagine more danger in them, than in others for Monopolies in England in the worſt ſenſe.*

5. *That the Proclamations were ſent forth not by himſelf alone, but by the whole Councel-board of* Ireland.

For the Proclamations, he told them, *It was his own opinion (and if he failed in it, he humbly craved pardon, and hoped that it ſhould not be Treaſon to have no more judgment than God had beſtowed on him) that the King was indued by God with a power to make temporary Laws, and cauſe the ſame to be promulgated for the good of his people, upon ſudden emergent occaſions, to which Laws, Obedience is due, till they be abrogated by enſuing Parliaments: that he reſtrained no man from importing Tobacco, who was willing to pay the appointed Impoſt; that for his part, he had never traffiqued in all his time therein, nor had any part with the Contractors: And if any Tobacco was ſeized on, it was in contempt of the Proclamations: and if any perſon were cenſured to the Pillory, or whipping, it was for known perjury, the ordinary and uſual puniſhment in ſuch a caſe: Concerning the Tobacco imported,* he ſaid, *No conſideration was taken of the prices given for the Tobacco beyond Seas, of the Kings Revenew of* 4000 l. *of the Merchants payns and danger in bringing the ſame home; for his part, if any advantage were made, ſurely it was not his, nor could he annul every Contract or Leaſe made by the King: And therefore ſeeing his intereſt was none, he had done nothing but at the Kings direction, and at the advice of the Councel-board: ſince the ſame Impoſt was in King* James *his time, and Petitioned for by themſelves in* Ireland: *he hoped his carriage in the buſineſs ſhould be ſo far from a crime of Treaſon, that it ſhould rather be thought no crime at all.*

So much for *Wedneſday.*

On *Thurſday* he was charged with the 13 *th.* Article, to which he made this enſuing anſwer:

His anſwer to the 13th Article.

"That he did endeavour to advance the Ma-"nufacture of Linnen rather than of Woollen, "becauſe the laſt would be the greater detriment "to *England*: That the Primate of *Ireland*, the "Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Chancellor *Loftus*, and "the Lord *Mount-Norris* all of the Councel,

"and

" and subscribers of the Proclamation were as li-
" able to the charge as himself : That the redu-
" cing of that Nation by Orders of the Councel-
" board to the *English* customs from their more
" savage usage, as drawing Horses by their tails,
" *&c.* had been of former practice : that the
" project was of so ill avail to him, as he was the
" worse for the Manufacture, thirty thousand
" pounds at least by the Looms he had set up at
" his own charge : As for the Warrants that
" were issued out to seize upon goods, he affirmed
" the same to be necessary, because there ought
" to be no contempt of Proclamations : but that
" any part did accrue to him, he flatly denied :
" And if any rigor was used in the execution, he
" said, Not he, but the Officers were to answer
" for it, for this might happen in the most just and
" necessary commands, nor was there ever any
" complaint presented to him of any such mat-
" ter.

The same day they proceeded upon the later part of the 15 *th.* Article, waving the 14 *th.* and the former part of this. Mr. *Jeffry Palmer* urged upon him in these or the like words : That the Earl having by a Tyrannical power inverted the ordinary course of Justice, and given immediate Sentence upon the Lands and Goods of the Kings Subjects under pretence of disobedience to his Orders, in prosecution whereof, he had laid Souldiers upon the same to their utter ruine: This Article, he said, of it self did contain an individual Treason, so that if there were no more than this, it were more than sufficient to convince him of his impeachment ; two things were offered in proof :

1. The Testimony of one *Savil* a Sergeant at Arms, who was called forth, and produced the Copy of a Warrant, upon which he had sessed Souldiers.

2. He began to name some Statutes, by which such cessing was Treason. But before he went on to that, the Earl desired to be heard against *Savils* testimony, and said, he hoped their Lordships would not upon an Article of such importance admit of the Copy of an Order : he said, No Transcript but an Original can make faith before the Kings Bench in a matter of Debt, and therefore he thought in matter of life and death before the Supreme Judicatory, less would not be allowed off : Moreover, if Copies be at any time received, they are such as are given in upon Oath to have been compared with the Originals, but this was not so.

Glyn hereupon replied, that this Order ought to be admitted, since it was produced by the Officer himself, who best knew it, having executed the same.

His answer to the later part of the fifteenth Article.

The Earl answered, " That was the best ar-
" gument he could use why it should not be ad-
" mitted : for (said he) Mr. *Savil* may be char-
" ged with Treason, for cessing men of war up-
" on the Kings Subjects, he hath nothing for his
" defence but a pretended warrant from me: Now
" what he swears to my prejudice is to his own
" advantage, nor can a man by any equity in the
" world be admitted to testifie against another,
" *in suam justificationem.*

This answer seemed so weighty to the Lords, that they rose and went up to their House ; and after an hours stay, they returned, and declared That after much deliberation, they had resolved, that this Copy should not be admitted, and willed them to proceed to other proofs : which after a little pause they did.

1. The Lord *Ranelagh* affirmed that he heard of such a Warrant, and knew sometimes three, sometimes five Souldiers billeted by it.

2. Master *Clare* declares the very same.

3. Another Deposed, that he had seen such a Warrant under the Deputies hand and seal ; and so much for the proof.

For the Statutes alledged one of *Ed.* 3. 6. that whosoever should carry about with them English Enemies, Irish Rebells, or Hooded men, and cesse them upon the Subject, should be punished as a Traytor. Another of *Henr.* 6. 7. That whosoever should cesse Men of War, in his Majesties Dominions, should be thought to make War against the King, and punished as a Traytor.

The Earls Reply was,

" That in all the course of his life, he had in-
" tended nothing more than the preservation of
" the lives, goods and welfare of the Kings Sub-
" jects, and that he dared profess, that under no
" Deputy, more than under himself, had there
" been a more free and uninterrupted course of
" Justice.

The Earls Reply to other proofs.

To the charge he answered,

1. " That the Customes of *Ireland* differed
" exceedingly from the Customes of *England*, as
" was clear by *Coke*'s Books, and therefore though
" cessing of men might seem strange here, yet not
" so there.

His answer to the Charge.

2. " That even in *England* he had known
" Souldiers pressed upon men, by the Presidents
" of *York* and *Wales*, in case of known and open
" contempts, and that both in point of Outlawry
" and Rebellion, and also even for sums of debt
" between party and party, there is nothing more
" ordinary than these cessings to this day in *Scot-*
" *land*, whereby the chief house of the Owner is
" seized upon.

3. " That to this day hath been nothing more
" usual in *Ireland* than for the Governors to ap-
" point Souldiers to put all manner of Sentences
" in Execution, which he proved plainly to have
" been done frequently, and familiarly exercised
" in *Grandisons*, *Faulklands*, *Chichesters*, *Will-*
" *mots*, *Corks*, and all preceding Deputies times:
" And had even been done for Outlawries for
" the Kings debts in the Exchequer, of collecti-
" ons of Contribution money, and (which comes
" home to the poynt) for small sums of money
" between party and party, so that he mervailed
" *qua fronte* or with what boldness it could be
" called an Arbitrary Government lately brought
" in by him.

To this the Lord *Dillon*, Sir *Adam Loftus*, and Sir *Arthur Terringham* deposed : the last of whom told, that in *Faulkland's* time he knew twenty Souldiers sessed upon a man for refusing to pay sixteen shillings sterling.

4. " That in his instructions for executing his
" his Commission, he had expresse warrant for
" the same, as were in the instructions to the
" Lord *Faulkland* before him, both of which were
" produced and read.

5. "That although all theſe Preſidents were "not, yet it were not poſſible to govern the "the Kingdom of *Ireland* otherwiſe, which had "been from all times accuſtomed to ſuch ſum-"mary proceedings.

6. "That no Teſtimony brought againſt him, "can prove that ever he gave warrant to that ef-"fect; And for the deeds of the Sergeant at "Arms, he did conceive himſelf to be anſwera-"ble for it.

As for the Acts of Parliament, he had reſerved them to the diſpute of his Lawyers, but was content to ſay thus much for the preſent.

1. "That it is a ground in the Civil Law, that "that where the King is not mentioned, there he "cannot be included: But (with all diſtance to "his ſacred perſon be it ſpoken) he conceived "himſelf to be in his Maſter the Kings place (for "ſo his Commiſſion did run) in that Kingdom of "*Ireland*.

2. "The words in the Statute are not apply-"able to him, for God knows, he never went "about in Perſon to lay Souldiers upon any of "the Kings Subjects.

3. "That the Kings own Souldiers, requiring "in a Cuſtomary way, obedience to his Orders, "could in no conſtruction be called, Iriſh Re-"bells, Engliſh Enemies, or Hooded men.

4. "That the uſe and cuſtome of the Law, was "the beſt interpreter thereof, and for that he had "already ſpoken enough.

5. "That it ſavoured more of prejudice than "equity, to ſtart out ſuch an old Statute againſt "him and none others, (though culpable of the ſame fact) to the overthrow and ruine of him and "his Poſterity.

6. "That (under favour he conceived) for "any Iriſh Cuſtome or upon any Iriſh Statute, "he was to be judged by the Peers of *Ire-*"*land*.

7. "That Statute of what force ſoever was re-pealed,

1. "By the 10 *th.* of *Henr.* 7. where it is ex-"preſly declared nothing ſhall be reputed Trea-"ſon hereafter, but what is ſo declared by the "preſent Statute, now not a word is there of any "ſuch Treaſon.

2. "By the 11 *th.* of Queen *Elizabeth*, where "expreſly power is given to the Deputy of *Ire-*"*land* to ceſſe and lay Souldiers, although the "ſame be reputed Treaſon in any others.

To the Statute of *Henr.* 6. he replyed, "That a ſlender anſwer might ſerve, he hoped "that no man would think him ſo inconſiderate "to war againſt the King of *Brittain* and *Ireland*, "by the ſeſſing of five Souldiers: That he had "been charged by many for taking Arms for the "King, but to that time never for taking Arms "againſt him; And that he heartily wiſhed that "no man in all his Majeſties Dominions had "more practiſes with Rebells and Rebellious de-"ſigns than himſelf. So much for Thurſday.

At the cloſe he deſired the intermiſſion of a day, that he might recollect his ſpirits & ſtrength againſt the next time of charge, and with much difficulty obtained reſt till Saturday.

On Saturday they proceeded to the 16 *th.* Article, which Mr. *Palmer* charged thus: That the Lord of *Strafford* having eſtabliſhed a Tyrannical and Independent authority, by giving ſummary Decrees and Sentences, had deprived the ſubject of all juſt remedy; for in that Kingdom there was no ſupreme to himſelf to whom they might appeal: And leſt their juſt grievances might be made known to his Majeſty, he had obtained a reſtraint, that no complaint ſhould be made of injuſtice or oppreſſion done there, till the firſt addreſs had been made to himſelf, and that no perſon ſhould come out of that Kingdom but upon licenſe obtained from himſelf.

To which the Earl replyed to this effect.

His Re-ply to the fix-teenth Ar-ticle.

"That the Deputy *Faulkland* had ſet out the "ſame Proclamation, That the ſame reſtraint "was contained in the Statute of 25 *Henr.* 6. "upon which the Proclamation was founded: "That he had the Kings expreſs warrant for the "Proclamation: That he had alſo power to do "it by the Commiſſion granted to him: and that "the Lords of the Councel and the Juſtices not "only yielded, but preſſed him unto it. That it "was done upon juſt cauſe, for had the Ports "been open, divers would have taken liberty to "go to *Spain*, to *Doway*, *Rhemes* or St. *Omers*, "which might have proved of dangerous and "miſchievous conſequence to the State. That "the Earl of *D'eſmond* ſtood at the time of this "reſtraint charged with Treaſon before the "Councel of *Ireland* for practiſing againſt the "life of one Sir *Valentine Coke*. That the Lord "*Roch* was then a Priſoner for debt in the Caſtle "of *Dublin*, and therefore incapable of a licenſe; "That *Parry* was not fined for coming over "without licenſe, but for ſeveral contempts a-"gainſt the Councel-board in *Ireland*, and that "in his ſentence he had but only a caſting voice, "as the Lord Keeper in the Star-Chamber: He concluded, that he hoped the leaſt ſuſpition of Treaſon could not accrue to him from theſe actings: and for oppreſſion or miſdemeanor when it ſhould be laid to his charge, he made no doubt but he was able to anſwer it.

The 17 and 18 Articles were waved, and on the cloſe of the day Mr. *Whitlock* charged him with the 19 *th.* Article, ſaying, That he did not only Tyranniſe over the bodies, but alſo over the conſciences of men, and to that purpoſe did contrive and frame a new and unuſual Oath injoyned to the Scots in *Ireland*, and becauſe ſome of tenderneſſe of conſcience did refuſe to take the ſame, he had fined them in great ſums of money, baniſhed a great number from that Kingdom, called all that Nation Traytors and Rebells, and ſaid if ever he returned home from *England*, he would root them out both ſtock and branch.

For proof of this,

1. Sir *James Montgomery* was produced, who declared at large how that Oath was contrived.

2. Sir *Robert Maxnell* of *Ochyarden* who ſpake to the ſame purpoſe.

3. Sir *John Clotworthy*, who declared that a great number had fled the Kingdom for fear of that Oath.

4. One Mr. *Samuel*, who depoſed that upon the 10 *th.* of *October* 1638. he heard the Deputy ſay theſe words, That if he returned, he would root them out ſtock and branch.

They

They concluded, That this was one of the chiefeſt crimes he had done againſt the Priviledg and Liberty of the Subject.

The Earls reply to the 19th. Article.

The Earl replied: "That every new Article acquainted him with a new Treaſon, that if "he had done any thing in all his life acceptable "to the King and Countrey, he conceived it to "be this: And to theſe particulars he anſwered to this purpoſe.

1. "He deſired the Lords would call to mind "the condition of thoſe times, no man (pointing "to my Lord Steward) knows better than your "Lordſhip, who had in the expedition againſt "the *Scots*, the chiefeſt place in his Majeſties "Service: I would be very ſorry (ſaid he) to "rub old ſores, eſpecially ſeeing I hope things "are in a fair way to a firm peace, and I wiſh "that I may not be deceived, that is, that it may "be ſo; only thus much I may ſay, we had then "greater fears and apprehenſions in *Ireland*, leſt "the *Scots* in that Kingdom (who were above "100000 Souls) might have joyned with their "Countrey-men at home, for the diſturbance of "our peace: and we detected a Treaſon of be-"traying of the Caſtle of *Knockfergus*, to a great "man in that Kingdom (whoſe name I now ſpare) "by one *Freeman*, who upon the diſcovery was "executed.

"The Councel-board in *Ireland* reſolved to "preſcribe the *Scots* an Oath whereby they "might declare their diſcontent to their Coun-"trey-mens proceedings, and oblige themſelves "to the Kings Service: But while we were a-"bout this, they of their own accord came to "*Dublin* to Petition for it, and took it with a won-"derful alacrity and free heartedneſs, ſo that it is "a marveilous thing for any man to ſay it was in-"vented or violently enjoyned by me.

2. "About the ſame time the ſame Oath, "*Verbum Verbo*, was by the Councel of *En-"gland* preſcribed to the *Scots* at *London* and "elſewhere, which was no ſmall incouragement "to us in *Ireland*.

3. "I had (ſaid he) which I never ſhewed, "becauſe I had no need before this time, a ſpe-"cial Warrant from the King, all written with "his own hand to that effect: And when the "King commands a matter not contrary to Law, "truly, I (ſaid he) do conceive it both contra-"to Law and Conſcience, not to yeild him all "due obedience.

For the proof brought againſt him, there was nothing inſiſted on, to be of any moment but the words.

For the firſt words, "That he had called all "the Nation Rebels and Traytors, He ſaid, there "was no proof at all, nor indeed could there be "any, for if I had ſaid it (ſaid he) I had been "perfectly out of my wits; and he thanked God, "ſuch irrational ſpeeches uſed not to eſcape him: "He honoured that Kingdom very much, be-"cauſe it was the Native Soil of our dread So-"vereign, his Gratious Maſter, and becauſe he "knew a great part, yea, (he hoped) the great-"eſt part of them had been and ever will be as "loyal and dutiful to the King as any other of his "Subjects; and of thoſe who had ſubſcribed that "unhappy Combination, he knew a great many "had done it againſt their hearts and wills, and "would ever be ready upon occaſion to remon-"ſtrate the ſame, by adhering to the King's ſer-"vice; ſo that this accuſation was nothing but a "wreſting and perverting his words and meaning "of purpoſe to make him odious, and irritate a "whole Nation againſt him.

"For other words they were proved only by "one witneſs, which could make no ſufficient "faith, and that witneſs too he could evince, if "not of perjury, yet of a notable miſtake; for "he had ſworn poſitively that he had ſpoken thoſe "words the 10 *th.* of *October*, whereas he came "out of *Ireland* into *England* the 12 *th.* of *Sep-"tember* before, and was at *London* the 21 *th.*

"For thoſe that had fled the Kingdom becauſe "of that Oath, he knew none ſuch, and if they "did, they fled into *Scotland*, which might ſuffi-"ciently argue their intention and reſolutions: "for his part, if they were not willing to give "that teſtimony of their Loyalty to their Prince, "although he had known of their departure, he "would have been very loath to have kept them "againſt their wills, but ſhould have been "gladly rid of them, and have made them a "Bridge to be gone rather than to ſtay.

Upon *Munday*, Mr. *Whitlock* proceeded to the 20 *th.* Article, but ſaid, becauſe the matter was *conſimilis naturæ*, they would joyn the five next Articles together, becauſe all of them tended to one period, to ſhew what bad deſign he had to have ſubdued the Kingdoms both of *England* and *Scotland* by force of Arms, to reduce them to that arbitrary Government he had lately introduced into *Ireland*.

The Earl intreated they would proceed Article by Article as they had hitherto done, he ſaid, five Articles were many, the matter weighty, his Memory treacherous, and his Judgment weak.

It was ſharply replied by Mr. *Glyn*, that it doth not become the Priſoner at the Barr to preſcribe them in what way they ſhould give in their evidence.

The Earl modeſtly anſwered, "That if he "ſtood in his place, he would crave the like fa-"vour, unleſs his abilities did furniſh him with "more ſtrength than he could find in himſelf, for "his part he was contented they ſhould proceed "any way, always provided they would grant him "a competent time for replying.

Then *Whitlock* went on, and told the Lords, that ſomethings in thoſe Articles concerned the *Scottiſh*, ſomething the *Engliſh* Nation, that which concerned the *Scottiſh*, he reduced to five heads.

1. That the Deputy had ſaid at the Councel-board, that the *Scots* demands contained ſufficient matter to perſwade to an offenſive War.

2. That the ſame demands did ſtrike at the Root and Life of Monarchical Government, and were only to be anſwered by the Sword.

3. That he had cauſed ſome *Scottiſh* Goods and Ships to be ſeized on in *Ireland*.

4. That he had engaged the *Iriſh* Parliament by their Declaration in that War againſt the *Scots*.

5. That by all poſſible means he put bad thoughts and ſuſpitions into his Majeſty againſt his *Scottiſh* Subjects, and laboured to make a Na-

tional Quarrel between them and *England*: which if the Kings Piety, and the Prudence of better States-men had not prevented, could not have been loadred up again without much blood.

Concerning *England* his ſpeeches were either before, or after the Parliament.

1. Before his Creature and boſome friend Sir *George Ratcliff*, he had ſaid to Sir *Robert King*, when he was doubting how the King might have moneys to pay the Armies, that the King had 400000 *lib.* in his purſe, 30000 men in the field, and his ſword by his ſide, and if he wanted money afterwards, who would pity him.

2. That his Brother Sir *George Wentworth* had ſaid to Sir *Robert Barrington*, upon the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, that ſeeing the *Engliſh* would not grant ſupply to the King; it ſeems they were weary of their peace, and deſired to be conquered a ſecond time.

3. That he himſelf upon a diſcourſe with the Primate of *Ireland*, had ſaid, That he was much of the mind of thoſe *Engliſh* Divines, who maintained it lawful for a King, having tried the affection and benevolence of his people, and then denied their help, upon an inevitable neceſſity, and to prevent danger of the Kingdom, that he might uſe his Prerogative for his own ſupply, and the defence of his Subjects.

4. To the Lord *Conway* in a diſcourſe he had ſaid, that if the Parliament (meaning the laſt Parliament) ſhould not grant a competent ſupply, then the King was acquitted before God and man, and might uſe the Authority put into his hands.

5. He did ſay at the Councel-board, that if the Parliament ſhould deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majeſties ſervice and aſſiſtance.

His expreſſions after the Parliament were two.

1. That the Parliament had forſaken the King, and denied to ſupply him, and that the King ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be overmaſtered by the frowardneſs, obſtinacie, and ſtubborneſs of his people.

2. That if his Majeſty pleaſed to imploy Forces, he had ſome in *Ireland*, that might ſerve to reduce this Kingdom.

The Proofs of the *Scots* particulars were theſe:

1. The Earl of *Traquayr*, who told them, that when he gave in the demands of the *Scots*, he heard him ſay, That it was time for the King to put himſelf into a poſture of War, but that firſt all the Councel of *England* ſaid the ſame as well as he. 2. That it was a double ſuppoſition, Firſt, that the demands were truly given in: Secondly, that there was no other remedy left but Arms to reduce them.

2. The Earl of *Mortons* teſtimony, being ſick himſelf, was produced, and it was one and the ſame with the Article.

3. Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared that he had heard the Earl adviſe the King to an offenſive War, when his own Judgment was for a defenſive.

4. The teſtimony of the Earl of *Northumberland* was produced, which was the very ſame with that of Sir *Henry Vane*.

5. The Lord Treaſurer depoſed the ſame with *Traquayr*.

6. One *Beane* from *Ireland* depoſed, that he had known ſhips ſeized on there, but by whoſe procurement or warrant he knew not.

To the Articles about *England*.

1. Sir *Robert King*, and the Lord *Ranelaugh*, depoſed the ſame, that they had heard Sir *George Ratcliff* ſpeak thoſe words in the Article.

2. Sir *Robert Barrington* of Sir *George Wentworth*.

3. The Lord Primate of *Irelands* Teſtimony, who was ſick, was the ſame with the Article.

4. The Lord *Conney* depoſed the ſame with the Article.

5. Sir *Henry Vane* depoſed, he did hear thoſe words ſaid at the Councel-table, if the Parliament ſhould deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majeſties ſervice and aſſiſtance.

For the two expreſſions after the Parliament.

Sir *Thomas Jermayn*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Earl of *Holland* were examined to the firſt: but the teſtimony they gave did not reach to prove the words.

And to the ſecond, Sir *Henry Vane* was examined, who declared that he ſaid either thoſe words, or the like.

At this ſome of the Lords ſpake,

1. The Lord *Savile*, who deſired of Sir *Henry Vane* to know whether he ſaid, their, or this, or that Kingdom, and withal ſaid it was very hard to condemn a man for ſuch *petit* circumſtances.

2. The Earl of *Southampton* deſired to know whether Sir *Henry Vane* would ſwear theſe words poſitively or not: Sir *Henry* ſaid, poſitively either them, or the like; The Earl replied, that under favour thoſe, or the like could not be poſitive.

3. The Earl of *Clare* deſired to know, what could be meant by this Kingdom; for his part, he ſaid, he thought it meant of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to which the word (*this*) might very well be relative, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the preceding diſcourſe: And that he was the more ready to be of that opinion, becauſe he could not ſee, by what Grammatical conſtruction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce *England*, which neither then was, neither is now (God be thanked) out of the way of obedience, nor upon rebellious courſes.

The Proſecutors at laſt concluded the Charge, that the words were ſo monſtrous that to aggravate them was to allay them, and therefore they would ſingly leave them to the Judgment of the Lords.

The Earls reply was:

"That though the heaping up of thoſe Arti- The Earls reply to the 24th. and five following Articles.
"cles had put him to a great confuſion, yet he
"would endeavour to bring his Anſwer to the
"beſt method he could, and firſt he would reply
"to the Proof, then add ſomething in general
"for himſelf, in what a hard taking and lamenta-
"ble condition he was to have his private Diſ-
"courſes, his intimate and boſome friends ſearcht
"and ſifted to the leaſt circumſtance, that he
"might ſeem guilty of that, which by God's aſ-
"ſiſtance he ſhould never be.

To

" To the Lord *Traquayres* Depoſitions, he " thought their proofs did not much ſtick upon " him; for upon the ſuppoſitions, Firſt, that " the demands were true: Secondly, that they " were not juſtifiable: Thirdly, that no other " courſe could prevail: He could not ſee what " other advice he could poſſibly give the King, " than to put himſelf into a poſture of War, e- " ſpecially ſeeing that there was frequent reports " of the Scots Invading or entring into *England*, " neither was he of any other mind, than all the " reſt of the Councel-board.

" For that of *Mortons*, he doth not poſitively " remember the words, but if the demands were " read, perhaps they would imply nothing leſs, " and if ſo, how otherwiſe to be anſwered but by " the Sword? All other means being firſt aſſayed " which is ever to be ſuppoſed.

" For Sir *Henry Vane*, and *Northumberlands* " teſtimony about perſwading of an offenſive " War; He ſaid, he remembred it very well, and " thought it as free for him to give his opinion for " an offenſive, as they for a defenſive war: Opini- " ons (ſaid he) if they be attended with obſtinacie " or pertinacy, may make a Heretick, but that they " make a Traytor, I never heard till now, nor " (under favour) ſhall I be unwilling to acknow- " ledge my weakneſs, and correct my Errors, " whereof no man hath more, nor is more ſenſi- " ble of them, than my ſelf; yet if that opinion " of mine had been followed, it might perhaps " have ſpared us ſome money, and ſome reputa- " tion too, of which we have been prodigal e- " nough.

" For the laſt about the ſhips, it proves no- " thing, but what he would willingly confeſs, *viz.* " that ſome ſhips were there detained, and that " by himſelf, and his own direction, as Vice- " Admiral of *Connaught*, but it was at the Com- " mand of the Lord Admiral the Earl of *Nor-* " *thumberland*, and produced his Letter to that " purpoſe.

To the *Engliſh* Proofs, he marvelled much (he " ſaid) how Sir *George Ratcliffes* words could be " put upon him; Sir *George* (though alleadged " to be his boſome friend) yet had thoughts of " his own: No man (ſaid he) can commit " Treaſon by an Attorney, and ſhould I by my " friend Sir *George* as by a Proxy, it would be " ſomething ſtrange.

For his Brother, *He never knew him before ſo raſh, but that was nothing to him, except they could prove a nearer Identity than nature had inſtituted, and that his Brothers words and his were all one: yet withal he conceived, that his Brothers words might be very well underſtood of the* Scots *conquering* England, *but not at all of the* Iriſh; *and ſo he wiſhed with all his heart he had not ſpoken ſomething which is like Prophecie.*

To the Primates teſtimony (*with all reverence to his integrity be it ſpoken*) *he is but one Witneſs, and in Law can prove nothing: add to this* (ſaid he) *that it was a private diſcourſe between him and me, and perhaps ſpoken by me* tentandi gratia, *and how far this ſhould be laid to a mans charge, Let your Lordſhips judge.*

Yea, this ſeems to me againſt humanity it ſelf, and will make the Society of men ſo dangerous and loathſome to us, that our dwelling houſes will be turned to Cells, and our Towns to Deſarts: That which God and Nature have beſtowed upon us, our Tongues (*for the greater comfort of venting our own conceptions, or craving the advice of wiſe and learned men*) *ſhall become to be ſnares and burdens to us, by a curious and needleſs fear, yet if my words be taken* (ſaid he) *with all that went before and followed after, I ſee no danger in them.*

To the Lord *Conwey*, *I may reply the ſame, with this addition, that it is a very natural motion for a man to preſerve himſelf, every Creature hath this priviledge, and ſhall we deny it to man, provided this be done in a lawful, though in an extraordinary way; this grain of ſalt muſt be added to all my diſcourſe.*

To that of Sir *Henry Vane*, *of offering my ſervice to the King, I thank him for the teſtimony, and think he hath done me much honour thereby, but if he or any body elſe do ſuſpect that his Majeſty will imploy me in any unlawful enterprizes, I ſhall think them more lyable to the Charge of Treaſon than my ſelf.*

And then he went on ſaying:

To the firſt of the ſubſeqnent Teſtimonies, concerning that expreſſion, That the Parliament had forſaken the King, and denied to ſupply him, &c. (*pretended in the Charge againſt me, to be ſaid the ſame day of the diſſolution of the Parliament, and urged as a conſequence of malice in me, for having firſt adviſed the diſſolution, and then endeavoured to incenſe his Majeſty againſt his people*) *though no teſtimony has yet proved the words, nor is it I hope, believed that I was the principal cauſe of the diſſolution of the Parliament, yet I ſhall crave leave to relate the matters that occurred previous thereunto.*

Before I came to the Councel-Table, it was Voted by the Lords to demand twelve Subſidies, and Sir Henry Vane *was ordered to demand no leſs; but coming in the interim, I perſwaded the Lords to Vote it again, and reſume the debate; whereupon it was agreed, that if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subſidies,* Sir Henry *ſhould deſcend to eight, and rather than fail to ſix, but he not obſerving his inſtructions, demanded twelve only without abatement or going lower; ſo that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majeſty to diſſolve the Parliament, whereof Sir* Henry Vane *as I humbly conceive, was the chief occaſion.*

To that part of the teſtimony proved by Sir *Henry Vane*, That if his Majeſty pleaſed to employ Forces, he had ſome in *Ireland* which would ſerve to reduce the Kingdom: He ſaid to this purpoſe:

" This lies ſore upon me, but to that which " the Earl of *Clare* hath ſaid already, give me " leave to add this, That the teſtimony of one " man is not a ſufficient Witneſs, nor can a man " be accuſed, much leſs condemned of Treaſon " upon this: and for that read the Statutes of " *H.* 7. 12. and of *Ed.* 6. 5. But to give you fur- " ther ſatisfaction, I ſhall deſire all the Lords of " the Councel which were then preſent, may be " examined, whether they heard thoſe words or " not, there were but eight preſent, with the " Arch-Biſhop, and Sir *Francis Windebank*; Sir

Henry

" *Henry Vane* gives the Teſtimony, I deny it, " four only remain.

Upon this the teſtimony of the Lords was taken.

1. The Earl of *Northumberlands* teſtimony was read, wherein was declared expreſly, that he had never heard thoſe words, nor any like them, but that he ſpake with great honour and regard of *England* to the King.

2. The Marqueſs *Hamilton* declared that he never heard ſuch words, but that he had often heard the Earl ſay, that the King was to uſe his Royal power *candide & caſte*, that it would never be well for this Kingdom till the Prerogative of the Crown and the Priviledge of the Subject went in one pace together, and that Parliaments were the happieſt means to keep a correſpondence betwixt the King and people.

The very ſame was delivered by the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord *Cottington*; " Now, my " Lords, ſaid he, you may mervail how theſe " words reſted only on the ears of Sir *Henry* " *Vane*, but, my Lords, (ſaid he) that I may re- " move all ſcruples from you, I will make it evi- " dent, that there was not the leaſt intention that " the Iriſh Army ſhould ſet a foot in *England*, " and then I hope you will conceive that I had " no meaning to reduce this Kingdom.

This he made cleer by the teſtimony of the Earl of *Northumberland*, the Oaths of Marqueſs *Hamilton*, Lord *Cottington*, Lord Treaſurer, Sir *Thomas Lucas*, who only were private to that matter.

" For other of my words, my Lords, (ſaid he) " I deſire you would not take them by halves, if " ſo, who ſhould be free from Treaſon? Cer- " tainly if ſuch a Preſident take footing, *Weſt-* " *minſter-Hall* ſhall be more troubled with Trea- " ſon than with Common Law: Look therefore " to the antecedents and conſequents of my ſpee- " ches, and you ſhall find the State of the Que- " ſtion cleerly altered: The Antecedents were " upon an abſolute or inevitable neceſſity upon a " preſent invaſion, when the remedy of Parlia- " ment cannot be expected; the conſequents to " the Kingdom with accompts afterwards to the " Parliament: The Qualification too in a law- " ful, convenient and ordinary way, ſo far as the " preſent neceſſity can permit. Add but theſe, " and which of you are not of my mind? Is the " King endowed with no power from the Law? " Is he not *Publicus inſpector regni*? ſtands it " not him in hand to do ſomething on preſent ne- " ceſſities?

And that theſe were his words, he then proved again, by the Marqueſſe, the Lord Treaſurer, Lord *Cottington*, Sir *Tho. Jermine*.

" My Lords, What I have kept to the laſt " (ſaid he) is this, and I would intreat you ſe- " rioufly to think of it: If a mans table, his bed, " his houſe, his brother, his friends, (and that too " after they have given an Oath of ſecrecy) are " to be rack'd to find out Treaſon againſt him? " Let my misfortune, my Lords, be your adver- " tiſement, your wiſe Anceſtors were glad to put " bands and limits to this Lion Treaſon, if you " give it large ſcope of words to range into, he " will at laſt pull you or yours all to pieces.

" But my Lords, I never did think till now, " that matter of opinion ſhould be objected as " matter of Treaſon.

" For firſt, Opinions are free, and men may " argue both *Pro* and *Con* in all faculties without " any ſtain of reputation, otherwiſe all conſulta- " tions were vain.

2. " I may be of another judgement, then I " declare my ſelf to be of opinion perhaps to gain " better arguments for the maintenance of my " own Grounds.

3. " Many and my ſelf oftentimes have pro- " pounded an opinion, yet upon hearing better " Judgements, have preſently changed it.

4. " We uſe to ſtrain our opinions too high, " ſometimes that we may meet in a juſt modera- " tion with thoſe whom we conceive in the other extremity to be too low.

5. " It is expreſly commanded by the Stat. " *Henr. 6. 9.* that though a man ſhould ſay the " King is not lawful Heir to the Crown, and may " be depoſed, yet he is not to be charged with " Treaſon, but only with Felony, and I hope my " Lords, thoſe words are of a more tranſcendent " and ſuperlative nature than any alledged by me " to be ſpoken; But, my Lords, ſaid he, Lay it " to your hearts: it muſt come to you, you and " yours, your Poſterity are they whom God and " Nature, Birth and Education, have fitted to " beautifie the Royal Throne, and to ſuſtain the " weighty affairs of the Kingdom, If to give " your Opinions in Political agitation ſhall be ac- " counted Treaſon, who will be willing to ſerve " the King, or what a *Dilemma* are you in, if be- " ing ſworn Counſellors you ſpeak not your minds " freely, you are convict of Perjury, if you do, " perhaps of Treaſon; what detriment, what in- " commodity ſhall fall to the King and Kingdom, " if this be permitted? Which of you hereafter " will adventure, yea dare adventure ſo much as " to help by your advice, unleſs you be weary of " your lives, your Eſtates, your Poſterity, yea " your very honour; Let me never live longer " than to ſee this confuſion, nay I may ſay it, this " inhumanity in *England*, for my part, my Lords, " I here confeſs my ſelf, I ever have, and ever " ſhall ſpeak my opinion freely in any thing that " may concern the Honour and Safety of my Gra- " tious King, or my Dear Country, though the " Sword be two-edged, fearing him rather who " killeth the Soul, than he whoſe power reach- " eth only to the body.

" Nor do I ſee how I am culpable of Treaſon, " unleſs it be Treaſon for not being infallible, yet " if it be ſo, my Lords, you have this rag of mor- " tality before you loaden with many infirmities, " though you pull this into ſhreds, yet there is no " great loſs, there may be perhaps a great gain; " If I have ſeemed to have dared too far to give " teſtimony to the World of an innocent con- " ſcience towards God, and a reſolute loyalty to- " wards my Prince (which have ever been my " only Pole-ſtars in the whole courſe of my life) " and if by ſpilling of mine there be not a way " found to trace out the blood of the Nobility, " (which I hope your Lordſhips will look to) " there will be no diſadvantage at all ſuffered by " the loſs of Me.

Tueſday was a day of Reſt.

Upon Wedneſday Mr. *Whitlock* charged thus: That

That the precedent Articles were of so high a consequence, and of so transcendent a nature, that nothing wanted to make up the perfect measure of the most horrid Treason and monstrous attempt that ever by a Native was intended against his King and Countrey: But putting these designed projects into Execution, which had undoubtedly hapned to the subversion both of Church and State, had not the clemency and goodness of the Prince and the piety and carefulness of the well affected Peers timely foreseen and prevented the same, that still the Principles of Tyranny and Oppression had lodged within his bosome, and therefore had burst forth into these expressions and advices contained in the following Articles, where first they charged him in the 25*th.* with three things.

1. That he had advised the King to rigorous and unlawful exaction of Ship-money.

2. That he had given Counsel, that if the Sheriffs should deny their best indeavours and assistance to that effect, they should be sent for and fined by the Star-chamber and Imprisonment.

3. That when the Aldermen of *London* had in all humility presented the causes why the Ship-money could not be collected amongst them, and had given in their reasons why they refused to give in a list of their names within their City, who were able to afford the Loane-money; He in a contemptuous and Tyrannical manner in the face of the Councel-board had said to the King: Sir, these men because of their obstinacy and frowardness deserved very well to be fined, ransomed and laid by the heels: And it will never go well go well with your Service untill some of be hanged for example to others.

The proofs were these,

1. The Bishop of *London*, Lord Treasurer, who declared that he remembred the words very well, that the Earl had advised the King to cause the Ship-money to be gathered in, but he remembred withal that both himself and all the Councel had done the like, and that it was upon a present necessity and defect of money for entertaining the Army, which (the condition of the Armie considered) they all conceived was by any means to be kept on foot.

2. Alderman *Wiseman* declared, that upon an humble Remonstrance made to the Councel-board, that the City would take it ill, if a Tax roll should be delivered of their Estates who were thought able for the loane-money; the Lord *Strafford* said, they deserved to be fined, ransomed, and laid by the heels, But for the words of hanging them up, he heard not at all.

3. The Earl of *Berkshire* declared, that the Lord *Strafford* had said, that upon the refusal of such a service enjoyned by the Kings peremptory command, it was his opinion they might be fined.

4. Alderman *Garway* attested the preceding words, and withal added that the Earl to his best remembrance, had said, it were well for the Kings service if some of them were hanged up.

They closed up the charge, saying, That by such undutiful Expressions he had invaded the propriety of the Subject, and had put such discontent upon the City, that they were the less willing upon occasion to concurre for advantage of the Kings Service.

The Earl replyed, "That though all the charge "were, in the most strict and rigid way verified "against him, yet he could not conceive by what "Interpretation of Law it could be reach'd home "to High Treason, And to that common objection (that the Treason was not individual, but "accumulative) he replyed, that, under favour, "he thought that were as much as to say, No "Treason at all, Because,

The Earls reply to Mr. Whitlocks new charge in the 25th. Article.

1. "That neither in Statute Law, Common "Law nor practise, there was ever till this time "heard of such a matter as accumulative Trea-"son, or a Treason by way of consequence, but "that it is a word newly coyned to attend, a "charge newly invented, such a one as never "was before.

2. "That Treason was a thing of a simple and "specificative nature, and therefore could not be "so by accumulation, but either must be so in "some or either of the Articles, or else could not "be so at all.

3. "That a heap or Accumulation should be, "and not be of *Homo-geneous* things, and there-"fore that which in its first being is not trea-"sonable, can never confer to make up an accu-"mulative Treason. *Cumulus*, an heap of grain, "so called, because every or at least some of the "individuals are grain, if otherwise, an heap it "may be, but not an heap of grain: Just so per-"haps these Articles may make up an heap of Fe-"lonies, Oppressions, Errors, Misdemeanors, "and such like (and to the things themselves, I "shall give an answer, when under that name they "shall be charged against me) but they can no "waies confer to the making up of Treason, un-"less some, at the least be Treason in the Indi-"vidual.

2. "That the Testimonies brought against him, "were all of them single, not two one way, and "therefore could not make faith in matter of "debt, much less in matter of life and death: "That it was against the Statute expresly to im-"peach a man of High Treason under the Evi-"dence of two famous Witnesses, much less to "adjudge and convince him upon attestation of "one.

3. "To the Lord Treasurers testimony, he did "with all his heart condescend unto it: but "upon these grounds only, that there was a pre-"sent necessity of money that all the Councel-"board had so voyced with him, yea before him-"self, and he alwaies thought it presumption in "a man not to follow the wiser and more Juditi-"ous: And that then there was a sentence of "the Star-Chamber for the right of paying ship-"money: for his part he would never be more "prudent than his teachers, nor give judgement "against the Judges: And therefore he thought "it not far amiss to advise the King for collecting "of that which by Law was his own, in such a "present and urgent necessity, and although his "opinion (and it was no more) had been amiss, "he hoped, that though in case of Religion being "attended with stubbornesse and pertinacy, it "might come home to Heresie, yet could it not "reach so far as Treason; unless it be Treason

"for a man to ſpeak his judgement freely, when "he is upon his Oath to do the ſame.

4. "For the words about fining, he had al- "ready acknowledged them in his General an- "ſwer to be true, but with theſe qualifications, "that it was his opinion only, that it was upon the "refuſal (as he conceived) of a juſt ſervice, that "he had ſpoken them by no means to prejudice "the Citizens, but to make them the more quick "and active in the Kings Service: That no ill "conſequence at all happened upon them: that "they were words might have been ſpared in- "deed, but innocently, though ſuddenly ſpoken, "which he hoped might proceed from a man of "ſuch a haſty and incircumſpect humor as himſelf "(made ſo both by nature and his much infirmity "of body) without any mind at all to Treaſon: "And that if all Cholerick Expreſſions of that "nature ſhould be accounted Treaſonable, there "would be more ſuits of that kind fly up & down "*Weſtminſter-Hall* than Common Law.

5. "To theſe words atteſted by Alderman *Garway*, he poſitively denyed them, and hoped "they ſhould never riſe up againſt him in Judge- "ment, becauſe the teſtimony was ſingle and not "poſitive, but only to his beſt remembrance, and "that it was exceeding ſtrange, that not any one "man neither of the Councel or the other Al- "dermen were ſo quick to obſerve them, but on- "ly Alderman *Garway*, which he thought ſuffici- "ent to nullifie that ſingle teſtimony, except he "could demonſtrate himſelf to have ſome rare "ſingular faculty of hearing. In the cloſe, he "deſired the Lords from his misfortunes to pro- "vide for their own Safety, and ſeriouſly to con- "ſider what a way was chalked out to ruine them, "both in their lives and their eſtates, if for every "opinion given in Councel, or words ſuddenly "or haſtily ſpoken, they (who are born to weild "the great affairs of the Kingdom) ſhould be ar- "raigned and ſentenced as Traytors.

Then they went to the 26*th.* Article, and charged thus,

That the Lord *Strafford* having by his wicked advices exhauſted the Kings Treaſury, did alſo councel him,

1. To embaſe the coyne by allay of copper money.

2. To ſeize upon all the Bullion in the Mint.

3. That in diſcourſe with ſome of the Aldermen, about the buſineſs he had ſaid, the City was more ready to countenance and relieve the Rebells than the King: And that the King of *France* did manage ſuch buſineſſes not by Treaties or Requeſt, but by ſending forth his Commiſſaries to take account of mens Eſtates, accompanied with Troops of Horſe.

The proofs were,

Firſt, Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, who declared that in his diſcourſe with the Lord *Strafford*, having remonſtrated unto him that Merchants goods were ſeized on beyond Seas becauſe of the money taken out of the Mint, he told him that if the Londoners ſuffered it, it was deſervedly, becauſe they had refuſed the King a ſmall Loane of Money upon Security, and that he thought them more ready to help the Rebells than the King.

Secondly, Mr. *Palmer* declared, that he ſpake ſomething about the King of *France*, but whether with relation to *England* or not, he did not remember.

Thirdly, Sir *William Parkiſe* atteſted in the ſame words, and withal, that the Lord *Cottington* was then preſent, and could declare the whole buſineſs.

Fourthly, Sir *Ralph Freeman* declared, that in a diſcourſe with the Lord *Strafford*, he had ſaid that the Servants in the Mint-houſe would refuſe to work in Copper-money: And he replied, *That then it were well to ſend thoſe Servants to the Houſe of Correction.*

They cloſed the Charge, That by ſuch undutiful Councel and words he had given more than ſufficient proof of his deſign and purpoſe to ſubdue this Kingdom and ſubvert the Fundamental Laws and Priviledges of the ſame.

The Earl replied:

The Earls anſwer to the 27th. Article.

That he expected ſome proofs to evidence the two firſt particulars, but heard of none: for the following words he confeſſed, probably they might proceed from the door of his lips: nor did he think it much amiſs, conſidering the preſent poſture to call that faction Rebels: As for the laſt words objected againſt him in that Article, he ſaid, that being in conference with ſome of the Londoners, *there came to his hands at that inſtant a Letter from the Earl of* Leiceſter, *then at* Paris, *wherein were the Gazets incloſed, relating that the Cardinal had given order to levy Money by Souldiers: This he only told the Lord* Cottington *ſtanding by, but made not the leaſt application thereof to the* Engliſh *affairs: he ſaid moreover, there was no great likelihood that he had committed real acts of Treaſon, when his adverſe party was content to trifle away ſo much time about words, neither was there any Treaſon in them, though they had been fully verified; and therefore in that (as in all other Articles) he reſerved a power for his Councel to diſpute in matter of Law.*

They then went to the 27*th.* Article, and charged thus, That immediately after his appointment to be Lieutenant General to the Army here in *England*, he ſhewed what principles of Arbitrary Government lurked within his boſome, for by his own immediate authority, without and againſt Law, he had laid Impoſts upon many of the Kings Subjects; whereof they mentioned three particulars:

1. That he impoſed 8 *d. per diem* for a Souldier upon the County of *York*, for entertaining the trained bands there one whole moneth.

2. That he ſent out Warrants for collecting the ſame, and threatned to impriſon ſuch as refuſed to pay.

3. That he ſaid it was a crime nigh to the crime of High Treaſon not to pay the ſame.

4. They added in his general replies, he had brought two things for his defence: 1. That the money was freely and voluntarily offered by thoſe in *Yorkſhire*. 2. That the great Counſel of the Peers had notice of the ſame: but to both they had the following anſwers to make, *viz.*

To the firſt, That a Petition was indeed preferred by the Yorkſhire-men to the King, and a moneths pay offered: but that the Lord *Strafford* had refuſed to preſent the ſame upon this exception only, becauſe in the ſame they had petitioned for a Parliament, whereby he evidently declared

red what little inclination he had to that way.

To the second, they appealed to all the Lords whether any such order did pass before the Councel of the Peers at *York*.

The Proofs were:

1. A Warrant issued by Collonel *Pennyman*, for this money, and another by Sir *Edward Osborn*.

2. Mr. *John Burrows*, who declared that he was Clerk to the great Councel, but did remember of no order, and withal added that it might have passed at that time when he was at *Rippon*.

3. Mr. *Dunstan*, who declared, that he had known that money to be levied by some Musketiers.

4. By Sir *William Ingram*, who declared that he heard the Earl say, that to refuse the same came nigh to the crime of High-Treason.

They concluded the Charge, that by these particulars, it was more than evident what unhappy purposes and trayterous designs he had to subdue this Kingdom: and subvert the fundamental Laws and Priviledges.

The Earl replied:

The Earls Answer to the 27th. Article.

1. To the Petition, *That it was true a Petition was drawn up by the* York-shire *Gentlemen, and as true that he had refused to present the same, because of that Clause about the Parliament: but the matter was thus. At his Majesties coming to* York, *it was thought necessary for the defence of that County to keep the Trained Bands on foot, because the Enemy was upon the Borders; and therefore the King directed him to write to all the Freeholders in* York-shire *to see what they would do for their own defence. The time and place were designed by the King, but the night before the meeting a small number convented and in a private and factious way did draw up that Petition, upon the morrow at their appointed Diet, in presence of the whole number, the Petition was presented to him, where he did advise them to leave out that Clause, and that because he knew the King out of his own gratious disposition had intended to call a Parliament, which he desired should rather be freely done, then upon the constraint and importunity of Petitions: Moreover, it would seem a mercenary thing in them at one and the same time to offer a benevolence, and withal to Petition for his favour; Upon this Remonstrance they were were all willing to recal the Petition, and directed him by word of mouth to offer unto the King the moneths pay in their names, which he did accordingly, in the presence of them to their no small advantage.*

This he proved by Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Paul Neal*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *William Savil*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, who all of them declared as much in ample terms, and withal added, *That nothing was done upon better grounds of necessity and obedience, than the offer of that money, and that they never had heard any man grudge against it to this time.*

For the second about the Councel of Peers, "he alledged, That he never made mention of "any Order of theirs; but he remembred very "well it was twice propounded before them, that "the King had approved it at that time as a just "and necessary act, and none of the Councel "contradicted it, which he conceived as a tacite "approbation and an Order in equivalence.

"But though that had not been, there was no-"thing done in the business but at the special de-"sires of the Gentlemen themselves, and "for their necessary defence and protection: "And though he had done it by himself alone, "yet he conceived he had so much power by his "Commission, causing the Commission to that "effect to be read: That albeit he should mistake "his Commission and do some inferiour act be-"yond it (because military proceedings are not "always warranted by the Common Law) yet "it should not be imputed as an Act of Treason "to him. And to this effect read a Statute of 7 *Hen.* 2.

To the proof:

1. *Collonel* Pennymans *Warrant, or Sir* Robert Osbornes *nothing concerned him, and he doubted not but those worthy Gentlemen could justifie their own acts, and that he had enough to do to answer his own misdemeanors.*

2. *For Sir* John Burrows, *he was at* Rippon, *when that Proposition was made.*

3. *That as the Warrant, so neither the Execution troubled him at all.*

4. *For Sir* William Ingram, *he was but a single testimony, and that such an one as he could produce an evidence to testifie, he had mistaken himself in his testimony upon Oath, if it were not to disadvantage the Gentleman.*

He concluded that he had done nothing in that business, but upon the Petition of that County, the Kings especial command, the connivence at least of the Great Councel and upon a present necessity for the defence and safety of the County.

And so much for *Wednesday*.

Upon *Thursday*, the Committee for the Charge declared, That they had done with all the Articles, and were content to wave the last for reasons best known to themselves; only Sir *Walter Earl* added, that he had some observations to bring forth upon the 22 *th.* Article which he conceived might do much to prove the Lord *Staffords* design for landing the *Irish* forces in *England*.

And they were:

1. That in his Commission he had power to land them in *Wales*, or in any part of *England* or *Scotland*, which were altogether superfluous, unless there had been some purpose for the same.

2. That within two dayes before the date of the Commission, Letters were sent to the Lords *Bridgewater*, and *Pembrook* from Sir *Francis Windebank* to assist the Earl of *Worcester*, in levying Forces for the Kings service, and these might be supposed to have intended a joyning with the *Irish*.

3. That the Lord *Ranelaugh* at the raising of the *Irish* Army did fear such a design as this.

4. That the Town of *Ayre* in *Scotland*, where the Lord *Strafford* pretended he would land those Forces, was fortified with a Bulwark, a Garrison, and Blockhouse, which would prohibite landing there: that the Earl of *Argyles* bounds were divided thence by the Sea, and that the Barr or entry into the Town was very dangerous and shallow.

The proofs were only the reading of the Commission granted to the Lord *Strafford*.

The Earls reply to Sir Walter Earles observations on the 22th. Article.

The Earls reply.

1. "That his Commission was the same *Verbatim* with *Northumberlands* for *England*, and "that it was drawn up by the Councel-board "here, and sent over unto him: so no more de- "sign in him then in the Gentlemen of the En- "glish Army, nor no larger than that was put up- "on him.

2. "That this was the first time that he heard "of any such Letters, neither did they concern "him more than any of the house.

3. "That he was not bound to purge the "Lord *Ranelaugh* from all his fears; and that he "had his own fears too, which God forbid should "be evidence of Treason against any man what- "soever.

4. "That it seemed the Gentlemen had bet- "ter information from that Kingdom than him- "self, yet he would be confident to say, at *Ayre* "there was never such a thing as Blockhouse or "Garrison: But to remove all scruples (for in- "deed the Road or Landing-place is not there "safe) he declared that it was his intention to "have landed some miles above *Ayre*, and made "only his Magazine at that Town.

"To the Earl of *Argyles* bounds, he hoped "the Gentleman knew they came not on foot "out of *Ireland*, but had ships to waft and trans- "port themselves, and that one of his prime "Houses (*Rosneth*) was within some few miles "of the same.

The Lord *Digby* finding Sir *Walter Earle* a little puzzell'd, endeavoured to bring him off, and told the Lords in such a business as the plotting of Treason they must be content sometimes with dark probabilities.

The Earl having thus answered the Charge against him, it was moved by one of the Prosecutors, that if he have any thing to say further in his defence he should do it presently; but he desired time till the next morning, which was (not without difficulty) granted.

The next morning the Lords met, but the Lieutenant of the Tower appeared without his Prisoner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a great fit of the stone that night, and continued so ill as he could not go abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this an excuse to gain time, but the Lords believed the relation, Mr. *Glyn* moved that if he did not appear upon *Saturday* morning, he should lose the Priviledge to speak in his own defence afterwards, and they permitted to proceed: But the Lord Steward said, That the Lords had appointed some of their number to go to the Tower, and learn the just cause of his stay, and if by any means he were able, he should be obliged to come, but if not, humanity and common equity would excuse him. These Lords that went to the Tower found the Earl much eased of his pain by the application of some remedies, which the Physitians had administred unto him: so that the next day he appeared before them, and one of the Prosecutors proffered new proofs concerning the two and twentieth Article, upon which the Earl craved the freedom for himself concerning some testimonies not yet exhibited on his behalf, whence ensued a hot contest betwixt the two Houses, which took up two days debate, but at last the reasons of the Lords prevailed, who declared that in the common dispensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superinduct new proofs as well as the Accusers, and it was agreed that all further testimony should be waved on both sides.

Upon *Tuesday* the Earl appeared, and the Lord Steward told him, that the Lords had ordered, that both their testimonies should be waved, and if he had any thing to say further in his own defence, he should proceed, so that that day might put an end to what concerned the matter of fact. The Earl replied, That in all humility and obedience he would submit himself to that or any other their Decrees whatsoever, though it should reach as far home unto him as his own life; but withal humbly begged, That if hereafter he should be troubled (for they were to speak last) with new matter, or with supplemental proof, he might have leave to speak something in his own defence.

The Lord Steward answered, It is all the reason in the world:

Whereupon the Earl made a summary repetition of the several particulars of the former defence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus:

My Lords,

The Earl of Straffords Speech.

"There remains another kind of Treason, "that I should be guilty of, for endeavouring to "subvert the fundamental Laws of the Land; "that this should be Treason together, that is not "Treason in one part; a Treason accumulative, "that when it will not do it alone, being weaved "up with others, it should do it, seems very "strange. Under favour, my Lords, I conceive "there is neither Statute nor Common Law "which doth declare this endeavoring to subvert "the Fundamental Laws of the Land to be High "Treason, for I have been diligent in the inqui- "ry, as you know it deeply concerns me, and "could never discover it: It is hard to be que- "stioned for life and honour upon a Law that "cannot be shewn: for it is a rule in Sir *Edward* "*Coke*: *De non apparentibus & non existentibus* "*eadem est ratio.* Jesu! Where hath this fire "lain hid so many hundred of years without "smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to "consume me and my children? That punish- "ment should precede promulgation of a Law; "To be punished by a Law subsequent to the fact "is extreme hard: What can be safe, if this be "admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another re- "spect that there should be no token set, by "which we should know this offence; no admo- "nition by which we should avoid it: If a man "pass the *Thames* in a Boat, and split himself "upon an Anchor, and no Buoy be floating to "discover it, he who oweth the Anchor shall "make satisfaction, but if a Buoy be set there, "every man passeth upon his own peril: Now "where is this mark, where the token upon this "Crime to declare it to be High Treason? My "Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the "Peerage of *England*, as never to expose your "selves to such moot-points, such constructive "interpretations of Law. If there must be a tri- "al of Wits, let the subject-matter be of some-

what

" what elſe than the lives and honours of Peers. " It will be wiſdome for your Selves, for your Po- " ſterity, and for the whole Kingdom to caſt into " the fire theſe bloody and myſterious Volumes " of conſtructive & arbitrary Treaſon, as the Pri- " mitive chriſtians did their books of curious Arts " and betake your ſelves to the plain letter of the " Law and Statute, that telleth us what is and " what is not Treaſon, without being more am- " bitious to be more learned in the Art of killing " than our Fore-fathers: It is now full 240 years " ſince any man was touched for this alledged " Crime to the height before my ſelf; Let us not " awaken theſe ſleeping Lions to our de- " ſtructions, by raking up a few muſty Re- " cords that have lain by the walls ſo many ages, " forgotten or neglected. May your Lordſhips " pleaſe not to add this to my other misfortunes; " for my ſins be-ſlave me, not for Treaſon; let " not a Preſident be deſired from me, ſo diſad- " vantageous as this will be in the conſequence " to the whole Kingdom; Do not through me " wound the intereſt of the Common-wealth: " And howſoever theſe Gentlemen ſay, they " ſpeak for the Common-wealth, yet in this par- " ticular I indeed ſpeak for it, and ſhew the in- " conveniences and miſchiefs which will fall up- " on it; for as it is ſaid in the Statute of the Firſt " of *Henr.* 4. No man will know what to do or " ſay for fear of ſuch penalties: Do not, my " Lords, put ſuch difficulties upon Miniſters of " State, that men of Wiſdome, of Honour, of " Fortune, may not with cheerfulneſs and ſafety " be imployed for the publick; if you weigh and " meaſure them by grains and ſcruples, the pub- " lick affairs of the Kingdom will lye waſte; no " man will meddle with them who has any thing " to looſe. My Lords, I have troubled you lon- " ger than I ſhould have done, were it not an in- " tereſt of thoſe dear pledges a Saint in Heaven " hath left me. [At this he ſtop'd a while, offer- " ing up ſome tears to her aſhes] What I for- " feit my ſelf is nothing, but that my indiſcretion " ſhould extend to my Poſterity, it woundeth me " to the very ſoul: you will pardon my infirmity, " ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able; " therefore let it paſs: And now, my Lords, for " my ſelf, I have been by the bleſſing of Almigh- " ty God taught, that the afflictions of this pre- " ſent life, are not to be compared to the Eternal " weight of Glory which ſhall be revealed here- " after: And ſo, my Lords, even ſo, with all " tranquility of mind, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to " your Judgement: and whether that Judgement " be of life or death,

——*TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.*

As ſoon as the Earl had ended, Mr. *Glyn* and Mr. *Pym* ſpent ſome time in repetition of the charge, wherein they proceeded Article by Ar- ticle, endeavouring by Rhetorical declamations to render his offences as odious as they could.

The Earl allowed to plead by his Councel.

Matters of fact being thus tranſacted, the Earl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Counſel as to matter of Law: to which the Lords agreed, but the Commons would not till after three days Conference aſſent thereunto; and on *wedneſday* when they met in their houſe, they con- ſidered and debated much in what manner to pro- ceed further againſt the Earl of *Strafford*.

By the modeſty of his behaviour he had much inſinuated into the good opinion of the Lords & many of the Commons, and by the clearneſs of his anſwers to the ſeveral parts of his charge, his Crimes appeared not to be ſpecifically compre- hended under the letter of any Statute Declara- tory of Treaſon: but the Proſecutors perceiving hereby that the Judgement of the Lords upon the whole matter might not anſwer their Expectation, urged, that though he were not guilty of Treaſon, or any of thoſe offences enumerated in the Sta- tute of 25 *Ed.* 3. yet ſo great were his Crimes, that according to a branch of that Statute, they ought to be declared Treaſon. For it is therein mentioned, that if any other caſe ſuppoſed to be Treaſon, which is not in that Statute ſpecified, ſhould happen, *no judgement ſhould be given till the cauſe be ſhewed, and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treaſon, or other Felony.* This branch (they ſaid) gave the Parliament power to declare Treaſon, & in the enumeration of his offences, they argued, That his intentions to ſubvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, was Treaſon at Common Law before the making of the fore-named Sta- tute: and ſuch Treaſons were not thereby taken away, but by the words before recited, might be declared as often as occaſion ſhould require, but becauſe many doubts aroſe concerning ſuch Trea- ſons, the wiſdome of thoſe times thought it not fit to ſubmit the Judgement thereof to any leſs authority than the Parliament: Theſe Debates produced a reſolution in the houſe to declare him guilty of Treaſon: but becauſe they had no preſident ſince the firſt of *Henr.* the 4*th.* of any fact declared Treaſon in Parliament, that was not expreſſed in the letter of ſome Statute, they doubted a little of the way of Declaring Trea- ſon, but at laſt concluded to do it by Bill of At- tainder.

The Commons paſs the Bill of Attainder againſt the Earl of Strafford.

This was much oppos'd by *Selden*, *Bridgeman*, and *Holburne*, three Eminent Lawyers, at that time Members of the Commons Houſe, who made it manifeſt that the *Salvo* of the Statute of the 15*th. Edw.* 3. was repeal'd, and that no man could be convict of Treaſon but by the letter of that Statute; neverthleſs, being put to a que- ſtion, the Majority of Voices carried it for a Bill, and a Committee was appointed to prepare it.

The Arguments by thoſe and others then us'd againſt it, ſhall not be here inſerted, becauſe moſt of them were alledged by the Councel for the Earl, and when thoſe come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferen- ences betwixt the two Houſes of theſe mat- ters.

The Lords reſolve to hear the Earls Coun- cel in mat- ter of Law.

The Lords at the firſt, of the two laſt of the three Conferences (for the firſt was not a free Conference) told the Commons that they had re- ſolv'd to give full audience to the Earl of *Straf- ford*'s Councel in matter of Law, and that they as competent Judges would by themſelves give Judgement in the cauſe, as that which was moſt ſuitable to the Practice, Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, the ſafety of the Nobility, and to Com- mon Juſtice, to which thoſe of the Commons re- ply'd, that their Houſe was reſolv'd to go on with

the Bill of Attainder, and if the same should be rejected by the Lords, they fear'd a rupture and division might ensue to the ruine and desolation of the Kingdom, for no content would be given to the Subject, unless the man who had so much intruded upon their right, might be punish'd as a Traytor: and for the practice and laws of the Kingdom, they said no man had ever found such a favourable hearing; and that the Process against the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Somerset*, and the Earl of *Essex*, were all of them closed on one day.

On the next day they met at another Conference, where the Lords told those of the Commons, that they should expect nothing from their house, but what should tend to the Peace and Preservation of the Kingdom, nor was there a more forceable argument for that, than to preserve the Laws and Customes thereof, least innovation so much complained of by them, might unhappily be found among themselves, that the Subjects should have all that Justice could afford, but that an Act of Injustice would never give satisfaction to the world, nor safety to themselves, the eyes of all forein States being fixed upon the business in agitation, and the wisdome of our Nation either to be much advanced or depressed by their Judgements in this case; That the Process against *Norfolk* and *Essex* (for *Somerset* was convict only of Felony, and had not so much animadversion to save himself by his Book) were for direct and formal Treason comprised in one or two individual Acts, but this against the Lord *Strafford* only Arbitrary and accumulative, to be pick'd out of the Articles. And therefore that it was impossible to have a full examination of them all, to give Sentence against him, And those Noble-Men were charg'd with some breach of Statutes formerly made, but here a new Statute was to be made, or else he to be found guiltless, They concluded that they had given Order for his appearance on Saturday, And that in the great Hall at *Westminster* where the House of Commons might, if they pleased, be present.

The Commons Conferrers refuse to be there.

After some deliberation with their House, the Commoners Conferrers answered, that since the Lords had so resolved, they should deny to be there, and to hear what his Councel could say for him, for to reply any more in publick, they neither could nor would, because of the Bill already read, only if their Lordships should take any scruple in the matter of Law, they would be ready to give them satisfaction in a private Conference, and to give publick satisfaction also therein.

The next day the Lords and Commons convened in the great Hall, but they that were of the Committee for the prosecution did not stand at the Barr as before, but sate promiscuously with the rest of their fellows; so that a mouth was not opened for the House of Commons all that day: After they were set, the Lord Steward told the Earl, "That the Lords had resolved to give him "a fair hearing in the matter of Law, and there- "fore desired that the Counsel in urging thereof "might keep that distance, moderation, and re- "spect to the Judicatory, that was fitting, and not "at all to meddle with the matter of fact.

The Earl replied, "That in all humility he "acknowledged that favour from the Lords, and "that it was such an one too, as he could not but "expect from such honourable Peers, and just "persons, in whose integrity and goodness (un- "der that which he had placed above) he had re- "posed his chiefest confidence, for his Councel "they knew much better than himself, what "concerned the point of discretion and Reve- "rence, and that he doubted not but that they "would give all satisfaction and obedience there- "in.

The Earls Councel called to the Barr.

Then his Councel were called to the Barr, which were Mr. *Lane* the Princes Attorney, Mr. *Gardner* the Recorder of *London*, and two o- thers.

Mr. *Lane* spake first to this purpose:

Mr. Lanes Speech to Lords in his behalf.

"My Lords, I shall not at all touch the mat- "ter of Law farther than to clear your Judg- "ments in one Statute only, *viz.* 25 *Edw.* 3. "because when the same was alleadged by the "Lord *Strafford* in his own defence, that not be- "ing convict of the Letter thereof, he could not "be convict of Treason: I remember the *Salvo* "of the Statute was much insisted upon by those "from the House of Commons, as much con- "ducing to their ends. My Lords, I will first "speak of the Statute it self, and then of its "*Salvo* or provision: The Statute is (*That if any man shall intend the death of the King, his Queen, their Children; Kill the Chancellor, or Judge upon the Bench, imbase the Kings Coyn, or counterfeit the Broad Seal*, &c. *he shall be convict and punished as a Traytor.*) "That the Lord "*Strafford* comes not within the Letter of this "Statute, is not so much as once alleadged, nor "indeed it cannot be with any reason; all that "can be said is, that by relation or by argument, "*a minore ad majus*, he may be drawn into it, yet "that this cannot be, I humbly offer these consi- "derations.

"First, This is a declarative Law, and such "are not to be taken by way of consequence, e- "quity or construction, but by the Letter only, "otherwise they should imply a contradiction to "themselves, and be no more declarative Laws, "but Laws of construction or constitutive.

2. "This is a penal Law, and such (if our "grounds hitherto unquestioned hold good) can "admit of no constructions or inferences, for pe- "nalties are to perswade the keeping of known "Laws, not of Laws conjectural, ambiguous, and "by consequence (which perhaps the most learn- "ed may not in their disputes question, much less "the subject (who is not obliged to interpret "the Statute) doubt of in the point of obedience, "yea, rather without any doubt, he is rather to "obey the Letter of the Statute, and conceive "(and that truly) that he is not liable to the pe- "nalty.

3. "We have a notable Law 13 *Eliz. cap.* 2. "whereby it is declared that the bringing in of "Bulls from *Rome*, to stir up the Subject to mu- "tiny and Rebellion, shall be punished as Trea- "son: Now if by interpretation or by conse- "quence this sence might have been thrust upon "the preceding Statutes, the making of this had "been superfluous; yea, the persons then char- "ed with that Crime, might have been impeach- "ed of Treason, even before the making of this "Act.

"*Anno* 21 *Edw.* 3. We have a Statute, de- claring

"claring that for a Servant to kill his Master is an "Act of Treason; and in the 23 year of the same "King, a Process of Treason was framed against "a man for killing his Father, grounded upon the "same argument *a minore ad majus*: But it was "found (and the Sentence is yet in the Records) "that although in the 21 year of *Edw.* 3. that "Argument might have been admitted, yet in "the 27 it could not, by reason of the declara- "tive Law, intervening in the 25 year; and this "Case comes very home to the point in Law.

"My Lords, I will not demand what kind of "offence it may be for a man to subvert the fun- "damental Laws of the Kingdom, the Crime "doubtless is unnatural and monstrous, and the "punishment must keep the same proportion, "only I presume to offer these few things to your "Lordships consideration:

1. *That one or more Acts of Injustice whether malitiously or ignorantly done, can in no sense of Law be called the subversion of the Fundamental Laws; if so, as many Judges (perhaps) so many Traytors; it is very incident to mans nature to err, nor doth the Lord* Strafford *plead his innocencie in oversights but in Treason.*

2. *I do remember the Case of* John de la Pole *Duke of* Suffolk, *this man in the* 28 *of* Hen. 6. *was charged by the House of Commons with Articles of Treason, and those too very like to these against my Lord* Strafford.

1. *That he had given the King bad advices.*
2. *That he had embased his Coyn.*
3. *That he had cessed men of War.*
4. *That he had given out summary Decrees.*
5. *That he had imposed Taxes.*
6. *That he had corrupted the Fountains of Justice.*
7. *That he had perswaded the King to unnecessary War, and the giving over of* Anjou *in France.*

"And for all these though he was charged "with High Treason for wronging the right of "the Subject, and subverting the Fundamental "Laws of the Kingdom, yet after a long agitati- "on, the matter was found by the Lords of Par- "liament not to imply Treason, but only Felony. "Add to this another who in the 23 of *Hen.* 8. "was charged for subverting the English Laws, "and yet no Treason charg'd upon him. Add to "both the charge of *Richard Lark*, pleaded at "the Common Pleas, who was charg'd with "Treason for subverting the Law, but convicted "only of Felony, by which you may see, my "Lords, what to this time hath been subverting "the Laws.

3. "It is very considerable that the Lord "*Strafford* is not charged to have subverted, but "only to have intended to subvert the funda- "mental Laws, and this I conceive if there were "no more might keep him free from that Statute "of the 25 of *Edw.* 3. For although as touch- "ing the King, his Queen and Children, "intention is treasonable; yet in all other things "there mentioned there must be action beside "intention, for it is not said if a man do intend "to kill a Chancellour, it shall be Treason, but "if he doth kill him; and if he doth actually "counterfeit the Broad Seal: and although a "man should prepare a furnace, make ready his "stamp, melt his Bullion, yet if he gives not the "Kings impression upon the Coin, all his inten- "tions, yea, his preparations will not serve to "make up a Treason.

Ye see therefore, my Lords, that the body of the Statute cannot stick against the Lord Strafford, *neither in Letter nor consequence, this is not, that must not be; all that can be said is, that the fact may be Treason by the Common Law. For my part I profess my ignorance, who ever thought the Common Law might declare, but never make a Treason; it might be presupposed that there is a Statute whereupon to build a declaration, and therefore to say there is no Statute for it, it is to say, it is no Treason at all; the Statute ever makes the Treason: and to be declared Treason either by Common Law, or by Parliament, are but two different ways of proceedings, and must both resolve into one Principle, nay, and which comes home to the point. In the* 21 *of* Edw. 3. *To kill a man imployed in the Kings War was Treason, and the* 23. *to kill the Kings Messenger was Treason by declaration of the Common Law, but always by reason of the Statute, yet none of these are Treasons, but Felonies only, because of the intervening Statute of the* 25 th. *of* Edw. 3. *such hath ever been thought the force of its Letter and Declaration: and so I will leave it and a word or two of the* Salvo, *which is this, that because all particulars could not be enumerated, therefore what the Parliament should declare to be Treasonable in time to come, should be punished as a Treason.*

And according to this reservative, in the 8th *year of King* Richard 2. *one charged before the Kings Bench, was afterward referred to the Parliament, and there though the fact was not contained in the body of the Statute, yet because of the* Proviso *aforementioned, it was adjudged Treason.*

In the 11 th. *year of the same King the Duke of* Ireland *and* Nevil *Archbishop of* York *were impeached of High Treason by* Gloceſter, Arundel, *and* Warwick, *and notwithstanding the Statute were convicted thereof by the* Salvo; *but in the* 21 th. *of the same* Richard 2, *the tide turned, and the King had such a hand with the Parliament, that the Sentence was recalled, and those three Noblemen themselves were adjudged Traytors. Again, in the* 1 *of* Hen. 4. *his Successor, that Revocation of the* 21 R. 2. *was repealed, and the Sentence of the* 11 th. *of his Reign established; such were the tossings too and fro of Treason, and all because of that uncertain* Proviso.

Therefore it was that in the same Parliament the 1 *of* H. 4. *A Petition was preferred by the Nobility to have Treason limited within some Statute.*

Because they knew not what to speak or what to do for fear thereof: And in Cap. 10. *an Act was made upon this Petition, that the* Salvo *should be holden repealed in all times to come, and nothing esteemed Treason but what was literally contained in the* 25 *of* Edw. 3. *and therefore it is said in the Records,* That there was great joy at the making of this Act, in that the drawn sword hanging over every mans head by this slender thred of a consequence or illation, was removed by that

Act.

Act. *Add to this, that in the* 1 *of Qu.* Mary, Cap. 1. *the same is repeated*, That no man shall be punished in life or estate as a Traytor, but for the Crime contained in the Statute of the 25 *Edw.* 3. without the least mention of the pretended *Salvo*.

The Earl of Northumberlands *Case comes nigh to the point, he was charged with Treason, the* 5 *of* Hen. 4. *and if the Statute of the* 1 *of* H. 4. Chap. 10. *whereby this* Proviso *is repealed had not interven'd, no doubt he had been condemned of Treason, but he was only convict of Felony, and that because he could not be drawn within the Letter of the Statute of the* 25 *of* Edw. 3. *And I dare confidently say it, that since that Act was made the* 1 *of* Hen. 4. Chap. 10. *whereby the* Proviso *is repealed, no man hath ever been declared a Traytor either by King or Parliament, except it were upon that, or some other Statute literally and declaratively taken. These two things I do offer to your Lordships considerations: That the Lord* Strafford *cannot be impeached of Treason by the Statute of the* 25 Edw. 3. *and that the* Salvo *contained in the same, stands repealed almost two hundred years ago. And this is all I conceive to be necessary for that Statute which was alleadged by the Lord* Strafford *in his defence for matter of Law.*

The Recorder said, he could add nothing to what the former Counsel had spoken for matter of Law; "but if their Lordships would State unto "him any further questions, he was ready to give "his resolution according to his best ability.

No answer was made to this motion, but the Lords & Commons adjourned to their respective Houses without appointing any time for their next meeting.

The Commons were resolv'd to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, which was so extraordinary a thing, that it did not pass without great debate. The Lord *Digby* then a Member of the Commons House, and one of the most active Prosecutors of him, was so satisfied with his Answers at his Tryal, that he could not but shew a dislike to the passage of it, upon every occasion that occurr'd in the reading or debating thereof, which made *Pym* and some others that were resolv'd on the business, to do what they could to blast his credit in the house, but yet when the last reading of the Bill was in the Commons House, he gave so generous a testimony against it, That it may not be unfit to record what he then said in this History:

The Lord Digbys Speech against the Bill of Attainder.

Mr. Speaker,

"We are now upon the point of giving (as "much as in us lies) the final Sentence unto "death or life, on a great Minister of State, and "Peer of this Kingdom, *Thomas* Earl of *Straf-* "*ford*, a name of hatred in the present age by his "practices, and fit to be made a terror to future "ages by his punishment.

"I have had the honour to be imployed by the "House in this great business, from the first hour "that it was taken into consideration: it was a "matter of great trust, (and I will say it with "confidence) that I have not only served the "House in it with industry, according to my abi- "lity but with most exact faithfulness & secrecie.

"And as I have hitherto discharged my duty "to this House, and to my Countrey in the pro- "gress of this great cause; so I trust I shall do "now in the last period of it to God, and to a "good Conscience.

"I do wish the peace of that unto my self, and "the blessings of Almighty God to me and my "Posterity, according as my judgment on the life "of this man shall be consonant with my heart, "and the best of my understanding in all inte- "grity.

"I know well, Master Speaker, that by some "things I have said of late, whilst this Bill was in "agitation, I have raised some prejudices upon "me in this cause.

"Yea, some (I thank them for their plain- "dealing) have been so free as to tell me, that "I suffered much by the backwardness I have "shewn in this Bill of Attainder of the Earl of "*Strafford*, against whom I have been formerly "so keen, so active.

"Mr. Speaker, I desire of you and the rest of "this House a suspension of Judgment concern- "me till I have opened my heart unto you freely "and clearly in this business.

"Truly Sir, I am still the same in my opinions "and affections as unto the Earl of *Strafford*, I "confidently believe him the most dangerous "Minister, the most insupportable to free Sub- "jects, that can be character'd.

"I beleeve his practices in themselves as "high, as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventur'd "on, and the malignity of them hugely aggrava- "ted by those rare abilities of his, whereof God "hath given him the use, but the Divel the ap- "plication. In a word, I beleeve him still that "grand Apostate to the Common-wealth, who "must not expect to be pardoned in this world, "till he be dispatch'd to the other. And yet let "me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not "be to that dispatch, I protest as my Conscience "stands informed, I had rather it were off.

"Let me unfold unto you the Mystery, Mr. "Speaker.

"I will not dwell much upon justifying unto "you my seeming variance at this time from what "I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the "difference between Prosecutors and Judges.

"How mis-becoming that fervour would be in "a Judge, which perhaps was commendable in a "Prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must put "on another personage.

"It is honest and noble to be earnest in order "to the discovery of truth, but when that hath "been brought as far as it can to light, our judg- "ment thereupon ought to be calm and cau- "tious.

"In prosecution upon probable grounds, we "are accountable only for our industry or remis- "ness, but in Judgment we are deeply respon- "sible to God Almighty, for its rectitude or ob- "liquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God's "Steward of the parties blood, and must give a "strict account for every drop.

"But as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not "insist long upon this ground of difference in "me now, from what I was formerly.

"The truth on't is, Sir, the same ground where- "upon I wish the rest of the five to whom you

first

" firſt committed the conſideration of my Lord " of *Strafford*) brought down our opinion that " it was fit he ſhould be accuſed of Treaſon, up- " on the ſame ground I was engaged with ear- " neſtneſs in his proſecution, and had the ſame " ground remained in that force of belief with " me, which till very lately it did, I ſhould not " have been tender in his condemnation. But " truly Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground " of our accuſation, that ſpur to our proſecution, " and that which ſhould be in the baſis of my " judgment, of the Earl of *Strafford* as unto " Treaſon, is to my underſtanding quite vaniſht " away.

" This it was Mr. Speaker:

" His adviſing the King to employ the Army " of *Ireland* to reduce *England*.

" This I was aſſured would be proved, before I " gave my conſent to his Accuſation. I was con- " firmed in the ſame belief during the proſecu- " tion, and fortified in it moſt of all ſince Sir " *Henry Vanes* preparatory examinations, by the " aſſurances which that worthy Member Maſter " *Pym* gave me, that his Teſtimony would " be made convincing, by ſome Notes of " what paſſed at the Junto concurrent with it, " which I ever underſtanding to be of ſome other " Counſellour, you ſee now prove but a Copy of " the ſame Secretaries Notes, diſcover'd and " produc'd in the manner you have heard, " and thoſe, diſ-joynted fragments of the " venomous part of diſcourſes, no reſults; no " Concluſions of Counſels, which are the only " things that Secretaries ſhould regiſter; there " being no uſe at all of the other, but to accuſe " and to bring men into danger.

" But Sir, this is not that which overthrows the " evidence with me, concerning the Army of " *Ireland*, nor yet that all the Junto upon their " Oaths remember nothing of it.

" But this Sir, which I ſhall tell you is that " which works with me, under favour, to an utter " overthrow of this evidence as unto that of the " Army of *Ireland*: Before whilſt I was a Pro- " ſecutor, and under tie of ſecrecie, I might not " diſcover any weakneſs of the cauſe, which now " as a Judge I muſt. Maſter Secretary was exa- " mined thrice upon Oath at the preparatory " Committee.

" The firſt time he was queſtioned to all the " Interrogatories, and to that part of the ſeventh " which concerns the Army of *Ireland*, he ſaid " poſitively in theſe words, I cannot charge him " with that. But for the reſt, he deſired time to " recollect himſelf, which was granted him.

" Some days after he was examined a ſecond " time, and then depoſed theſe words, concern- " ing the Kings being abſolved from Rules of " Government, and ſo forth, very clearly, but " being preſt to that part, concerning the *Iriſh* " Army, again, ſaid he could ſay nothing to that.

" Here we thought we had done with him, till " divers weeks after my Lord of *Northumber-* " *land* and all others of the *Junto*, denying to " have heard any thing concerning thoſe words " of reducing *England* by the Iriſh Army, it was " thought fit to examine the Secretary once more, " and then he depoſes theſe words to have been " ſaid by the Earl of *Strafford* to his Majeſty: " you have an Army which you may imploy here " to reduce, (or ſome word to that ſenſe) this " Kingdom.

" Mr. Speaker, theſe are the circumſtances " which I confeſs with my conſcience, thruſt quite " out of doors that grand Article of our Charge, " concerning his deſperate advice to the King, " of employing the Iriſh Army here.

" Let not this I beſeech you be driven to an " aſperſion upon Maſter *Secretary*, as if he ſhould " have ſworn otherwiſe than he knew or believed, " he is too worthy to do that; only let thus much " be inferr'd from it, that he who twice upon " Oath with time of recollection, could not re- " member any thing of ſuch a buſineſs, might " well a third time miſ-remember ſomewhat: and " in this buſineſs the difference of one letter, " *here* for *there*, or *that* for *this*, quite alters the " caſe, the later alſo being the more probable, " ſince it is confeſt of all hands, that the debate " then was concerning a War with *Scotland*, and " you may remember at the Barre he once ſaid to " imploy *there*. And thus, Mr. Speaker, I have " faithfully given you an account what it is that " hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill " with me towards my Lord of *Strafford*.

" This was that whereupon I accuſed him with " a free heart, proſecuted him with earneſtneſs, " and had it to my underſtanding been proved, " ſhould have condemned him with innocence; " Whereas now I cannot ſatisfie my conſcience " to do it.

" I profeſſe I can have no notion of any bodies " intents to ſubvert the Laws treaſonably, or by " force, and this deſign of force not appearing, " all his other wicked practices cannot amount ſo " high with me.

" I can find a more eaſie and more natural " ſpring, from whence to derive all his other " Crimes, than from an intent to bring in Tyran- " nie, and to make his own Poſterity as well as us " ſlaves; as from Revenge, from Pride, from A- " varice, from Paſſion, and Inſolence of Na- " ture.

" But had this of the Iriſh Army been proved, " it would have diffuſed a complexion of Trea- " ſon over all, it would have been a Withe in- " deed, to bind all thoſe other ſcattered and leſ- " ſer branches, as it were into a Fagot of Trea- " ſon.

" I do not ſay but the reſt may repreſent him a " man as worthy to dye, and perhaps worthier " than many a Traytor. I do not ſay, but they may " juſtly direct us to Enact that they ſhall be Trea- " ſon for the future.

" But God keep me from giving Judgement " of death on any Man, and of ruine to his inno- " cent Poſterity, upon a Law made *a poſte-* " *riori*.

" Let the Mark be ſet on the door where the " Plague is, and then let him that will enter, " dye.

" I know, Maſter Speaker, there is in Parlia- " ment a double power of life and death by Bill, " a Judicial power, and a Legiſlative: the mea- " ſure of the one is what's legally juſt, and the " other, what is prudentially and politickly fit for " the good and preſervation of the whole. But " thoſe two, under favour, are not to be confoun-

"ded in Judgement. We must not piece up "want of Legality with matter of Convenience, "nor the defailance of prudential fitnesse, with "a pretence of legal Justice.

"To condemn my Lord of *Strafford* Judici- "ally as for Treason, my conscience is not assu- "red that the matter will bear it.

"And to do it by the Legislative power, my "reason consultively cannot agree to that, since "I am perswaded neither the Lords nor the King "will pass the Bill, and consequently, that our "passing it will be a cause of great divisions and "combustions in the State.

"And therefore my humble advice is, that "that laying aside this Bill of Attainder, we "may think of another, saving only life, such as "may secure the State from my Lord of *Straf-* "*ford*, without endangering it, as much by divi- "sion concerning his punishment, as he hath en- "dangered it by his practices.

"If this may not be hearkened unto, let me "conclude in saying that unto you all, which I "have throughly inculcated to mine own consci- "ence upon this occasion. Let every man lay his "hand upon his heart, and sadly consider what "we are going to do, with a breath, either Ju- "stice or Murther; Justice on the one side, or "murther heightened and aggravated to its su- "premest extent: For as the Casuists say, that he "who lyes with his Sister, commits Incest, but he "that marries his Sister, sins higher, by applying "Gods Ordinance to his Crime: So doubtless, "he that commits murther with the Sword of Ju- "stice, heightens that Crime to the utmost.

"The danger being so great, and the case so "doubtful, that I see the best Lawyers in diame- "tral opposition concerning it, Let every man "wipe his heart, as he does his eyes, when he "would judge of a nice and subtil object. The "eye if it be prelincted with any colour, is vitia- "ted in its discerning. Let us take heed of a "blood-shotten eye of Judgement.

"Let every man purge his heart clear of all pas- "sions (I know this great and wise body poli- "tick can have none, but I speak to individuals "from the weaknesse which I find in my self.) "Away with personal animosities, away with all "flatteries to the people, in being the sharper a- "gainst him, because he is odious to them; away "with all fears, lest by the sparing his blood they "may be incens'd; away with all such considera- "tions, as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that "one accused by it of Treason should escape "with life.

"Let not former vehemence of any against "him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be "safe while that man lives, be an ingredient in "the sentence of any one of us.

"Of all these corruptives of Judgment, Mr. "Speaker, I do before God discharge my self to "the uttermost of my power.

"And do with a clear Conscience wash my "hands of this mans Blood, by this solemn Pro- "testation, that my Vote goes not to the taking "off the Earl of *Straffords* life.

The Earls enemies greatly offended at this Speech.

At his Speech those were much offended who design'd the death of this Earl, and they were so factious in the pursuit of it, that they took the Names of all the dissenters upon a division of the House when the Bill pass'd and caus'd them to be dispers'd among their party in the City who came in great tumults to *Westminster* to clamor for Justice, and in the Old Palace-Yard in *Westminster* those dissenters were posted up, to be expos'd to the fury of the ungovern'd multitude, made at this time so mad and violent that some of them were heard to say, If they could not have the Earl of *Straffords* life, they would have the Kings; and in their Paper they call'd the moderate part of the House of Commons *Straffordians*. The Names of whom were these; Lord *Digby*, Lord *Compton*, Lord *Buckhurst*, Sir *Robert Hatton*, Sir *Thomas Fanshaw*, Sir *Edward Alford*, Sir *Nicho. Slaning*, Sir *Thomas Danby*, Sir *George Wentworth*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *William Carnaby*, Sir *Richard Winn*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, Sir *William Withrington*, Sir *William Pennyman*, Sir *Patrick Curwent*, Sir *Richard Lee*, Sir *Henry Slingsly*, Sir *William Portman*, Mr. *Gervase Holtis*, Mr. *Sydney Godolphin*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Coventry*, Mr. *Ben. Weston*, Mr. *Will. Weston*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Floyd*, Mr. *Herbert*, Captain *Digby*, Sergeant *Hide*, Mr. *Taylor*, Mr. *Griffith*, Mr. *Scowen*, Mr. *Bridgman*, Mr. *Fettiplace*, Dr. *Turner*, Captain *Charles Price*, Dr. *Parry* Civilian, Mr. *Arundel*, Mr. *Newport*, Mr. *Holburn*, Mr. *Noel*, Mr. *Kirton*, Mr. *Pollard*, M. *Price*, Mr. *Travaunian*, Mr. *Jane*, Mr. *Edgecomble*, Mr. *Chiekly*, Mr. *Mallery*, Mr *Porter*, Mr. *White* Secretary to the Earl of *Dorset*, and Mr. *Warwick*.

Hist. of the K. Ch. pag. 238.

The Names of those that refused to pass the Bill of Attainder.

The same afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords House, where it rested many days, and had probably never pass'd had not many of the Peers been terrified from coming to the House by the tumultuous multitude, in whom such fears and jealousies were infus'd by the artifices of some of the Members of both Houses, that when any debate was like to be carried against them in either House, they would send for great numbers of them with swords and clubs who would menace, reproach, and assault such Members as disliked them; But notwithstanding all this violence of prosecution, the Lords were much unsatisfied, and so many scruples were started by them, that a conference was desir'd with the Commons to resolve them, and it was agreed that *Oliver St. John* the Kings Sollicitor should on the 29 *th.* of this Moneth give their Lordships an account in publick in *Westminster*-Hall of the reasons impelling the House of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering also that the Earl of *Strafford* should then be present. Whilst these things were in agitation, many consultations were had about raising money for the paying and disbanding the English and Scotch Armies in the North, and other matters relating thereunto.

Artifices used to make the Bill pass in the Lords House.

The Commons had Voted to give three hundred thousand pounds to the *Scots* as a fit proportion for recompense of their losses and necessities occasion'd by this War, notwithstanding the great Levies made by them for their subsistence in the Northern Counties, but those that invited them hither, so their own purposes were effected, cared not into what extremity the Kingdom was brought,

The Commons Vote 300000 lib. to the Scots.

brought, and therefore they gave many delays to the *Scotch* Treaty, and to the disbanding the Armies, and the raising mony for these ends: and one of them said, *They could not yet spare them, that the sons of* Zerviah *were too strong for them*: but upon a debate of these matters in the House of Commons, when many discourses were made of the necessities of the Northern parts, occasion'd by the *Scotch* Army, and one Mr. *Gervase Holles* a Burgess for *Newborne* upon *Trent* said, *That the best way of paying them, was by Arms to expel them forth of the Kingdom*: They took such offence at his Speech that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expell'd him from the House.

Mr. Strode. Exact Collection pag. 521.

Mr. Gervase Holles expelled the House for a Speech concerning the Scotch Army.

These transactions were carried on with great heat by a clamorous pretended necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the people were perswaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the *Scots* had not interposed at this time; wherefore that the time of the Armies stay may be prolong'd till such alterations in Church and State were made as they designed, all things were urged that might heighten the jealousies of the people, and at this time many apprehensions were rais'd of danger by the exercise of Popery and their access to the Court, as also of the continuance of the Army in *Ireland*: So that a Petition was presented to the King, for three things touching those matters:

A Petition presented to the King.

1. *For removing of all Papists from Court.*

2. *For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.*

3. *For disbanding the Irish Army.*

The Kings Answer to the Petition.

To all which the King the 28*th.* delivered answer contractly thus:

For the first, they all knew what legal trust the Crown hath in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the second, *He is content it shall be done according to Law.*

For the last, *He had entred into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he doth so wish the disbanding of all Armies, as he doth conjure them speedily, and heartily to joyn with him in disbanding those two in* England.

The day after the King had given this answer, the Earl of *Strafford* in pursuance of what was before resolv'd, was brought into *Westminster*-Hall before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. *St. John* did endeavour to satisfie the Lords in the reasonableness of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Tryal were insufficient, and nothing but legal evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Consciences without any further proof whatsoever: And so it was expresly affirm'd by Mr. St. *John* in the Speech he then made, wherein he said:

Mr. St. Johns reasons to the Lords for the Bill of Attainder.

That although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private Consciences, yet how far it would have been satisfactory in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be stood upon, was not so clear; whereas in this way of Bill private satisfaction to each mans Conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given at all.

And towards the conclusion of what he said after many aggravations of the Earls offences tending (as he said) to subvert our Laws; he told them, *He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true* (said he) *we give Law to Hares and Deer, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock Foxes and Wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be Beasts of prey: the Warrener sets Traps for Powlcats and other Vermine, for preservation of the Warren.*

Upon the Close of this Speech the Lords and Commons rose, nor was there a word spoken but by Mr. St. *John*, only the Earl by a kind of dumb eloquence, often holding up his hands towards Heaven, all along the Speech made his reply with a deep silence; and the next day, he petitioned the Lords to be heard again, alleadging that his Lawyers had not fully spoken at their last meeting, but this was denied him, and many of the Lords shewed greater propensity towards the Earls condemnation than before; whereof the King being inform'd, he came the next day to the House of Peers, and having sent for the House of Commons, he spake to them to this purpose:

The Earls Petition for a second hearing denied.

The Kings Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoken to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, *because I would do nothing which might hinder your occasions. But Judgment being ready to be past on him, I think it most necessary to declare my conscience therein.*

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great Cause, from one end to the other; and I must tell you that in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

It is not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expect it, a positive Doctrine best becomes the mouth of a Prince, yet must I tell you three truths, which I am sure no man can tell so well as my self.

1. *That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into* England, *nor ever was advised by any body so to do.*

2. *That there was never any debate before me, either in publike Councel, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had I any suspition of them.*

3. *That I was never counselled by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of* England, *much less to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impudent as to move me to it; For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Posterity should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Law, and no otherwise.*

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet cannot I clear him of Misdemeanors; therefore I hope you may finde out a way to satisfie Justice, and your own fears, and not oppress my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender Conscience is, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my people I would do great matters; but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any o-

ther respect whatsoever, shall ever make me go against it.

Certainly I have not deserved so ill of this Parliament at this time that they should press me in this tender point, therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay, I must confess for Misdemeanours, I am so clear in them, that though I *will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you that I think my Lord of* Strafford *is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the Common-wealth in any place of trust, no not so much as a Constable. Therefore I leave it to you my Lords, to find out some such way as to bring me out of this straight, and keep your selves and the Kingdom from such inconveniencies.*

The Solemnization of the Marriage of the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary eldest Daugter to the King.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made relisht so ill with the two Houses, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next day, *May* 2. being *Sunday*, on which the Kings eldest Daughter married to the Prince of *Orange*, and the next day five or six thousand of Prentices and other tumultuous Citizens came down to *Westminster*, most of them arm'd with swords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the House, Justice and Execution against the Earl of *Strafford*, and many of them they likewise affronted in their passage.

Tumults at Westminster

The same day intimation was given to the House of Commons of practises upon the English Army, to bring them up to *London* to awe the Parliament; which was an artifice used by some leading men to add to those distractions already raised to fill the minds of the people with fears & jealousies, when in truth all that appeared in reference thereunto amounted only to this:

Observation being made of the great tumults about *Westminster*, which seem'd to threaten the safety of such of the Members of both Houses as were known not to agree with the designs of some passionate men, who countenanc'd the delivering of Petitions attended and subscrib'd by the hands of many thousands against the Laws and establisht Government of the Kingdom, (which yet seem'd to receive some countenance, and to carry some authority, as instances of the affections of so many persons:) it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army of known, and publick affections to their Countrey, that a Petition of a modest and a dutiful nature from the whole Army, *For the composing and setling all grievances in the Church and State by Law*, might for the reason of it prevail with the whole House, and coming from such Body might confirm those, who might be shaken with any fears of power or force by the Tumults: but even this in the debate of it had so many intervening difficulties, that it was laid aside two moneths before any discovery, yet nevertheless this Alarm gave occasion to the Commons immediately to frame a Protestation which the same day it was made, was imposed upon all the Members before they were permitted to go out of the House, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord *Digby* and an Uncle of his, and shortly after, it was sent to the Lords, and by them taken also, and afterwards by an order of the House of Commons, all the Subjects of *England* were injoyn'd to take it, under pain of being thought unfit of bearing any office either in Church or Commonwealth, to which the Lords would not consent. The Protestation was in these words:

A petition from the army presented to the Parliament.

The Protestation taken by both Houses, and the Subjects of England.

I A. B. *do in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power, and estate, the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of* England *against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegiance to his Majesties Royal Person, Honour and Estate; as also the Power and Priviledges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by all good waies and means endeavour to bring to condigne punishment all such as shall either by force, practice, plots, councels and conspiracies, or otherwise do any thing, to the contrary of any thing in this Present Protestation contained. And further, that I shall in all just and honourable waies, indeavour to preserve the union and peace between the three Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland: *And neither for fear, nor other respect shall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Protestation.*

How this Protestation was observ'd by most of them that took it, will be discover'd hereafter.

On the fifth of *May*, ground was taken from the great apprehensions of the House of Commons, that the Parliament might be dissolv'd before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redrest, a firm Peace betwixt *England* and *Scotland* concluded, and before Provision should be made for the re-payment of such moneys as should be taken up upon Credit to answer the immediate emergencies that were at that time in the State: to debate of the necessity of a Bill for the continuance of this Parliament not to be proroga'd or adjourn'd, but by Act of Parliament, in which there was such haste made, that within two daies after the first mention of it, it was pass'd in the House of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it staid not long, for the temptation was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aside, and in a few daies after it came before them, (*viz.*) on Saturday the 8 *th.* of *May*, both that, and the Bill of Attainder were pass'd; The Bill of Attainder had a hard passage, of 45 present, there were 19 against it, there were many of the Earls friends that absented themselves for fear of the tumults, otherwise the suffrages for him, had more than counterpoys'd the Votes for his death: the same day they sent to the King, to desire accesse to him, which was granted, and about four a clock they attended in the Banquetting-house at *White-Hall*, where after some stay, these two Bills were presented to him, with a signification, that the present danger of the Kingdom, could not admit of delay, and therefore they humbly besought him, to give his Royal assent thereunto; The King told them they should expect his answer on Monday, and so they parted from each other.

A Bill for the continuance of the Parliament pass'd by both Houses.

The Lords also pass the Bill of Attainder.

They present both to the King, requesting his Royal assent.

On the next day which was Sunday, the King

sends for the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Lincolne*, and *Carliſle*, whom he desir'd as Casuists to advise him, whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl, all but the Bishop of *Lincolne*, were very tender in this affair, the matters of fact they say he could himself best judge of, having been present at the Tryal; and for the matter of Law, what was Treason, and what not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his Subjects, that the King might shew mercy to him, and pardon his offence, without any scruple of conscience, they said no man doubted, if other reasons of State did not hinder, of which the major part, desir'd neither to be Judges nor Advisers, but the Bishop of *Lincolne* went a little farther, he urg'd the opinion of the Judges, and the Judgement of the Parliament thereupon, representing the terrible consequences of an inraged multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appease the people. It is not said the King was convinc'd, by any thing said to him at this Conference, but the motive superior to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

The King consults with the Bishops about the Case of the Earl, as to matter of Conscience.

SIR,

(To set Your Majesties Conscience at liberty,) I do most humbly beseech You, for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by Your refusal, to pass the Bill. By this means to remove praised be God, I cannot say this accursed, but I confess this unfortunate thing forth of the way, towards that blessed agreement which God (I trust) shall for ever establish betwixt You and Your Subjects. Sir, My consent herein shall more acquit You to God, than all the World can do besides: To a willing man there is no injury done. And as by Gods Grace I forgive all the World, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging Soul; So Sir, I can give up the life of this World with all cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgement of Your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in Your Goodness, You would vouchsafe to cast Your gratious regard upon my poor Son, and his three Sisters, less or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of this death. God preserve Your Majesty:

The Earls Letter to the King for the freeing of his Conscience.

Your Majesties Most Humble and
Faithful Subject, and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

On the next day in the morning he sign'd a Commission to the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and others, for the passing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, the other the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of *Strafford*, than which Concession never any thing pass'd from him with greater Reluctancy at the present, or which he bewail'd afterward with greater remorse of conscience, for those themselves that fram'd it, knowing of what dangerous consequence it might be hereafter to the lives and fortunes of the Subjects to let such a president remain in force, a clause was added to the Bill, that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come: which because it may seem strange to them that know it not, we shall here insert so much of the enacting part thereof as concerns this point, (for the preamble is only a recital of the heads of the Accusation.)

The King signs a Commission to pass the two Bills.

Be it therefore enacted by the Kings Most Excellent Majesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; that the said Earl of Strafford *for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforesaid, stand and be adjudged and attainted of High Treason, and shall suffer such pain of death, and incurre such forfeiture of his Goods and Chattels, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Free-hold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *which the said Earl or any other to his use, or in trust for him, have, or had the first day of the sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided that no Judge or Judges, Justice or Justices whatsoever, shall adjudge or interpret any act or thing to be Treason, nor hear or determine any Treason, nor in any other manner than he or they should or ought to have done before the making of this Act, & as if this Act had never been made.*

Thus have we Treason and no Treason in the self-same action, that being judg'd Treason in this one man, which never was to be judg'd Treason in any other.

What inducements the King had to pass this Act, and with what regret he did it we have heard, but *who drew him to the other may be now inquir'd, some attribute it to the Lord *Say* then Master of the Wards, & one of his Majesties Privy Councel, who as it is reported when the King ask'd him if a continuance for seven years might not serve the turn, made answer, that he hop'd they would dispatch all businesses in so many Moneths, and that if his Majesty pass'd the Bill, it should be so far from the making the Parliament Perpetual, that he was confident they would desire to be dissolv'd before three years end; but most lay the blame on the Marques of *Hamilton*, who by cutting out so much work for the King in *England*, doubted not carry on his designs in *Scotland* without interruption, for it is credibly said, that he did brag much of this service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently that he had got a Perpetual Parliament for the *English*, and would procure the like for the Scots before he had done: Although the King sign'd the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal assent was not given to them till the tenth of *May*, and on the next day, the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of *Wales*, in these words:

*The Act for continuance of the Parliament.

The King gives his Royal assent to the two Acts.

My Lords,

I did yesterday satisfie the Justice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. *But Mercy being as inherent & inseparable to a King as Justice, I desire in some measure to shew that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural courses of his*

The Kings Letter to the Lords in behalf of the Earl of Strafford.

life in ſome cloſe impriſonment, yet ſo, that if he ever make the leaſt offer to eſcape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any ſort of Publike buſineſs, eſpecially with me, either by Meſſage or Letter, it ſhall coſt him his life without further Proceſs. This, if it may be done without the diſcontentment of my people, will be an unſpeakable contentment to me.

To which end, as in the firſt place, I by this Letter do earneſtly deſire your approbation, and to endear it the more, have choſen him to carry it, who is of all your Houſe moſt dear unto me: So I deſire that by conference you will endeavour to give the Houſe of Commons contentment; likewiſe aſſuring you, that the exerciſe of Mercy is no more pleaſing to me, than to ſee both Houſes of Parliament conſent, for my ſake that I ſhould moderate the ſeverity of the Law in ſo important a Caſe.

I will not ſay that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy, ſhall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more chearful in granting your juſt grievances. But if no leſs than his life can ſatisfie my People, I muſt ſay, Fiat Juſtitia. *Thus again recommending the conſideration of my intentions to you, I reſt,*

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,
Charles R.

If he muſt die, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

This Letter was twice read in the Houſe of Peers, who after conſideration thereof, ſent twelve of their number to the King, to ſignifie to him, that neither of the two intentions expreſt in the Letter, could with duty in them, or without danger to his Conſort the Queen, be poſſibly admitted. Which being accompliſh'd and more expreſſions offered, the King ſuffer'd no more words to come from them, but ſaid, that what he intended by his Letter, was with an *if*, if it may be done without diſcontentment to his people. If it cannot be, I ſay again the ſame that I wrote, *Fiat Juſtitia.*

The Lords ſend to ſatisfie the King about this matter.

My other intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few days reſpit, was upon certain information that his eſtate was ſo diſtracted that it neceſſarily required ſome few days for the ſettlement thereof.

Whereunto the Lords anſwered their purpoſe was to be ſuiters to his Majeſty for favour to be ſhewed to his innocent Children, and if himſelf had made any proviſion for them, that the ſame might hold. This was well pleaſing to his Majeſty, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majeſties departure they offered up into his hands the Letter it ſelf which he had ſent. But he pleaſed to ſay, What I have written to you, I ſhall be content it be regiſtred by you in your Houſe. In it you ſee my mind, I hope you will uſe it to mine Honour.

Upon *Wedneſday* the 12 of *May*, the Earl was ſummon'd to his period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the Trained Bands. Before him went the Marſhals men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earls Gentleman-Uſher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himſelf accompanied with the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his firſt coming forth, being to paſs near the Arch-biſhops lodging (who ſtood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and eſpying the Arch-Biſhop, beſtowed a low obeyſance towards him, ſaying, My Lord, your Prayers, and your Bleſſing: the Arch-Biſhop lift up his hands, and beſtowed both; but overcome with grief fell to the ground *in animi deliquio.* The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the ſecond time, ſaying, Farewel my Lord, God protect your innocencie.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he addreſt his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect:

My Lord Primate of *Ireland*,

It is my very great comfort that I have your Lordſhip by me this day, in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I do thank God and your Lordſhip for it that you are here. I am come hither by the good will and pleaſure of the Almighty to pay that laſt debt I owe to ſin. And to ſubmit to that Judgment which hath paſs'd againſt me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God, I can ſay it and truly too, my Conſcience bearing me witneſs, that in all my imployment ſince I had the honour to ſerve his Majeſty, I never had any thing in the purpoſe of my heart, but what tended to the joynt and individual proſperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill fortune to be miſconſtrued.

The Earl of Straffords Speech on the ſcaffold directed to the Lord Primate of Ireland.

There is one thing I deſire to free my ſelf of, & I am confident I ſhall obtain your Chriſtian charity in the belief of it. I was ſo far from being againſt Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of England, *were the moſt happy conſtitutions that any Kingdom or nation lived under, & the beſt means under God to make the King & people happy.*

For my death I here acquit all the world, and beſeech the God of Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purpoſes of my heart, I am not made guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majeſty conceives me not meriting ſo heavy a punniſhment as this.

I wiſh this Kingdom all proſperity and happineſs, and deſire every one who hears me, to conſider ſeriouſly whether the Reformation of a Kingdom ſhould be written in Letters of Blood. Let me never be ſo unhappy as that the leaſt drop of my blood ſhould riſe up in Judgment againſt any of you, but I fear you are in the wrong way.

I profeſs that I die a true and obedient Son of the Church of England *wherein I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and proſperity be ever to it.*

This ſaid, he deſired all preſent to aſſiſt him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then riſing up he bad all his friends farewel, eſpecially by name his Brother Sir *George Wentworth*, by whom he ſent his love to his wife and bleſſing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church.

Then he addreſt himſelf to the Block, and having prayed a while, he gave the Executioner the token of his preparedneſs, whereat the Heads-man doing his office, ſevered his head from his Body at the firſt ſtroke. Thus died this unfortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent indowments, of a happy fluencie in Speech, and of a ſearching and ſound Judgment in Counſel, and allways faithful to his Maſter therein. The *Scots* deſigning ſome alterations in that Kingdom, pre-

He is beheaded.

His Character.

prejudicial to the Kings Government there both in Church and State, were oppos'd therein by him, which made him formidable to them and they therefore became his mortal enemies, so that some said, he suffered not so much a sacrifice to the *Scots* revenge, as to their fear: his Character is expres'd by the King his Master, who said, He looked upon the Earl of *Strafford*, as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than ashamed to imploy him in the greatest affairs of State.

ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚ. Chap. 2.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies: whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a Sphear, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a Popular *Odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity.

His Children were restored to their Honor and Estates on the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favoured therein, to make some recompense to them, or to give proof to the Nobility (least they should be skared by the example) that not so much the estate as the man was aimed at; but when the Kingdom had need of that head for its service, they could not restore it, for at this time our want of his great abilities makes them better understood than our fruition of them, so dark is our humane understanding in preserving that, which is useful and vertuous amongst us.

The Earls Children restored to their honour and Estates.

Though we were enter'd into great distempers at this time, yet the Kingdom was mindful of the restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperour at a Diet to be held at *Ratisbone*, and Sir *Thomas Roe* was appointed Embassador from hence, to assist him there, & to add to the reputation of the Embassie, the Parliament joyned with the King in a Manifesto on the Electors behalf, but no success ensued.

The King sent Sir Thomas Roe to the Diet at Ratisbone to assist his Nephew.

The Parliament now in good security and power, began to think themselves concern'd to disband both the Armies.

The *Scots* by the first cessation, were limited but for a Month, but they having resolv'd not to part with them, till they had procured the passage of several Laws in agitation their stay was from time to time enlarg'd, till there was almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of was a great concession, for thereby the power of calling Parliaments, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought a great foundation of confidence betwixt the King and his people: but because many of the peoples grievances were conceived to proceed from the great liberty of the Councel-Board, or from some Orders and directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy Councel, the Earls of *Hartford*, *Essex*, *Bedford*, *Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and some others, all of them eminently in esteem with the people for their reputation of Honor & Justice, that no irregularities might be there committed: and divers of the Kings most eminent Officers surrendred their Offices to the King, to inable him the better to gratifie most of them.

The Earls of Hartford, Essex, Bedford, Warwick, Lord Say with some others made Privy Counsellers.

The Bishop of *Londons* Office of Treasurer, was put into the hands of five Commissioners; the Earl of *Hartford* was sworn Governour of the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*; and the Earl of *Essex* Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Houshold in the place of the Earl of *Pembrook*; the Office of Master of the Wards was resign'd by the Lord *Cottington*, and confer'd on the Lord *Say*; and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*: having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion remedies to all the visible known Diseases of the State, by the advice and Councel of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no rule to his concessions but their asking: Thus they gain'd from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber, a Court formerly erected by Act of Parliament.

The Lord Treasurer and other great Officers resign up their places.

The Star-Chamber abolished.

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much strictness, having so far out-grown the power of Law that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected was repealed.

The High Commission Court put down.

The Writs for Ship-money, and all the proceedings in that business were by the Kings consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Enrolments, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancell'd, though all the Judges had subscrib'd unanimously to the lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publike Trial, after it had been argued by Counsel on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber there pass'd a definitive Sentence for it: but this abrogation of Ship-money by a Law was not enough, for *Bramston*, *Trevor*, *Weston*, *Davenport*, and *Crawly* five of the Judges that gave their opinions for it were impeached of high Misdemeanors for so doing, and *Barkly* another of the Judges accused of Treason, but no further prosecution was made therein.

Ship-money relinquisht by the King.

Five of the Judges for Ship-money impeached of High misdemeanor and Barkly accused of Treason.

Under colour of executing the Forrest Laws many had been vex'd by presentments, fines, and imprisonments, for remedy whereof, the King pass'd a Law, for the certainty of the Meets, Limits, and Bounds of all the Forrests in *England*, with great provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf, likewise he pass'd a Law against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stannary Courts, and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof he parted with his Title of imposing; a power adjudged good, and exercis'd by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolv'd against by Judgment in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of the people; he consented that no Clerk of the Market of his House, should hereafter execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Towns Corporate and to the Lords of Liberties and Franchises; and in an Act obtained from him for prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood he absolutely parted with and discharg'd a right and duty as unquestionably due

several Laws passed by the King for regulating abuses, and disclaiming Privileges.

due to him by the law as any ſervice he could challenge; He parted alſo with his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and conſented to an Act, for diſclaiming of his Power in preſſing Souldiers, enjoyed by all his Predeceſſors for defence of his Perſon and the Realm: But that which chiefly protracted the diſbanding of the Armies, was a Bill tender'd to the Houſe of Commons, for the aboliſhing of Biſhops root and branch, but that took no effect, and now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finiſh'd, and an Act paſs'd for confirmation thereof, the Armies were ſuddenly to be diſbanded, and for that purpoſe the Earl of *Holland* was made General of the Engliſh Army, and for the payment of them and other debts of the Kingdom, a Pole-Bill was paſs'd, wherein the whole Kingdom was aſſeſs'd, every Duke at 100 *l.* a Marqueſs at 80 *l.* Earls 60 *l.* Viſcounts and Barons at 40 *l.* Knights of the Bath 30 *l.* Knights Batchelors at 20 *l.* Eſquires 10 *l.* and every Gentleman diſpending 100 *l. per annum*, 15 *l.* and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meaneſt through the whole Kingdom was not excuſed under ſix pence; As for the 300000 *l.* voted to be paid to the Scots towars a Supply of their loſſes, it was agreed that 100000 *l.* thereof ſhould be paid at *Midſummer* come twelve-moneth, and the other 200000 *l.* two years after, which was ſecur'd to them by Act of Parliament.

The Treaty between the two Kingdoms confirm'd.

Earl of Holland made General of the Engliſh Army.

A Pole rais'd for the payment of the Armies.

And on the ſixth of *Auguſt* both Armies were diſbanded, and four daies after the King began his Journey to *Scotland* to ſettle the affairs of that Nation, and on the ſame day both Houſes of Parliament adjourn'd themſelves to the 20*th.* of *October*, and a Committee of the Houſe of Commons conſiſting of fifty Members, was appointed to ſit during the receſſe.

Both the Armies diſbanded.

The King takes a journey into Scotland.

The King at his coming into *Scotland*, was received there with great demonſtrations of affection by all the people, and to oblige them to him, he confirm'd not only the Articles of the Treaty betwixt the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former conceſſions alſo, and all ſuch things as had been acted by them in their general aſſemblies; And likewiſe the better to pleaſe them, he confer'd Titles of Honour and Dignity on ſome, and great places of power, truſt and profit on others: amongſt theſe the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was made Duke of *Hamilton*, General *Leſly* was created Earl of *Leven*, who was ſo tranſported with a ſenſe of the Kings favour and bounty to him, that he often proteſted, and once at *Perth* upon his knees in the Houſe of the Earl of *Kenoul*, that he would never bear Arms againſt the King.

The King confers Honour upon many perſons during his abode in Scotland.

A while after the King being at *Edenburgh*, ſome information was given to the Marqueſſes of *Hamilton* and *Argile*, that there was ſome deſign upon their perſons, which made them for ſome few daies withdraw themſelves from the Parliament out of *Edenburgh*, but their perſons were of ſuch quality and eſtimation in *Scotland*, that great care was taken to diſcover the ground thereof, and after full examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themſelves, and that great Councel were ſatisfied, that the information firſt given to them, could not be made good to the proof of any deſign to the danger of their perſons; but the King who was a little reflected on in the firſt information, could not conceal his reſentment of this carriage in *Hamilton*, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not deſerv'd to be miſtruſted by him, for he knew well when he was accus'd to him of High Treaſon, he permitted him even then to lye in his Bed-Chamber: This reproof had no great impreſſion on the new Duke, though he ſeem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King ſo juſt a cauſe of diſpleaſure, yet upon the firſt report of this buſineſs at *London* (without ſtaying to hear the opinion of the Parliament of *Scotland*, who had fully examin'd it,) ſtrange interpretations were made upon the matter as highly and nearly concerning the peace of *England*, and a ſudden reſolution was taken firſt by the Committee during the receſſe, and after by the Parliament to have a guard for the defence of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, and both Houſes of Parliament, which troubled the minds of the people with the apprehenſion of new danger, when they were ſo lately freed from the fears of two Armies.

About the end of *October* this year, a Rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, which was carried ſo cloſe, that no certain notice was given of the conſpiracy till the very evening before it was to be put in Execution.

A Bloody Rebellion breaks out in Ireland.

The innocent Proteſtants were upon a ſudden diſſeized of their Eſtates, and the perſons of above 200000 men, women and children, murder'd, within the ſpace of one Moneth, and many of them with exquiſite and unheard of tortures, that which increas'd the wonder of moſt men was, the conſideration that the antient hatred which the Iriſh, (a thing incident to conquer'd Nations) had born to the Engliſh, did now ſeem to be forgotten; forty years of peace had compacted thoſe two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all conjunctures of alliance, by intermarriages, and conſanguinity, which was in outward appearance ſtrengthened by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood.

This deſign was to be put in execution on the 23*th.* of *October*, upon which day, not only the Caſtle of *Dublin*, the Kingdoms chief Magazine, a Store-houſe of 10000 arms at that time, but all other Forts and Magazines in that Kingdom, were to be ſurpriz'd, and all the Engliſh and Proteſtants that joyn'd not with them, to be murder'd.

The ſeizure of *Dublin* Caſtle was prevented by timely diſcovery of the Plot to the two Lords Juſtices, by one *Owen O Conally* of Iriſh Extract, but a Proteſtant, which diſcovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occaſion of it very accidental, by one *Hugh Mac Mahon*, Grandſon to the great *Tyrone*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of *Monagan*, & one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of *Spains* Service, who truſted this *Owen* with ſome relations concerning it at a Tavern.

O Conally by diſcovery of the Plot, prevents the ſeizure of Dublin Caſtle.

Upon which diſcovery, *Mac Mahon* and the Lord *Mac-Guire* were preſently apprehended by the Lords Juſtices, and many Conſpirators of great note eſcaped that night out of *Dublin*; ſo was *Dublin* ſaved, that all *Ireland* might not be loſt

Mac Mahon and the Lord Mac-Guire apprehended.

1641. lost in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day fix'd in all Counties round about; and poor English Protestants arrived at *Dublin* every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, relating how their Houses were seized, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlace* taking those Arms which they found in *Dublin*, and arming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicester*, then chosen Deputy, but staying in *England*.

The Earl of Leicester chosen Deputy for Ireland.

I was generally said, the late insurrection (we must not call it Rebellion) in *Scotland* gave the first incouragement to this in *Ireland*, and the pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for liberty of conscience, not to have the English Bishops and Liturgie impos'd upon them, and these, as those in *Scotland*, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were possess'd with a possibility of compassing their designs, executed whatever the impetuous dictates of Superstition, or wicked exhortation of Priests could infuse into them in this exceeding the actions of the Scots, whose Religion founded on more pious Principles, instructed them not to such bloody waies of propagation of it.

The Irish rebellion occasioned by the Insurrection in Scotland.

The Lords Justices sent Sir *Henry Spotswood* to *Scotland* to the King, with intelligence of all that hapned, and thereupon he sent Sir *James Stuart* to the Lords of the Privy-Councel in *Ireland*, to acquaint them with his knowledge and instructions, and to carry all that money that his present stores could supply; He mov'd also the Parliament of *Scotland* (as being neerest) to a speedy help, but they excus'd their aids, because *Ireland* was dependent upon the Crown of *England*, but they said, if the State of *England* would use any of their men for that service, they would make propositions in order to it; at the same time likewise he sends Post to the Parliament of *England*, and a while after *Owen O Conally* the first discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to *London* to the Earl of *Leicester* with an account of it, wherein the Lords Justices desired some reward might be given to him; upon the receipt of which the Parliament Voted him a gift of five hundred pounds, and an annuity of 200 *lib.* a year, and at a conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the relief of *Ireland*, and passed several Votes to that end; but little was done for their relief till the King returned to *London*, which was about the end of *November*.

The King receives intelligence of what hapned in Ireland and sends Sir James Stuart with instructions thither. He moves the Parliament of Scotland for aid, which they excuse.

O Conally the discoverer of the Plot rewarded.

The *Irish* to dishearten the *English* from any resistance, bragg'd that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would come amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his cause against the Puritans; that they had the Kings Commission for what they did (shewing indeed a Patent that themselves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of *Farnham* Abby by one *Plunket*, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many.) That the *Scots* were in confederacie with them, to beget a faith of which, they abstained for some time from the lives and fortunes of those of that nation among them.

The Irish pretend the Kings Commission for what they did, thereby to dishearten the English.

On the other side to encourage the Natives of their own party, they produced fictitious Letters, wherein they were informed from *England*, that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the *Irish* should be compelled to the Protestant worship; and the refusers for the first offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their lives. Besides they presented them with the hopes of Liberty: that the English yoke should be shaken off; that they would have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the English should be divided among the Natives.

And feined Letters that the Parliament would compel them to protestancy.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the Irish, the Rebellion increas'd. The Rebels in *Ulster* under the conduct of Sir *Phelem Oneal*, assisted by *Turbeck Oneal* his Brother, *Rory Mac-Guire* Brother to the Lord *Mac-Guire*, *Philip O Rely*, *Mulvere O Rely*, Sir *Conno Mac Gennes*, called *Mac Ruian*, and others had possest themselves of all the strong places in *Ulster*, (*London-Derry*, *Colrein*, & the Town and Castle of *Eniskellen* excepted) many places which the English defended, and they could not either surprize by Treachery, or take by plain force, they had surrendred to them upon composition and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor English without pity or compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the Scottish Plantations in *Ulster*, because of their numbers; and likewise for fear of the Scottish Army so easily to be transported into the North parts of *Ireland*, till such time as their General Sir *Phelem Oneal* (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of *Tyrone*, of English Education, a Gentleman of Lincolns-Inn, and a Professed Protestant till some time before) having gathered together a numerous rabble of the natives, who dayly flocked in to him, fell upon their Quarters; where though he exercised not that cruelty upon their persons which he did upon the English, yet he deprived them both of their goods and livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the Scottish shore; from thence he marched into the English Pale, and in the beginning of *November* he took *Dundalk*, and soon after he encamped at *Arde* within seven miles of *Tredagh*.

The Rebels possest themselves of all strong places in Ulster.

They contrary to Articles of surrender massacre the poor English but spare the Scots.

The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer thereby, referr'd the whole business of *Ireland* to the Parliament of *England*, who had undertaken the charge and management of the War, wherewith the Earl of *Leicester* acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, that they had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and had designed for their present supply, the sum of 50000 *lib.* which would be raised with all convenient speed.

The Parliament designs money for Ireland.

By this time the Lords of the Councel in *Ireland* had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of Gallant men, as their actions afterwards testified to the world; Sir *Charles Coote*, an active, and valiant man (who was also

1641. made Governour of *Dublin*) with great speed made up his Regiment out of the poor, robbed, and stripped English, which had fled to *Dublin*; Sir *Henry Titchborn* a worthy Commander was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep *Tredagh* from the approaching Rebels: the Lord *Lambert*, and Sir *Thomas Lucas*, Captain *Armstrong*, Captain *Garner*, with others raised many Companies of Souldiers there.

Forces raised to go against the Rebels.

This was done about the middle of *November*; at which time also the Earl of *Ormond* with his well armed Troop of Horse came to *Dublin*; wherewith in few days after, he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* (as likewise by the Kings approbation from *Scotland* signified in a Letter) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a person of great estate, credit and reputation in that Kingdom, and a Protestant, did very eminent service against the Rebels.

The Earl of Ormond made Lieutenant General of the forces there.

The Parliament in prosecution of their great promises, sent over twenty thousand pounds in money which arrived seasonably at this time, their treasure being much exhausted, by paying the new Companies they had raised, but with this small relief they were much incouraged, and very succesful service was performed in divers places against the Irish, but no levies of men were made in *England*, till the King had disclaimed his power of pressing Souldiers, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were afterward raised against him: the first Souldiers they sent was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the last of *December*.

A Regiment sent to Ireland under Sir Simon Hartcourt.

Whilst that Kingdom was thus distressed, the King returned out of *Scotland* into *England* about the end of *November*, and was by the City of *London* entertained, feasted and conducted to his Palace at *Whitehal* with as pompous solemnity, and costly expressions of love and duty as ever any King of *England* was, and the chief of them afterward were feasted by him at *Hampton*-Court, where several of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon them: but this little prospect of happiness was quickly clouded by a Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom presented to him at *Hampton*-Court a few days after his arrival there, from the House of Commons, which they prepared for him against his coming to *London*, wherein all the mistakes and misfortunes which had happened from the Kings first coming to the Crown and before, to that very hour were with great asperity recited.

The King returns out of Scotland.

The Parliament present a Remonstrance to him at Hampton Court.

Most moderate men wondered at this carriage towards the King, since he had from the first sitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them, they reasonably asked, and when he went to *Scotland* it was voiced to all, that he parted a gratious King, from a contented people: and in *Scotland* he gave so much satisfaction to that people (though afterwards as appeared by their unfaithfulness they were perverted) that they caused an Act (then in force) to be published and revived, *That it should be detestable and damnable Treason in the highest degree that could be for any of the* Scots *Nation conjunctly or singly to levy Arms, or any Military Forces upon any pretence whatsoever, without the Kings Commission.*

An Act published in Scotland against levying arms without the Kings Commission.

Those in the Parliament of *England* that were ill disposed to the Kings person and Government (as too many were) were much displeased at these methods of his to gain the affections of his people; & therefore they us'd all the endeavors they could, to blast him, & this remonstrance as an engine for that work was prepared and brought into the House, where the greatest industry and skill imaginable was used by private sollicitations, threats and promises to procure it to pass; the Debate lasted from ten in the morning till three of the Clock the next morning, so that at last they carried it by eleven Voices, when many of the more aged, and persons of best fortunes not accustomed to such watchings were wearied out, and many others not daring to provoke the prevailing faction, left the House: the consent of the Lords was not asked, for of that they despaired, though some of them were too apt to be seduced: this they presented to the King at *Hampton*-Court, with a Petition before it as sharp as the Remonstrance it self, wherein they desired him:

1641.

A petition presented with the remonstrance.

1. *To concur with the People for depriving the Bishops of their Votes in Parliament.* (for which there was yet no Bill pass'd.)

2. *To imploy such people about him as the Parliament might confide in:* and,

3. *Not to alienate any of the forfeited and escheated Lands in* Ireland, *which should accrew to the Crown by reason of the Rebellion, and thereupon they promised to undergo the hazard and expences of the War, and to apply themselves to such Counsels and courses, as may support the Royal Estate with honour and plenty at home, and with power and reputation abroad.*

This Petition and strange Remonstrance, was gratiously received by the King, from the hands of the presenters, who were Members of the Commons House; and he promised an answer to them, but in the mean time desired, that the Remonstrance might not be printed and published to the People: the thing it self, and the printing any thing of the like nature, being never heard of, by the direction of the House of Commons till this Parliament, it being the first appeal to the people and of fatal consequence, both to the King, & many of the busie Actors in this transaction.

The King receives the petition.

And desires them not to publish the remonstrance.

But without giving the King leisure to answer, special direction was given for printing the Remonstrance, and equal care taken for the publishing it in all places and parts of the Kingdom: but this did not hinder the King from performing his promise, to answer their Petition, and vindicate himself from those aspersions that were published in the Remonstrance, to lessen or blemish his Reputation with the people.

They contrariwise order it to be published in all parts of the Kingdom.

The King answers the Petition and vindicates himself from the aspersions of the Remonstrance.

That part of the Petition, that he would not alienate the forfeited and escheated Lands in *Ireland*, he did dislike, he said, it might be a resolution very fit for him to take (though he doubted whether it were seasonable to take resolutions of that nature, before the events of the War were seen) and to all the other parts, he gave such modest and gratious replies, (but yet not without some resentment of their dealing towards him) that many of the prime Actors were much discontented, to find their practices so fully discovered, so that they had recourse to their former perilous remedy, the tumults of the multitude to bring about their next design.

For

The Commons pass a Bill for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction.

For the Commons having passed a Bill of disabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House it met with a very cold reception; but the tumultuous rabble were so insolent that they assaulted and evil intreated some of the Peers even at the doors of their House, crying out against Bishops and bending most of their malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their duty; and afterwards they went to *White-Hall*, and made a stand before the Gate in a great body, saying, they would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: and when the Lords at a conference with the House of Commons, desired they would joyn with them in a Declaration for the suppressing such tumults, several speeches were made in justification of them, Mr. *Pym* saying God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way.

The tumult upon the Lords slighting the Bill, comes to their House, and clamour against the Bishops.

The Commons justifie those tumults.

The Lords having in vain tried this way, appointed by advice of the Judges a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous resort, in obedience to which the Justices appointed the Constables and others to attend about *Westminster*, to hinder that unlawful conflux of people, which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was Voted to be a breach of Priviledge, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his duty according to that Writ was sent to the Tower.

The Lords direct a writ to the sheriffs and justices to suppress those tumults.

Whereupon the constables and justices are sent for by the Commons.

These licentious and unpunished tumults, gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives) to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this purpose:

The Bishops protestation against the actions of the Parliament.

They protested themselves to abominate all actions or opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their duties in Parliament: But whereas coming to perform that duty and service, they have been rudely menaced, affronted, and put in fear of their lives by multitudes of people, and can find no redress or protection upon complaint made, they therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the Noble Peers, that saving to themselves all their Rights and Interests of sitting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit and Vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their fears are not in vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all duty and humility therefore protest before his Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27 th. *of this instant* December 1641. *have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, during this their enforced absence from the said House.* Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to record.

1641.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a conference with the Commons, they declared it was of dangerous consequence, and deeply intrenching upon the fundamental Priviledges & being of Parliament, at which the Commons took so great a heat, that after a little debate, they pass'd a resolution by vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. *Glyn* to the Lords House to impeach them thereof, which caused their commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four moneths.

They are charged with treason and committed to the Tower.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at *Whitehal* without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which means the insollency of the Rabble was in some degree checkt, but they instructed by their heads laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by seeking on this occasion to raise the rage and jealousie of the whole City against him. For at midnight there were cries made in the streets of *London*, that all people should arise to their defence, for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds; then which though nothing was more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people by such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness.

The King upon this sent a message to the Common Councel of *London*, complaining of tumultuous assemblies of the people from the City daily resorting to *Westminster* to the disturbance of that Place and his Palace at *Whitehal*; but the House of Commons to obviate this, Petitioned him for a Guard for security of their Persons, alleadging, that there was a malignant party, bitterly envenomed against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing speeches against the Parliament it self. It was therefore their humble desires that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold, of whose fidelity to the King and Commonwealth no question was ever made.

The Parliament petition the King for a Guard.

This Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his children, and if this general assurance would not suffice, to remove those apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The King denies the Petition.

The King at such time as he was in *Scotland*, and expostulated with some of the Chiefs among them, touching their coming into *England* in a Hostile manner, and found, that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it. And having furnish'd himself with sufficient proofs thereof, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; That is to say, the Lord *Kimbolton* a member of the House of Peers, *Denzill Hollis* Esq. Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Strode*;

1641. all Members of the House of Commons, appointing him likewise to inform the House of Peers therewith, and with the general matters of the charge; and at the same time he sent a Serjeant at Arms to the House of Commons, to acquaint them that he did accuse, and intend to prosecute the five Members of that House for High Treason, and did require that their Persons might be secur'd in Custody.

Kimbolton with five Members of the House of Commons charged with High Treason by the King.

The Articles of their Accusation were, to this purpose.

1. *That they had endeavoured to subvert the Government, to deprive the King of his legal power, and to place on Subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power.*

2. *That they had endeavoured by foul aspersions upon his Majesties Government, to alienate the affections of his People from him.*

3. *That they endeavoured to draw his late Army from his Obedience, to side with them in trayterous designs.*

4. *That they trayterously invited and incouraged a forein power to invade his Majesties Kingdom of* England.

5. *That they trayterously endeavoured to subvert the very Rights and Beings of Parliament.*

6. *That they have endeavoured by force, and terror, to compel the Parliament to joyn with them in their trayterous designs, and to that end have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.*

7. *That they have trayterously conspired to levie, and actually have levied War against the King.*

The Commons justifie the accused Members.

The House of Commons did nothing herein to comply with the Kings intimation to them concerning the accused Members, but when a Serjeant at Arms was sent to arrest their persons, there came a countermand from them, by which the Serjeant was deterr'd from doing his Office; for they had voted, if any person came to attach them without order from that House, they might stand upon their defence, and make resistance.

The King seeing this obstruction of Justice, and that opposition was like to be made if he proceeded in the ordinary way of Justice, resolv'd to go himself to the House of Commons, and by a cleer discovery of his intentions, prevent all seeming inconveniences, and in this he was so secret, (as he thought) that he discovered it not till the very minute of his going.

He therefore took with him the Palsgrave, (his Nephew) and about 100 Lords and Gentlemen, and their followers, and went to the House of Commons, where commanding his attendance to move no further than the Stairs, to offer no violence, nor return any uncivil language to any, although provok'd; He himself, with the Palsgrave only, entred the House, and demanded that the accused Persons may be delivered into his hands, with whom he promises to deal no otherwise than according to Law, but they whom he sought, being before inform'd, as it is reported, of the Kings coming, by the secret intelligence of the Countesse of *Carlisle*, had forsook the place, and withdrawn themselves into the City, wherefore the King having renew'd his Charge, without injury to any, immediately departed.

The King comes to the House of Commons to demand the delivery of the five Members.

This Act of the Kings was voted by the Commons a breach of Priviledge, and strange reports and scandals were raised against him in the City of *London*, by the friends of the accused Members, as that he had offered violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murder several Members, and used threatning speeches against the Parliament, with which the City was so possess'd, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards plac'd in several places thereof, as if some desperate attempt or assault were to be made upon it; and as if all men were now absolved from the rules of obedience; Publick direction is given, for drawing down the Train-bands of the City to *Westminster* on a day appointed, to guard and bring in triumph the Persons accus'd of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Common-wealth it self could not subsist, but with reference to them.

1641.

The Commons vote this a breach of Priviledge.

This coming to the knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants proffered their Service, to curb any insolencies that should be attempted on him, yet was he resolv'd to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their children to *Hampton Court*, to give time for their jealousies and rumors to waste and perish. And though the King was not conscious to himself of any error in his first proceeding against these Members, remembring that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the case of the Earl of *Arundel* it was asserted, that in case of Treason, Felony, & breach of Peace, Priviledge of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his desisting from the Prosecution of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction.

The King removes to Hampton-Court.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the cleerness of his intentions, he sent a message to the Parliament of the twentyth of *January*, wherein in gratious expressions he propos'd; *That since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would comprise and digest them into one entire Body, that so both he and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them; And that it should then appear, by what he would do, how far he hath been from intending or designing any of those things, which the too great fears and jealousies of some Persons, seem'd to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favour to the People.*

The Kings message to the Parliament.

This Message was receiv'd by the Parliament with thanks, and most people expected very good effects of it, but the accused Members and their faction, fearing this good disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast about all waies how they might obstruct the settlement of affairs, and in a Petition to the King on pretence the better to enable them to discharge their duties in those matters, they desir'd him to raise up to them a sure ground of confidence by putting the Tower of *London* into their hands, together with the Command of the Royal *Navy*, as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train-Bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the name of the Militia: This Petition was ill reliſh'd

The Commons petition the King to have the Militia put into their hands.

1641. The Queen accompanies the Princesse Mary into Holland.

relish'd by him, but he conceal'd his resentment for some time, and about the midst of *February* he and the Queen went to *Canterbury* with the Princesse *Mary*, and from thence to *Dover*, and there she imbarqued her self with her Daughter, and accompanied her to *Holland*: The Kings stay at *Canterbury* and *Dover* was not long, nor the place so remote, but that some business pass'd, of which the greatest was, The Bill for taking away the Bishops votes in Parliament; from *Canterbury* the King came to *Greenwich*, and from thence he sent for the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York* to come to him, to accompany him to *York*, whither he forthwith went, as to a place of safety, where he might better find a way to compose those differences which now began to imbroyl the Kingdom.

The King removes to York.

The Parliament send after him in his journey to *York* two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at *Theobalds*, and the other at *Huntington*, to both of which he gave a denyal; but since they could not have it by his consent, they took it without it, and both Houses pass'd it by an Ordinance, and setled it in divers Counties in the hands of such as they reposed confidence.

The King issues out Commissions of Array.

The King look'd upon this as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surpriz'd, he issued out several Commissions of Array to persons of the most eminent quality, to muster, train and array the Subjects for defence of himself and the Kingdom; and because of the indisposition of the Earl of *Northumberland* to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir *John Pennington* in his place; but the Parliament by a message of the 28*th.* of *March*, disliked of that choice, and recommended the Earl of *Warwick* to the King, but this the King would not admit of; Nevertheless, they authorized him to command the Fleet without the Kings consent, and within a few Moneths they used such arts, that he became possess'd of the whole Navy: At *Hull* the King had a Magazine of Arms, and ammunition provided for the late intended War against the Scots, which was laid up there, when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town he intended to possess himself, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preservation; but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was denied entrance by Sir *John Hotham*, who by the appointment of the House of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that place.

1642. The King and Parliament differ about who shall be chief Commander at Sea.

Sir John Hotham denies the King entrance into Hull.

The King thereupon proclaimed him Traytor, and by letters to the Parliament complain'd to them of the indignity, and required satisfaction, but they justified him therein, and sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing of the Garrison to them, and they gave the Governour power to raise the Train-bands for his defence. The King was forc'd for the time to indure this indignity, but being very intent of subduing the Rebellion of *Ireland*, he sent a Message to the Parliament to declare his intention to go thither in Person, and acquainted them with his purpose in order thereunto, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse in the Counties near *Chester* for a Guard to his Person, which was so grateful news to the Lords Justices and Councel of *Ireland*,

He thereupon is proclaim'd Traytor. The Parliament justifie Sir John Hotham.

that they very much rejoyc'd thereat, but the Parliament were so jealous of any thing that tended to the Kings security, that they resolved to oppose it, but in regard it was a popular action, they were forced to use art in it; They shewed many inconveniences in the undertaking such a journey, both in the hazard of the Kings Person, and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament; but the chief matter was an apprehension, that hereby the King might have a good occasion of raising Souldiers for his defence against the designs and contrivances against him; wherefore in the conclusion of their answer to the Kings message, They declare, that they cannot consent to any levies but such as they shall advise and direct, and if any be otherwise rais'd, they must declare against them.

1642. The Parliament oppose the Kings intention to go in person into Ireland.

The King did hereupon decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to *Ireland*, but reflecting now upon the affront of Sir *John Hotham* to him, and hearing that the Parliament against his consent had raised Guards to themselves, He summoned the Gentry of *York-shire* to a meeting, and acquainted them, *That his Magazine at* Hull *was going to be taken from him against his will, the Militia against the Law, and his consent, put in Execution, and Sir* John Hotham's *treason countenanced; so that upon these considerations, he was resolved to have a Guard to secure his Person, in which he desired their assistance, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion from violation, or injury.*

The King summons the Gentry of York-shire to his assistance.

The Kings desires herein were with great affection complyed with, but the Parliament, upon notice thereof, declared, *That it is against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, and that whosoever, upon pretence of his Majesties command, shall take up Arms in a War-like manner, shall be esteemed disturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly*; but this did not terrifie the people of *York-shire* from doing their duty to the King.

The Parliaments declaration.

The breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houses repaired to the King to *York*, insomuch that in a very short space, there were more of the Peers at *York*, than sitting with the Parliament at *Westminster*.

Many Members of both Houses repair to the King to York.

The Commons, that they might not seem dejected at this time, sent up an impeachment to the House of Lords against nine of those Peers that deserted, that is to say, The Earl of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Dover*, the Earl of *Monmouth*, the Lord *Howard* of *Charleton*, and the Lord *Rich* for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; the substance whereof was, "For that contrary to their duty, they had deser-"ted their attendance on the House, absenting "themselves, after a Vote passed in both Houses; "That the King seduced by wicked Councel, in-"tended to make War against the Parliament, and that whosoever serv'd or assisted him in that War, was adjudg'd a Traytor.

The Commons impeach nine of the Peers.

1642. Upon the impeachment, the Houſe of Peers entred into debate thereof, and the nine Lords were cenſured:

The nine Lords cenſured.

1. *Never to ſit more as Members of that Houſe.*

2. *That they ſhould be utterly uncapable of any benefits or Priviledges of Parliament, and that they ſhould ſuffer impriſonment during their pleaſure.*

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper *Littleton* ſent away the great Seal to the King, by one Mr. *Elliot* who was ſent to him for it, and the next day he himſelf followed it, and came ſafe to the King at *York*; but this departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great plunge, and they ſent (in vain) to intercept it in its paſſage.

The Lord Littleton flies to York with the Great Seal.

The King found himſelf in very good eſteem in the Northern parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the effuſion of Blood, by any reaſonable accommodation, than ingage the Nation in a Civil War; and during his abode at *York* many Meſſages and Replies to that purpoſe paſſed between him and the Parliament, and at laſt, that they might not ſeem altogether averſe from Peace, about the beginning of *June* they ſent a Petition to the King with Nineteen Propoſitions.

The Propoſitions were:

The Parliaments propoſitions to the King.

1. *That all the Kings Privy Councel, great Officers, and Miniſters of State may be put out, excepting ſuch as the Parliament ſhall approve, and to aſſign them an Oath.*

2. *That all Affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except ſuch matters as are tranſferred by them to the Privy Councel, and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands: the full number not to exceed five and twenty, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall void in the interval of Parliament, then the major part of the Councel to chuſe one to be confirmed at the next Seſſion of Parliament.*

3. *That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom ſhall be choſen with approbation of Parliament,* &c. *as before ſaid.*

4. *The Government and Education of the King's Children by Parliament,* &c. ut ſupra.

5. *Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament,* &c.

6. *The Laws againſt Papiſts, Prieſts, and others be executed without Toleration or Diſpenſation, except by Parliament.*

7. *No Popiſh Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Proteſtant Faith.*

8. *To reform Church Government as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

9. *To ſettle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recal all his Declarations publiſhed againſt their Ordinances therein.*

10. *All Privy Counſellors and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other Statutes which ſhall be made this Parliament.*

11. *All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places* quam diu bene ſe geſſerint.

12. *All Members of Parliament put out during this time to be reſtored again.*

13. *The Juſtice of Parliament to paſs upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their cenſure.*

14. *The General Pardon to paſs with Exceptions, as the Parliament ſhall adviſe.*

15. *All Forts and Caſtles of the Kingdom to be diſpoſed of by Parliament,* ut ſupra.

16. *The King to diſcharge all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raiſe any other, but in caſe of actual Rebellion.*

17. *The King to enter into a ſtrict alliance with all Reformed States, for their aſſiſtance to recover the Rights of his Royal Siſter and her Princely Iſſue to thoſe Dignities and Dominions which belong unto them.*

18. *To clear the Lord* Kimbolton *and the five Members by Act of Parliament.*

19. *No Peer hereafter to be made, ſhall ſit in Parliament without their conſent.*

And theſe Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King rejects the propoſitions.

The King ſhewed great diſlike at theſe Propoſitions, for indeed they ſeemed rather calculated to gratifie the ambition of ſome of thoſe that framed them, than for any other purpoſe, and the anſwer he gave was more ſmart than uſually his anſwers were.

Amongſt other things, he told them, *That they had contrary to Law preſſed their Ordinances on the people, wreſted from him the Command of the Militia, countenanced the Treaſon of* Hotham, *and had directed to the People Invectives againſt his Government, aſperſt him with the favouring of Papiſts; and with an utter diſlike of the Propoſitions, he proteſted, that if he were vanquiſht and a Priſoner, in worſe condition than any the moſt unfortunate of his Predeceſſors had ever been reduced unto, he would never ſtoop ſo low, as to grant thoſe demands, and to make himſelf of a King of* England, *a Duke of* Venice.

Both ſides make preparation for War.

And now both ſides prepared for War, and on the 10*th.* of *June* an Order was made by both Houſes of Parliament, for bringing in of Money and Plate to *Guild-hall* for their Service, wherein it was expreſt, that whoſoever ſhould bring any Money or Plate, or furniſh any with Horſe and Arms, ſhould have their moneys repaid with Intereſt, according to eight in the hundred, for which both Houſes of Parliament did ingage the Publike Faith.

The King was not wanting to his own Preſervation in the mean time, and to do whatſoever might give incouragement to the buſineſs he had in hand; and firſt he aſſembled all the Peers then at *York* to attend him, and made to them a ſhort Declaration, wherein he expreſſed himſelf to them in theſe words.

The Kings Declaration to the Peers at York.

We do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws, as We expect that you ſhall not yeeld to any Commands not Legally grounded, or impoſed by any other. We will defend you all, and all ſuch as ſhall refuſe any ſuch Commands, whether they proceed from any Votes and Orders of both Houſes, or any other way, from all danger whatſoever. We

will

1641. *will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of* England, *and the just Priviledges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no farther obedience from you, than as we accordingly shall perform the same. And we will not (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any War against the Parliament, except it be for our necessary defence against such as do insolently invade, or attempt against us and our Adherents.*

Upon this Declaration of the King those Lords and others of his Councel made a Promise to him, and subscribed it with their hands as followeth.

The Peers Engagement to the King.

We do ingage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our selves to defend your Majesties Person, Crown, and Dignity, with your just and legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, *and the just Priviledges of your Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament. Lastly, we engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever, concerning the Militia that hath not the Royal assent.*

Subscribed by

Lord Keeper, D. of *Richmond*, Marques of *Hertford*, E. of *Linsey*, E. of *Cumberland*, E. of *Huntington*, E. of *Bath*, E. of *Southampton*, E. of *Dorset*, E. of *Salisbury*, E. of *Northampton*, E. of *Devonshire*, E. of *Bristol*, E. of *Westmerland*, E. of *Barkshire*, E. of *Monmouth*, Earl of *Rivers*, E. of *Newcastle*, E. of *Dover*, Earl of *Carnarvan*, E. of *Newport*, Lord *Mowbray* and *Matrevers*, L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, L. *Rich*, L. *Charles Howard* of *Charleton*, L. *Newark*, L. *Paget*, L. *Chandoys*, L. *Falconbridge*, L. *Paulet*, L. *Lovelace*, L. *Coventry*, L. *Savile*, L. *Mohun*, L. *Dunsmore*, L. *Seymor*, L. *Gray* of *Ruthen*, L. *Fawkland*, the Controller, Secretary *Nicholas*, Sir *John Culpepper*, Lord Chief Justice *Banks*.

The King forbids the Lord Mayor of London to raise Arms or Money.

The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of *London*, and the Aldermen and Sheriffs, forbidding by expres Command any Contribution of Money or Plate towards the raising of any Arms whatsoever for the Parliament; and invited all his loving Subjects (to prevent their own danger and the danger of the Kingdom from a Malignant party,) to contribute money or Plate to Him, and they shall be repayed with consideration of 8 in the Hundred, and immediately upon it, he made a Profession before those forementioned Lords and Counsellors about him; avowing any preparations, or intentions to levie War against the Parliament; upon which the Lords and others then present at *York*, made this further Declaration and Profession, subscribed under their hands.

The Lords and others at York in a Declaration

We whose names are underwritten, in obedience to his Majesties desire, and out of the duty which we owe to his Majesties Honour, and to truth, being here upon the place, and witnesses of his Majesties frequent and earnest Declarations and professions of his abhorring all designs of making War upon the Parliament; and not seeing any colour of Preparations or Counsels that might reasonably beget the belief of any such design, do profess before God, and testifie to all the world, that we are fully perswaded that his Majesty hath no such intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, and the just priviledges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Law, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdom.

1642. acquit the King from any designs of making War against the Parliament.

The King was strengthned with some Arms and Ammunition from *Holland*, from the endeavours of the Queen, but more strengthned by this Protestation in his behalf, concerning his intention of not making War against the Parliament, proceeded in his business with great circumspection and indefatigable industry, and from *York* he went to *Newark*, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of *Nottinghamshire* in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him: another Speech he made at *Lincoln* to the Gentry of that County full of Protestations concerning his good intentions not only to them but to the whole Kingdom and the Laws and Liberties of it, so that within three weeks both in his own Person, and by his Messengers with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his business in a wonderful manner. From *Lincoln* he removed to *York*, and from thence to *Beverley*, from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation concerning his going to *Hull*, to take it in, requiring before his journey that it might be delivered to him: Which they answered with a Petition, praying him to disband all his Forces about *Hull*, to recal his Commission of Array, dismiss his Guards, and come to his Parliament, at which the King was much displeased, and the Parliament Voted, that an Army should be raised, whereof by the Vote of both Houses the Earl of *Essex* was chosen General, with whom they protested to live and die in that cause; the King had about 3000 Foot, most of them Train-band-men, and 1000 Horse before *Hull*.

The King takes a journey into Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire to win those places to his party.

The King resolves to reduce Hull

The Parliament raise an Army under the command of the Earl of Essex.

Hotham upon the Kings advance, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, drew up the Sluces and drowned all the Countrey about the Town.

The Parliament took all care imaginable to supply the Town, which they reinforced with 500 Souldiers, under the Command of Sir *John Meldrum*. The King finding so great a strength to oppose him, and considering the preciousness of that time which he consumed there without hope of success, resolved to march away: some about him, laid the fault of his not prevailing, upon the unskilfulness of the Countrey Captains, and the unexperienced rawness of the Souldiers, it was said, the King might have sped better, if Sir *John Pennington* could have brought part of the Navy to his assistance, to have streightned them by Sea, but that was seized by the Earl of *Warwick*.

The King leaves Hull.

The Earl of Warwick gets the command of the Navy.

The Earl of *Essex* was very busie in raising his Army, the Earl of *Bedford* was made General of the

1642. the Horſe, Sir *John Merrick* Major General of the Army; the Lord *Roberts*, the Lord St. *John*, the Lord *Rochford*, the Lord *Gray* of *Growby*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, and Mr. *Grantham*, all Members of Parliament, had Commiſſions for Regiments.

The King in the mean time was not idle, he went to *Leiceſter*, where he ſummoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and by his great affability won many of them to an opinion of his Cauſe, and from thence by the firſt of *Auguſt* he returns to *York*, where he ſummoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliaments preparations for War, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance, for the Parliament had now publiſhed a Declaration for the raiſing of all power and force by Train-bands or otherwiſe to lead againſt all Traytors and their Adherents that oppoſed the Parliament, and them to kill and ſlay, as enemies to the peace of the Kingdom, and in it they named moſt of the Kings Lord Lieutenants and Commiſſioners of Array in the ſeveral Counties. The King then recommended to them the compleating of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind hand with the Parliament,

The Earl of Eſſex and the reſt of the Parliaments Commanders proclaimed Rebels by the King.

he publiſhes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of *Eſſex* was proclaimed a Rebel and Traytor to the King and Crown, and all Colonels and Officers authorized by the Parliament that ſhould not inſtantly lay down their Arms were declared guilty of High Treaſon.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whoſoever ſhall return from the King to the Parliaments Army within ten days after publication, ſhould have reception and pardon, excepting Perſons impeacht of Delinquencie or Treaſon, or ſuch as have been eminent Actors againſt them, and except the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Briſtow*, *Cumberland*, *Newcaſtle*, *Rivers*, and *Carnarvon*, the Viſcounts *Newark* and *Faulkland*, Secretary *Nicholas*, *Endymion Porter*, and Mr. *Edward Hyde*.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to ſend an Army Weſtward, gave Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marqueſs of *Hartford*, to be his Lieutenant General within the Counties of *Devon*, *Cornwal*, *Sommerſet*, *Dorſet*, *Wilts*, *Southampton*, *Berks*, *Oxford*, *Hereford*, *Monmouth*, *Radnor*, *Brecknock*, *Glamorgan*, *Carnarvon*, *Pembroke* and *Cardigan*; and ſent to encourage Colonel *Goring*, who kept *Portſmouth* at that time for him.

The King ſets up his Standard at Nottingham He ſends to treat with the Parliament.

The preparations were very great on both ſides, and on the 20*th.* of *Auguſt* the King ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, from whence he ſent up a Meſſage to both Houſes by the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, and Sir *John Culpepper* for a Treaty of Peace.

When they came to *Weſtminſter* they were not permitted to ſit in Parliament, whereof they were Members, nor could the Earl of *Southampton* (againſt whom there was leaſt exception) be admitted to deliver it, but it was ſent into the Houſe of Peers by the Uſher of the Black Rod.

In the Meſſage the King ſignified,

That obſerving that many miſtakes had ariſen by the Meſſages, Petitions, and Anſwers, betwixt him and the two Houſes of Parliament, which might be prevented by ſome other way of Treaty, wherein the matters in difference might be more clearly underſtood, and more freely tranſacted, he propoſed that a certain number of perſons might be ſent, and inabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in ſome indifferent place, with the like number authorized by him. 1642.

The Parliament anſwered to this effect, *That until he take down his Standard, and recal thoſe Proclamations, & Declarations wherby he declared the actions of both Houſes to be treaſonable, & their perſons Traytors, and whereby he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his protection, they cannot admit of any ſuch Treaty.* The Parliaments anſwer to the Kings Meſſage.

The King replied to this, *That he never did declare both Houſes of Parliament Traytors, or ſet up his Standard againſt them, much leſs to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection, and to remove all ſcruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promiſed ſo that a day be appointed by them for the revoking their Declarations againſt all perſons as Traytors, or otherwiſe for aſſiſting him, he will upon the ſame day recal his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.* The Kings reply.

To this the Parliament anſwered by Petition, inſiſting upon their former requeſt, *To recal his Proclamations, concluding, that they can never allow themſelves to be ballanced with thoſe perſons about the King, who they ſtiled perſons of deſperate diſpoſitions and Counſels.*

Thus did they contend for ſome time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all fruitleſs, for the Parliament having in their power all the Kings Revenue and his Navy, together with the ſtrength and riches of the City of *London*, and great contributions from them and others of money and plate, thought the Kings forces ſo inconſiderable in reſpect of theirs, that they deſpiſed all the overtures he made for peace, or put ſuch expreſſions into the anſwers they made to them, that he could not with honour and ſafety approve of them.

Prince Rupert and Pr. Maurice put into command by the King.

About the beginning of *September* Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice*, the ſecond and third Sons of the late King of *Bohemia*, came to offer their ſervice to the King their Unkle, whom preſently he put into Command; Prince *Rupert* within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a ſmall party of thoſe Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers parts of *Warwickſhire*, *Nottinghamſhire*, *Leiceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Cheſhire*, his forces ſtill encreaſing as he marched.

The King takes up his Quarters at Shrewsbury.

And whilſt the Prince was thus active with his party, the King moved on ſlowly with thoſe forces which he had, through *Darbyſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, *Leicerſhire*, and *Nottinghamſhire*, and ſo on to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended to Quarter for a time, as a fit Rendevouze for thoſe Troops & Companies he expected from *Wales* & other adjacent parts; for thoſe of *Denbigh* & *Flintſhire* and gene-

1642. generally all *Wales* were very cordial to him and his Cause.

To *Shrewsbury* the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soon after presented to him; for the University of *Cambridge*, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had sent their plate to him, and many others had furnished him both with men, Horses, and Arms; and within few days after his coming thither his strength by his diligence and address was wonderfully increased, even beyond his own hope, for he had summoned the Gentry and Freeholders, and made to them a Speech so full of affectionate expressions, as rendred him to their thoughts, an injured Prince, and moved compassionate affections towards him: the Speech it self was in these words:

His Speech to the Gentry.

Gentlemen,

It is some benefit to me, from the insolencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me to so good a part of my Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of my people: I hope neither you nor I shall repent my coming hither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is not usually pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being robb'd and spoyled of all mine own, and such terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolence and violence of that Army raised against me, (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty) than you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best: And this I promise you, no man shall be a loser by me, if I can help it.

I have sent hither for a Mint; I will melt down all my own Plate, and expose all my Land to sale or morgage, that if it be possible, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have summoned you hither to do that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the law of the Land (by which you injoy all that you have) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and utmost industry to destroy the Common-wealth, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Assure your selves, if it please God to bless me with success, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. However, it will hereafter (how furiously soever the minds of men are now possessed) be honour and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your King, and preserve the Kingdom.

God had so blessed the just endeavours of the King, that before the middle of *October*, which was about three weeks after his first coming to *Shrewsbury*, with a small body of an Army, he was grown to a strength consisting of six thousand foot, three thousand brave horse, and two thousand dragoons in one body, besides what he had in other parts, of which he gave the chief command, under himself, to the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the next to General *Ruthen* a Scotch Gentleman of great experience, and Prince *Rupert* was made General of the Horse, and the next in command to him was Commissary *Wilmott*. 1642.

The Earl of Lindsey chief Commander of the Kings Army.

Whilst the King and the Parliament were gathering their Forces together, several parties were imployed in divers parts of the Kingdom; Collonel *Goring* was besieg'd in *Portsmouth* by Sir *John Meincles* Regiment of Foot, and the County Trained-Bands, with one Troop of Horse, to which place a Squadron of the Fleet was also sent to straighten it the more, and the Garrison Souldiers were so practised on, the Governor had no confidence in them, so that though the Marquesse of *Hartford* hastened to his relief with some Forces he had newly raised, yet he was necessitated to surrender the Town before he could help him, and had conditions to be transported in one of the Kings Ships to the *Brill* in *Holland*, whether he was conveyed accordingly; But the Marquess of *Hartford*, though he could not secure *Portsmouth*, yet he seized on *Sherborne* Castle in *Dorset-shire*, and passed by the Earl of *Bedford*, (who commanded in those parts a party of the Parliaments Troops) and marched over *Severn* into *Wales* to raise more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little Brush in his passage.

Portsmouth surrendred up to the Parliament.

Sherborne Castle seiz'd on by the Marquesse of Hartford, for the King.

The Parliament Army raised under the Earl of *Essex*, was now grown to a considerable Bulk, consisting of about 16000 Horse and Foot united in one Army, besides parties abroad, their general Randezvouze was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Roberts*, Collonel *Hambden*, and many others of the chief Commanders staid with them, expecting the presence of the General, and on the ninth of *September*, he set out of *London* with great solemnity; The Parliament sent a Petition to him at *Northampton*, to be by him presented to the King; the effect of which was, *To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his presence from those wicked persons about him, (for so all the Kings party were called by them) and not to mix his danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their advice compose the present distempers.*

The Earl of Essex marches out of London to his Army.

The Parliaments petition to be presented to the King by the Earl of Essex.

The Earl of *Essex* after he had been at *Northampton* a while, had increased his Army to the number of 20000. from whence he march'd to *Coventry*, and from thence to *Warwick*, and having left some Companies in both those Towns for their security, he march'd away towards *Worcester*, upon intelligence that the King himself intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir *John Byron* had first entered *Worcester* for the King, whom Captain *Fiennes* had endeavoured to dislodge with some Troops of the Parliament and Countrey Voluntiers which he had gotten together, with whom he assaulted the Town on the West side of *Severn*, supposing some of *Essex* his Troops were marching towards the Town on the other side, (as he was informed by a Spie,) but those proved to be a party of the Kings Horse under Prince *Rupert*, who march'd into the Town with 500 Horse, and made *Fiennes* draw off to a distance. The Prince had notice that Collonel *Sandys* with a Regiment of Parliament Horse,

Sir John Byron takes Worcester for the King.

together with Captain *Hales*, Captain *Wingate*, Captain *Fiennes*, and Captain *Anstin* were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near adjoyning, and drew up his men into Battalia, the passage to the Meadow was through a lane where not above four could march a breast, of which the Prince took the advantage, and charged them first there, where the Rear could not come up to assist the Van, nor the Van retreat without great disorder, so that the Prince prevailed: *Douglas*, Colonel *Sandys* his Major was slain, and the Colonels own Cornet, the Colonel himself was desperately wounded, and many of his Souldiers killed, and some slaughter was also made of the Princes men.

Col Sandys routed at Worcester by Prince Rupert.

The Prince after the fight drew into *Worcester*, but hearing *Essex* was marching thither with his whole Army, he went away to *Ludlow*, twenty miles from thence; nor was his intelligence ill, for immediately after the fight *Essex* came to *Worcester* with his Army, where he lay a moneth, and from thence he sent the Earl of *Stamford* with a Party to *Hereford* to impede the Kings levies in *Southwales*, and sent other Forces to possess *Glocester* and *Bristol*. The Parliament began now to apprehend the Kings strength; for many began to appear for him in several parts of the Kingdom; in *Yorkshire* and the Northern parts, the Marques of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sir *Francis Wortly*, and many others had raised many Souldiers, and were so powerful, that the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Son, Sir *John Hotham*, and his Son Capt. *Hotham*, who had gathered some men together for the Parliament were not able to appear against them: In *Cornwal* a body was framing under Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, and Sir *Nicholas Slaning*; and Sir *Ralph Hopton* a person of good conduct and courage was hastning to them to assist in their levies, and many others in several parts of the Kingdom were arming on both sides.

Prince Rupert quits Worcester upon the approach of the Earl of Essex.

Glocester and Bristol Garrisons for the Parliament.

The Kings party powerful in the North.

And in Cornwal.

Whilst the affairs of *England* were in this Military posture, *Ireland* was neglected, some few Regiments were sent over from *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Leicesters* Regiment under Colonel *Monck* from *England*, but in no proportion to the necessities of that Kingdom, nevertheless they made many impressions upon their enemies into *Leinster* and *Ulster*, but *Munster* was but meanly supplied.

The King had consented to an Act of Parliament before he left *London*, *For the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesties Kingdom of* Ireland *to their due obedience*; wherein several persons were invited as Adventurers to advance money for that service, who were to be repaid in Land for the same when the Rebels should be subdued, according to the proportions following, for each adventure of 200 *lib.* one thousand Acres in *Ulster*: for three hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Conaght*; for 450 *lib.* one thousand Acres in *Munster*; for six hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in *Leinster*; all according to the English measure, and consisting of Meadow, Arable and profitable pasture, the Boggs, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be cast in, over and above, and to be holden in free and common soccage of the King, as of his Castle *Dublin*, and so for a greater or lesser sums: and it is particularly enacted that no part of that money which should be paid in according to the Act, shall be imployed to any other purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels, until they shall be declared to be subdued. The Parliament nevertheless to enable them the better to set out their Army had diverted 100000 *l.* of this mony, whereat the King was very much offended and resented it very sharply in one of his Messages to them; but they answered, that they did intend speedily to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 900 Suites of Cloathes, with a Chirurgions chest, and some draught Horses going into *Ireland* for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made use of the greatest part of a Brigade raised under my Lord *Wharton* and one Colonel *Horton*, designed for *Munster*, against the King in a Battle which was this year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both sides, it was evident they both thought the security of *England* more considerable to them than that of *Ireland*, which could not well subsist without this.

The Title of the Act.

The Parliament divert some of the money designed for the relief of Ireland, for setting out their own Army.

It was now about the middle of *October* when the King came from *Shrewsbury*, he marched along by *Coventry* and summoned the Town, but by the example of *Hull*, he was denied entrance.

The King denyed entrance into Coventry.

Marching on, he came and lay at *Southam* being but a small distance from *Essex* his Army, from whence he struck a terror into the City of *London* it self, for he was then nearer to *London* then *Essex* was, insomuch that both Houses began to apprehend his approach, and Ordered that the Train Bands should be speedily raised for a Guard and some works for planting of Ordnance in special places about the City of *London* and Suburbs, and the Parliament sent twelve Companies to possess and guard *Windsor* Castle.

The Earl thought it his chief work to march as near to the King as he could; and on the 22 *th.* of *October* he lodged at *Keinton* within six miles of the King, who then lay at one Sir *William Chausey's* house near thereunto, and his forces lodged at *Cropredy* and *Edgecot*.

The King the next morning drew his Army to *Edgehil*, and *Essex* intended to rest all *Sunday* in *Keinton*, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horse, and seven Piece of Cannon who were a days march behind him, but when he heard the Kings Army was in the field, he drew his Army into Battalia, consisting of 12000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and 40 Troops of Horse, and Dragooners; the Kings Army was esteemed about ten thousand Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dragooners, but most of the Foot were very ill armed; at the bottom of *Edgehill*, there was a large Plain, called the *Vale of the Red Horse*, where *Essex* drew his Army into Battalia, about a half mile distant from the foot of *Edgehill*; the main Battel of the Kings Army was led on by the Earl of *Lindsey* on foot, with a Pike in his hand, Prince *Rupert* commanded the Kings right wing, wherein was the greatest strength of Horse, and General *Ruthen*, and Commissary *Wilmot* in the left; the right wing of the

The Battel at Edgehil.

1642. the Parliaments Horſe was commanded by Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and the left which had the greateſt force, by Sir *James Ramſey* then Commiſſary General; the General himſelf was in the Main body, and Sir *John Meldrum* had the Van: the King perceiving the Hedges near the hill lined by ſome Muskettiers of *Eſſex* his Army, ſent Major *Boſtock* and Captain *Hammond* of Sir *Lewis Dives* his Regiment down the Hill to remove them, but in the mean time my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſed three pieces of Cannon to be fired upon the Kings Army, which was anſwered from the King with the like number, and then the Battel began, and was continued with ſuch fury that near ſix thouſand were ſlain upon the place; and certainly the Parliament Army had been undoubtedly ruined that day, and an abſolute Victory gained on the Kings ſide to the concluſion of the War, if the right wing of the Kings Army had not too far purſued the Victory, gained over the left wing of *Eſſex* his Army (which was routed at the firſt charge) but wheeled about to aſſiſt thoſe Regiments that were ſomewhat too much diſtreſſed by their abſence, for they followed the chaſe to *Keinton*, where they ſeized on the Carriages and Wagons of the Enemy, and went two miles further, till they were in ſight of Colonel *Hambden*, who was marching up to the Parliament Army with a Brigade of freſh men: upon ſight of the freſh men, they wheeled about, and though their ſo long abſence was blamed, yet they came time enough to ſecure a Victory to their party, which was before dubious: thoſe of Quality that were loſt of the Kings ſide, were the Earl of *Lindſey*, the Lord *Aubigny*, and Sir *Edmund Verney*: of the Parliaments ſide many were ſlain, but there being but few of equal note in that ſervice to thoſe of the Kings, they are not remembred, only mention is made of the Lord St. *John*, Colonel *Charles Eſſex*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Ramſey*; the Lord *Willoughby* of *Erſby*, Colonel *Vavaſor*, and Sir *Edward Stradling* of the Kings party were taken priſoners: the Kings Standard was taken but regained by Captain *Smith*, who for that ſervice was in the field Knighted Banneret; each part pretended to the Victory, but it went clearly on the Kings ſide, who though he loſt his General, yet he kept the field, and poſſeſs'd the dead bodies, and rifled all the Wagons and Carriages of the Enemy; and not ſo only, but he made his way open to *London* which the Earl before endeavoured to hinder, and in his way in the very ſight as it were of the Earl of *Eſſex*, he took *Banbury* Caſtle, where he had fifteen hundred Arms, and finally entred triumphantly into *Oxford* with no fewer than an hundred and fifty Colours. Amongſt the papers of the Earl of *Eſſex* a Letter was found from one *Blake* that attended the King, and held correſpondence with the the enemy, for which he was tried by a Court Martial, and condemned and executed betwixt *Abington* and *Oxford*.

Banbury Caſtle taken by the King.

The Earl after the Battel marched to *Warwick*, and left the Countrey clear to *London* to the King, and he after a very very ſhort ſtay at *Oxford*, marched through *Abington* to *Henley*, where his Army was two or three days refreſhed, and from thence he made a nearer approach towards *London*, and came to *Colbrook* in the mean time the Earl of *Eſſex* had alſo marched with his Army nearer to *London*, and on the ſeventh of *November* came himſelf to *Weſtminſter*, where he was wellcomed by both Houſes of Parliament, and had a preſent of 5000 *lib.* given to him.

1642. The Earl of Eſſex comes to Weſtminſter an is received with great honour.

Whilſt the King was at *Colbrook*, the Parliament ſent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commoners, wherein in very humble terms, they deſired his Majeſty to ſtay at ſome convenient place not far from *London*, till ſuch time as Committees of Parliament might attend him, with ſome Propoſitions for the removal of the preſent Diſtempers, the King liked well of this Petition, and ſent back the Meſſengers with a very complying anſwer, ſignifying, that he would reſide at his Caſtle at *Windſor*, or any other place if that ſhould not be liked, till ſuch time as Committees might be ſent to him: but the ſame night that he had diſpatcht theſe Meſſengers, news was brought that *Eſſex* had advanced with his Army, and the Artillery towards him, and that having poſſeſt himſelf of *Windſor*, *Kingſton*, and *Acton*, if *Brentford* were likewiſe poſſeſt, the Kings Army would be ſo ſtreightned, that it could neither well move nor ſubſiſt, whereupon a Councel of War being called, it was reſolved that part of the army ſhould advance, & diſpoſſeſs the enemy from *Brentford*, which was accordingly done, & there was for ſome time a very ſharp fight betwixt the Kings forces and thoſe of the Parliament that were there lodged, but the Kings party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then preſent, and ſeveral others, and took 500 priſoners, and as many arms, with 15 pices of Ordnance, 11 Colours and ſtore of Ammunition; and the King was reſolved the next day to have marched to *London*, had not advice come that both the remainder of that Army under *Eſſex*, & the Auxiliaries of *London* under the Earl of *Warwick*, were drawn upon *Turnham-Green* to oppoſe his marching further; whereupon he paſſed his Troops over *Kingſton*-Bridge to *Oatlands*, and from thence to *Redding*, where he left a good Garriſon, and marched with forces to *Oxford*.

The Earl of Eſſex to draw the Army out of *London*, and that part of it was quartered at *Brentford*, whilſt the Committee was with the King, but they endeavoured to excuſe it, by ſaying, that they ſent a Meſſenger with a Letter to know whether his Majeſty intended forbearance of hoſtility, who found the parties in fight, and could not paſs.

The Parliament preſent a petition to the King at Colebrook.

The fight at Brentford in which the Kings party prevailed.

The King marched to Oxford.

The City of *London* were very much inſtigated by ſome incendiaries upon this action of the Kings, and were wrought on to petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the buſineſs of accommodation for which they had the thanks of both Houſes, though the Parliament in a Meſſage to the King, did confeſs that they gave direction to the

The Kings forces in the North, became very conſiderable, the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and the Earl of *Cumberland* being joyned, made up 8000 Horſe and foot, and their power daily increaſed, ſo that the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, Captain *Hotham*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Edward Loftus*, Sir *Matthew Bointon*, Sir *Henry Anderſon* and others who commanded for the Parliament in theſe parts were ill able to

1642. withstand them, and the Kings side received a good addition of strength in those parts by the landing of Collonel *Goring* at *Newcastle* with two hundred Commanders from *Holland*, and other provisions of War, which made the Lord *Fairfax* and those with him implore aid from the Parliament, and they thereof form'd an association of the Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, the Isle of *Ely*, and the City of *Norwich*, whereof the Lord *Grey* of *Wark* was by commission of the Earl of *Essex* made Commander in chief, with authority to raise Forces.

Goring lands with men and Ammunition.

Several Counties associate for the Parliament.

In *February* General *King* a Scotch Commander of great experience in military affairs, came out of *Holland*, landed at *Newcastle*, joyned himself with the Earl of *Newcastle*, and passed to *York* with 6000 Arms. In the same Moneth also, the Queen landed from *Holland* at *Burlington-Bay*, with great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of *Newcastle* to the City of *York*, to which place, the Earl of *Montross*, and the Lord *Ogilby* came to her out of *Scotland* with 120 Horse; and Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, who had the Government of *Scarborough* for the Parliament, declar'd for the King, and presented himself at *York* with 300 men to the Queen for his Service; Sir *John Hotham* also and his Son, were at the same time inclin'd to desert the Parliaments cause, but their intentions were discovered, and they were both seized upon at *Hull*, and sent up to *London*, where they long remained Prisoners in the *Tower*, before the time of their Tryal and execution.

General King lands with 6000 Arms.

The Queen lands with arms and ammunition.

Sir John Hotham and his Son sent up prisoners to the Parliament.

The Parliament having fortified *Glouceſter* with a good Garrison, thought of inlarging their quarters towards *Oxford*, and had in order thereunto, drawn a great strength into *Cirencester*, the King was not well pleased with this neighbourhood, but ordered *Prince Rupert with* 4000 horse and foot, to take the Town, who marching by as if he intended to attempt *Sudely Castle*, (which had been lately before taken by * *Massey*,) when they expected him not, turn'd his whole force upon them, and after about an hours resistance made himself Master of the place, where he took eleven hundred prisoners, and three thousand Arms.

* Governor of Glouceſter.

Cirencester taken for the King by Prince Rupert.

The King was not so exalted by these successes to be well pleased with a War, that brought so much calamity to his people, and therefore he proposed a Treaty to the Parliament, to which after many delaies they consented, and about the beginning of *March*, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *William Ermine*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Bulstrode Whitlock* attended him at *Oxford* with propositions of Peace; but they were such as rather did beseem a conquering than a losing side, yet the King being resolved to treat upon them; howsoever, he found the Commissioners so straightned in time, and so tyed to such particular instructions as the Houses had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduce to the composing of the present distempers, so that after many messages betwixt *London* and *Oxford*, the Parliament sent to their Commissioners to return to *London* upon the 17 *th.* of *April*; upon which the Earl of *Essex* immmediately advanc'd with his Army to besiege *Redding* then a Garrison for the King.

The Treaty at Oxford proves ineffectual.

1643. The King upon the first notice sent a supply of 700 Musketteers to the Town, and some store of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town against so great an Army, continually supply'd from *London* with fresh men, provisions and ammunition.

The King therefore after a while sent a good body of Horse and Foot to relieve the Town, who assaulted a quarter of the Parliaments Army at *Causam Bridge* within a mile of it, where many of the Kings Forces were slain, and forced to retreat, but those in the Garrison were thought to have failed in performance of their duty, in not drawing out a sufficient party to have made a diversion at the same time, but the failer herein, was imputed to Collonel *Feilding* then Lieutenant Governor for Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governor, who was disabled from service by a bruise or wound he had received in the siege, so that within 16 daies of *Essex* his first sitting down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but honourable enough, *viz.* All the Forces to march out in war-like manner with 50 Carts for carriage, free passage to *Oxford*, the Town to be sav'd from plunder, and that whosoever would, might have liberty to leave it within six weeks after.

Redding surrendred to Essex by Col. Feilding deputy Governor.

The Town of *Redding* was infected with a pestilential Feaver when *Essex* enter'd it, which caused a great sickness and mortality amongst his Souldiers, besides which, they were much discontented for want of pay, so that when he removed to *Causam* House to avoid the infection, many of his Souldiers unanimously disbanded and went away; but though he gain'd nothing by this Town, the murmur at *Oxford* was great for the losing of it, and Collonel *Feilding* was accused of treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court martial, was sentenced to be shot to death, but by the Kings clemency he was pardoned.

About this time scarce any County of *England* was free from the War, and in most places the Kings parties were victorious; In *Warwick-shire*, *Northampton-shire*, and *Stafford-shire*, many encounters passed betwixt the Kings Forces under Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Northampton* of the Kings side, and the Lord *Brooke*, Sir *John Gell*, and Sir *William Brereton* for the Parliament, by one of which the Earl of *Northampton* lost his life, and the Lord *Brooks* was slain before the Town of *Lichfeild*, which was afterward taken by his Souldiers, and again retaken by Prince *Rupert*.

The Earl of of Northampton routing the Parliaments Forces, is himself slain.

Lichfield taken by Prince Rupert.

In *York-shire* and those more Northern parts, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son did take some Towns, and do more than could be expected from so little force, but after a while, the whole Countrey was subdued by the Kings Arms, and they were forced into *Hull*.

York-shire subdued by the Kings Arms.

The greatest part of *Wales* was for the King, but to prevent the increase of his good fortune: The Earl of *Stamford* was sent with an Army into the West, where Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with some Forces of the Kings, lay before *Plimmouth* then a Garrison for the Parliament, but upon the Earls advance, he drew from thence, and fought and defeated a great part of the Earls Forces; after this, a truce was made betwixt the Earl and Sir *Ralph*

The Earl of Stamfords Forces defeated by Sir Ralph Hopton.

1643. *Ralph Hopton* for twenty daies, and in the mean time Sir *George Chudleigh* who had been very active and succesful for the Parliament in *Devonshire*, began to reflect upon his past actions, and by considering the pretences of both parties, resolved with himself not to hazard his life and reputation, but upon what he thought a most just cause, and hereupon he quitted his side, and joyned with the Kings Forces, but to satisfie his friends with the reason of his so doing he publish'd a short declaration to this effect.

Sir George Chudleighs declaration, shewing the reason of his deserting the Parliament.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawful, but Arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My Lot (saith he) fell to be cast on the Parliament side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my Judgement then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Liberty seemed to me to be in danger, but the destruction of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the losse of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects losse of their Estates by Plunder or Assessement concur with Piety, nor yet with propriety: as for Religion, which is the chief, his Majesty (whom God long preserve) hath given us unquestionable Security. I have cast my self at my Soveraigns feet, and implored his gratious pardon. I will contend no more in word or deed. And this my Resolution with the undisputable grounds thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and Countrey-men, that they may understand my change to proceed from no compulsion.

This addition of strength was very advantagecus to the King; for shortly after in a Battail fought at *Stratton* in *Cornwall*, the Earl of *Stamford* was overthrown, and inforced to betake himself to the City of *Exeter*, whither Sir *Ralph* and Sir *George Chudleigh*, with the *Devon-shire* and *Cornish* Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so straightened it, that they had opportunity to imploy the main body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Marques of *Hartford* who had raised many Regiments, the greatest part of the West was reduced to the Kings obedience. *Bristol* was designed to be seized on for the King about the beginning of *May*, by one Mr. *Robert Yeomans*, late Sheriff of the City, and *William Yeomans* his Brother, with Mr. *George Bourchier*, and Mr. *Edward Dacres*, and some others of their friends who had Commission from the King to liste Forces, & possesse themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, Prince *Rupert* hover'd thereabouts with a party of 5000 men, but the raising and listing of Souldiers made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caused the four above-mentioned to be seized on, and tryed by a Court Marshal, who condemn'd them all, and *Robert Yeomans* and *Bourchier* were on the 30*th.* of *May* executed, and the like fate hapned to some worthy Gentlemen and other Eminent Citizens of *London*, who intended to have contrived a meane to have put a period to the present War, by stopping the issues of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of *London*, and seizing several Members of Parliament. It was detected by one *Roe* a Servant to Mr. *Tomkins*, on the last day of *May*; The chief Actors were, Mr. *Edmond Waller* a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. *Tomkins*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Hasell*, Mr. *White*, and Mr. *Blinkorne*, who were to be strengthened in their endeavors by the Kings Commission of Array brought to *London* privately by the Lady *Aubigny*; but upon this detection, all was blasted, and the persons before named, were all tried by a Court Martial at *Guild-Hall*, and condemned, whereof Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Chaloner* were on the 5*th.* of *July* executed; Mr. *Waller* after a years imprisonment in the Tower, paid a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was for ten years banished into *France*. 1643.

The Earl of Stamford overthrown at Stratton in Cornwal.

Yeomans & Bourchier executed at Bristol for endeavouring to seize the Town for the King.

The like hapned to several Gentlemen and Citizens of London for a design laid to seize it.

Sir *William Waller* about the time of *Edge-Hill* Fight, had received a Commission to be Collonel of a Regiment of Horse, and had gained a great reputation with the Parliament and the City of *London*, for some service he did that Winter with Collonel *Hurrey*, Collonel *Browne*, and some others in the taking of *Chichester*, and hindring levies for the King in *Sussex*, so that he was furnished with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his party in *Wiltshire*, *Glocester-shire*, *Monmouth* and *Hereford-shire*, wherein he took many Towns possessed by the Kings Souldiers, and was very succesful, but whilst he was active in those parts, the Parliament pressed the Earl of *Essex* to march towards *Oxford* to streighten that Garrison, and take some order by the conjunction of the forces of the associates, to hinder *Prince Ruperts* joyning with the Queen; In prosecution whereof, he march'd with his Army to those parts of *Buckingham-shire* which were neerest to *Oxford*, and setled his head quarters at *Thame*; upon his coming thither, the weather was very unseasonable, and great rains fell, so that his Souldiers became very weak and sickly, and much mortality ensued, but to put a good face upon his condition, he frequently sent out parties upon several occasions, though little or no service was at any time perform'd by them, but about the sixteenth of *June*, intelligence came to *Oxford* that a great party of Parliamenteers was then quartered at *Postcombe* and *Chimer* in *Oxford-shire* towards *Thame*, and Prince *Rupert* drew out a good party to attack them in their quarters, which he did, and took many Prisoners, but upon the Alarm, Collonel *Hambden*, with *Sheffield* and others of *Essex* his Army, drew into *Chalgrove-Field*, with design to fight the Prince, where he drew towards them, and after a brisk charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and horses and arms; and killd many, Major *Gunter* was shot dead upon the place, and Collonel *Sheffield* and Mr. *Hambden* were both very much wounded, of which the last died three or four daies after, it being observed, That he received his wounds in that field where he first executed the Parliaments Commission for the *Militia*, against the Kings authority; upon this affront *Essex* draws his Army off to *Bristol*, with a purpose to recruit his Regiments with some forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much busied to spare any assistance. About this time (or a little before) the Parliament resolved upon a very extraordinary action, which was the making of a new great Seal, it had some opposition in the debate, but by a majority of voices in both houses,

Essex marches towards Oxford.

Hambden & Sheffeild routed by Prince Rupert.

A new great Seal voted by the Parliament.

1643. Houſes it was voted to be done; yet to put ſome colour on the enterprize, they paſſed an Order, That if the Lord Keeper *Littleton* upon ſummons did not return with the Great Seal within fourteen days, he ſhould looſe his place, and what ever ſhould be ſealed therewith by him after that time ſhould be null and void in Law. But this menacing Vote did not bring the Great Seal from *Oxford*; ſo that their new Great Seal was made, and ſome few moneths after the uſe of it authorized by Ordinance of both Houſes.

The Queen marcheth with her Forces towards the King.

The Queen was now marching with ſix or ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot towards the King, but in the way ſhe was ſo careful of *Lincolnſhire* and *Nottingamſhire*, that ſhe left twenty Troops of Horſe and two thouſand Foot, with Arms for five hundred more under the Command of Colonel *Charles Cavendiſh* who did eminent ſervice before and after in thoſe Counties. About the 13 *th.* of *June* ſhe came to *Newark*, and was there well-comed with a Victory obtained three days before over ſome of the Parliaments Forces by the ſame Colonel *Cavendiſh* at *Dunnington* in *Lincolnſhire*: after ſome ſtay at *Newark*, her Army marched to *Burton* upon *Trent*, which was taken by the Lord *Jermine* Commander in Chief of her Army, and from thence ſhe went by eaſie marches to *Stratford* upon *Avon*, where Prince *Rupert* came to her with many Troops from *Oxford*, ſhe had with her when he met her three thouſand good foot, and thirty Troops of Horſe and Dragoons, with ſix pieces of Ordnance, two Mortar-pieces, and a hundred and fifty Wagons which with thoſe of the Prince made up a better Army than *Eſſex* could make to oppoſe them; for his men were waſted by ſickneſs to a very inconſiderable number, and he drew them to *Kingſton* and other places near *London*, to lie there till he could recruit. In the mean time the rent betwixt the King and Parliament became wider than ever, for now they proceeded to that height to draw up Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen, ſome of them were:

The Parliamentarians beaten at Dunnington in Lincolnſhire by Col. Cavendiſh.

Articles of High Treaſon againſt the Queen.

1. *That ſhe had pawned the Crown Jewels in* Holland.

2. *That ſhe had favoured the Rebellion in* Ireland.

3. *That ſhe had endeavoured to raiſe a party in* Scotland *againſt the Parliament; and that ſhe had gone in the head of a Popiſh Army in* England, for ſo they termed the Forces with her (though few or none of that Religion were amongſt them) divers other Articles were framed againſt her; upon which Mr. *Pym* carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: they were (or ſeemed to be) at firſt ſurprized at ſo extraordinary a matter, but after ſome time they agreed to the Charge.

The ſucceſſes of Sir *William Waller* gave ſo great a reputation to his Army that the King ſent for his Weſtern Forces towards *Oxford* to hinder the progreſs of his fortune, for it was feared at *Oxford* if he had not ſome check he might make himſelf maſter of *Ludlow* and *Worceſter* and ſo bring a great tract of Land and many conſiderable Garriſons into the power of the Parliament: Sir *Ralph Hopton* in purſuance of his Orders was marched into *Sommerſetſhire* and Prince *Maurice* with the Earl of *Carnarvon* and a good ſtrength of Horſe were ſent from *Oxford* to joyn with him. Sir *William Waller* was come to *Bath* with his Army, with whom Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Sir *John Horner*, and Mr. *Strode* were joyned, and they marched towards Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and came ſo near him, that on the third and fourth of *July* ſome skirmiſhes had paſſed betwixt ſome parties of each ſide, and priſoners were taken of both parties, but on *Wedneſday* the 5 *th.* of *July* the two Armies engaged at a place called *Lanſdown* about eight miles from *Briſtol*, and the fight was maintained betwixt them from two in the afternoon till one the next morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the field, and the Kings party had gained a great Victory, if by accident their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were ſlain, and above twenty wounded, whereof Sir *Ralph Hopton* himſelf was one, & in the battel Sir *Bevil Greenville* a perſon of great renown & integrity to the Kings Cauſe was ſlain, together with Mr. *Leak* a hopeful young Gentleman Son to the Earl of *Scarſdale*, who was found dead in the field with the Colours of the enemy about his arm, as alſo one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and two Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliaments ſide was not known, becauſe the publiſhers of ſuch actions were unwilling to be very particular in their relations that they might not too much diſcourage their party.

1643. Landsdown Fight.

Waller being advertiſed of what had happened having got ſome freſh men from *Briſtol* marched after *Hopton*, hoping to ingage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himſelf, ſo that he was forced to retire to the *Devizes* a Town in *Wiltſhire*, and there he was by *Waller* block'd up, and after a while he became ſo diſtreſſed that he began to treat about the ſurrender of it, (for Prince *Maurice* was with the Horſe retired towards *Oxford*) but immediately the fortune of War changed, for the King having notice of *Hoptons* condition, ſent Commiſſary *Wilmot* with the Earl of *Carnarvon* and *Crawfords* Regiments of Horſe and others to the number of fifteen hundred to relieve him; upon whoſe approach near to Sir *William Waller*, he drew off to a place called *Round-way-down*, where the Horſe began the fight, but after a while both Horſe and Foot encountred each other, and *Wallers* Army was totally vanquiſhed; and four braſs Guns, and all the Ammunition and Baggage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horſe, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot; Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* was wounded; and many other Officers, and a great number of Soldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 13 *th.* of *July*, on the ſame day whereon the King and the Queen met at the foot of *Edgehil*, where the firſt Battel betwixt him and the Earl of *Eſſex*, had been fought as was before mentioned; their meeting after ſo long abſence and on ſo ſad an occaſion was very joyful to each other, they went that night to Sir *Thomas Popes* houſe at *Wroxon*, where they lay all night, and the next morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of *York*, and their Army with the Carriages and Ammunition to *Woodſtock* and from thence to *Oxford*, where her coming was rather to a triumph than a War.

Waller defeated at Roundway-down.

The King and Queen meet at Edghil.

May's Abridgment. fol. 100.

The

1643. The King being willing to profit himself of this good success to his forces, ordered Prince *Rupert* to joyn himself with his Brother and the whole body of his strength in those parts and to march immediately to *Bristol*. Before which place he came on the four and twentieth of *July*, and summoned it to be surrendred to him: Colonel *Nathaniel Fines* Son to the Lord *Say* and *Seal* was then Governour of the City who made a shew of great resistance, but yet after three days it was surrendred upon the ensuing Articles.

Bristol delivered up to Prince Rupert.

1. *That none of the Citizens should be molested in their persons or goods.*
2. *That every Officer should march forth with his Arms.*
3. *That every Trooper should ride out with his Horse and his sword.*
4. *That every Souldier should march away with his Sword, Bag, and Baggage.*
5. *That a safe Convoy should be allowed for twenty miles.*

A fews days after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the affairs of those parts, where presently after his arrival he received news of the surrender of *Dorchester* to the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and a day or two after *Portland*, *Weymouth* and *Melcombe* submitted to his forces, so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the farthest part of *Cornwal* except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after the Lord *Fairfax* and all his forces were defeated at *Adderton Moor*, and he and them driven into *Hull* by the Earl of *Newcastle*: and from thence Northward even to the borders of *Scotland* there was no Army in the field to hinder the King and his forces from marching whither they pleased: *London* was then altogether unsatisfied, & many in it favoured the Kings cause, and most of the chief Gentry of the associated Counties were ready upon any appearance for the King to have secured those Counties to him, wherefore it was expected that in this conjuncture of affairs the King would have marched with his Army to *London*, and the Earl of *Newcastle* with his into the associated Counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, whereby a sudden end would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War, which was not only the opinion of those in the Kings Quarters, but many at *London* and in the Parliament were of the same mind, and some of them deserted the Party and submitted to the King, and others were on the point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these hopes the King against his own judgment was at a Councel of War over-ruled to go to besiege *Gloucester*, and a few days after the Earl of *Newcastle* sate down before *Hull*; To this fatal City of *Gloucester* the King in person with his Army marched in the beginning of *August*, and about the 10 *th.* he sate down before it, and by two Heraulds summoned the City to be surrendred to him; to which summons within two hours an answer was drawn and consented unto both by the Citizens and Souldiers, which was presented to the King by Major *Pudsey* and one *Toby Jordan* a Citizen of the place, in these words:

Several places in the West submit to the King.

The L. Fairfax defeated at Adderton Moor by the Earl of Newcastle.

Hull besieged by the Earl of Newcastel, and Glocester besieged by the King.

1643.

We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within this Garrison of Glocester, *unto his Majesties gratious Message return this humble answer, That we do keep this City according to our Oaths and Allegiance to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal posterity. And do accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by both Houses of Parliament, and are resolved by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.*

The King received this answer without any expression of choller or indignation, seeming only to wonder at their confidence, for in all appearance they could have no hope of relief, the whole number of Souldiers, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from *Barkly* Castle, amounted to few more than fifteen hundred, forty barrels of powder was all their store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a service, and the works were of a great compass and little more than half perfected: so that it was generally believed, the King would rather presently have attempted the Town by a storm, whilst they were yet in some consternation, than wasted his time and Souldiers by a Siege: but by all the intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no condition to send any forces to disturb him, and his Councel of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little expence of time, than by exposing the hazard of so many of their lives in an assault. So that a close Siege was made on all sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the news of this Siege, and used all the endeavours possibly to recruit *Essex* his broken Army for the relief of it; the first thing they did was to cause 2000 men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of *London*, by consent of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train-Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries, and a Regiment of Horse, nor were they less mindful of the North, for the Army from *Scotland* which they had invited to their assistance could not be ready soon enough to secure these parts, wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy pressing of 20000 men to be raised out of the six Associate Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Cambridge*, *Hartford*, and *Huntington*, to be put under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*. In preparation whereunto Colonel *Oliver Cromwel* was very active, he had the year before the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of *Cambridge*, and obstructed many Levies for the King in *Cambridgeshire*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*; but sometime before this he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by authority thereof he raised a Regiment of Horse consisting of a thousand, with which he was imployed in several of the North-west parts of *England*, where he joyned as occasion

1642. cafion offered with Sir *William Brereton*, Sir *John Gell*, the Lord *Grey* of *Groby*, and others, and did very conſiderable ſervice to his party; his great deſign was by this new Army to attempt to change the whole Diſcipline of the Parliaments Militia, for having obſerved that the Kings Horſe, who were his greateſt ſtrength conſiſted of Gentlemen, or the ſervants of ſuch, and that theſe led on by a ſenſe of Honour, did in moſt encounters worſt their enemies, he believed if the Parliament Horſe could be framed of the moſt zealous of their party, ſuch as were perſwaded by the preaching of the Miniſters that the Cauſe was Gods Cauſe, and that all their religious Liberties were at ſtake in it, and thoſe that died therein died in the favour of God, and in aſſurance of Salvation, they might ſet this ſenſe of Conſcience againſt the other ſenſe of Honor, and be in better hopes of ſucceſs than before; and this method he put in practiſe as far as he could in the new raiſed forces before-mentioned, whereof moſt of the Officers were very great zealots, and the Souldiers by degrees became of the ſame leven, and thoſe were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

Eſſex muſters his Army at Hounſlow-Heath.

On the 24 *th.* of *Auguſt* the Earl of *Eſſex* drew all his Army together to *Hounſlow*, where allmoſt all the Members of both Houſes of Parliament were preſent, the remainder of his old Army was well recruited, and he had got ſome additional Regiments of Horſe, beſides the Horſe and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant appearance. That night he marched to *Colbrook*, where he ſtaid a day for ſome more men that were to come to him, and then he marched to *Beckonsfield*, and ſo forward to *Beerton*, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it ſcarce credible that an Army could have been ſo ſoon got together, but ſince it was ſo, he ſent out parties to obſtruct their march, but they marched ſo cloſe, and in ſo good order, that little obſtruction could be given to his progreſs; ſo that by the fifth of *September* he came to *Presbury* Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City, and diſcharged four pieces of great Ordnance to give them notice of his approach, which was at a time when the Kings forces were prepared ready for a ſtorm, the beſieged in want, and their Ammunition conſumed to three Barrels of powder: but upon conſultation had by the King with the General Officers, it was reſolv'd the Army ſhould draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were ſet on fire. *Eſſex* marched thence to *Cheltenham*, and ſtayed there two days, and from thence on the 8 *th.* of *September* he went with his whole Army to *Gloceſter*, where he ſtaid two nights till he had furniſhed the City with Ammunition, money, and other neceſſaries, and from thence marched to *Tenksbury*, ſtaying betwixt the Kings forces and that Garriſon four days, to give them more time the better to furniſh themſelves with Victuals: whilſt he ſtayed there he had advice that a body of the Kings Army were then in *Cirenceſter* Caſtle, and there had laid in great ſtores of Proviſion; upon which advertiſement, want of Victuals and neceſſaries increaſing upon his whole Army, he made a long march with

Gloucester relieved by Eſſex.

Cirenceſter taken by Eſſex.

the Van-guard of his Troops to fall upon them, 1643.
which he did about one of the Clock in the morning, ſending in a party of Horſe to ſeize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilſt himſelf with the reſt of the Horſe begirt the Town, and a Forlorn-hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entred into it, and ſurpriſed two Regiments of Horſe (belonging to Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* and Colonel *Spencer*) here he found thirty load of proviſion, which proved a great relief to his Army, then in extreme diſtreſs for want thereof. Having proved ſucceſsful in this encounter, he by ſhort marches paſſed from thence to *Cricklade*, ſo to *Swinden*, intending to paſs thorow *Hungerford*, but paſſing over *Oburn* Chace, Prince *Rupert* with the greateſt part of the Kings Horſe charged the whole Army by two commanded parties, one under the Lord *Jermyn*, and the other under Colonel *Urrey*, who performed their duties ſo well, that many great Bodies of *Eſſex* his Horſe and Foot were diſordered with little loſs to the Kings Souldiers or Officers, ſave only to the Marqueſs *de la Vienville*, a young *French* Nobleman, who was a very brave and Generous Cavalier, and unfortunately ſlain.

Prince Rupert with the Kings Horſe diſorders Eſſex his whole Army.

Eſſex from thence marched to *Hungerford*, and the Prince ſent an expreſs to the King then at *Wantage*, deſiring him to advance with all haſt to *Newberry*, the better to hinder *Eſſex*'s march to *London*, which was the thing he chiefly endeavored. The King was glad of the advice, and in purſuance of it he marched away to *Newberry*; where he got before *Eſſex*; the next day the Parliament Army marched from *Hungerford* toward *Newberry*, but hearing the Kings forces had poſſeſt the Town, they lay that night in the field, but the next morning by break of day *Eſſex* gave orders to march to a hill, called *Biggs-hill* near *Newberry*, which with ſome ſtruggle he gained, but the Forlorn of the Kings Army by endeavouring to hinder him of ſo advantageous a place, did there begin the fight, which was very vigorouſly proſecuted on both ſides till night came on, that both parties drew off. The next day *Eſſex* found his way open towards *Reading*, ſo that although the loſs was equal to both Armies (ſaving that as the Quality of the Commanders were greater on the Kings ſide, more eminent Perſons of that party were ſlain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, becauſe they gained thereby their way to *London*, from which the King ſtrove to hinder them. The number of the ſlain in this Battel is not recorded, Captain *Maſſey*, Captain *Hunt*, and divers other Officers of *Eſſex* his Army were killed, but not many of higher rank than Captains; three of the Nobility fell on the Kings ſide, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Faukland*. After this Fight the King marched to *Oxford*, and the Earl of *Eſſex* drew his Army to *Reading*, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near *London*: but the King on the 3 *d.* of *October* finding *Reading* free placed a good Garriſon in it.

The fight at Newberry.

The Gentlemen of *Norfolk* hearing the great ſucceſs of the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* in *Yorkſhire*, did expect his march into that and the reſt of the aſſociated Counties, and in confidence thereof, they ſeiz'd on *Lyn*, and put a Garriſon

into

1643. into it for the King, but whilſt the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* vainly thought to take in *Hull*, before he left *York-ſhire*, the Earl of *Mancheſter* with Collonel *Cromwell*, and what Forces they could haſtily get together, marched into *Norfolk*, and beſieged *Lyn*, which in deſperation of relief after a few daies was yielded to them, and to ſave the Town from plunder, the Earl impos'd a fine upon the Inhabitants of 10*s.* a man to every private Souldier, and a Moneths pay to every Officer, which amounted to 30000*l.* and a while after, namely on the eleventh of *October*, Sir *John Meldrum* march'd out of *Hull*, with two bodies of foot under the command of Collonel *Lambert* and Captain *Rainſbrough*, and fell upon the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtles* quarters before the Town, driving them from their Out-works & Trenches, where they kill'd fourſcore of his Souldiers, and took 110 priſoners, and nine great pieces of Ordnance, and forced himſelf to retreat to *Beverley*, from whence afterward, all his Army march'd away, and left the Town free: yet Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and thoſe in the Town, were not in a condition to take the field, but *Meldrum* was diſpatch'd to *London* to ſollicite for forces to be ſent to *Hull* to make up an Army, but in the mean time, the Earl of *Newcaſtle* having received great quantities of Arms from *Denmark*, which were brought to *Scarbrough*, uſed diligence to augment his Army to be able not only to oppoſe the Scots, which were very near ready to march into *England*, but to ſtrengthen *Newark*, and the Kings other Garriſons in the Northern parts, whereof *Lincolne* and ſome others had been taken by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, whilſt the Earl of *Newcaſtles* Army lay before *Hull*, and others had been much diſtreſſed: But whilſt theſe things were acted in the North, many conſiderable occurrences happened in other parts, which deſerve to be mentioned.

Lyn ſeized on, & made a Garriſon for the King by the Norfolk Gentlemen. But beſieged and taken by Mancheſter and Cromwel.

The Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle beaten from Hull.

The King being moved with compaſſion of the ſad condition of his Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, for want of relief and ſupply of money, Munition, Arms, Proviſions, Clothes, and all other neceſſaries: for the Parliament, who had undertaken the managery of that War, and raiſed great ſums of money for that end, imployed the greateſt part of it in the War in *England* againſt the King, ſo that many of the Engliſh Souldiers, unable to endure the inſupportable neceſſity that lay upon them, did many times ſeize on Ships, and force the Mariners to tranſport them to *England*, which being repreſented to the King, He in *July* this year, ſent a Commiſſion to the Marqueſs of *Ormond* then Lieutenant General of the Engliſh Army, to treat with the Iriſh for a ceſſation of Arms for one year, which after ſome time, upon the 15 *th.* of *September* was agreed to by both parties, and whilſt this ceſſation was making in *Ireland*, the Kings Armies in the Weſtern parts of *England* were very proſperous; inſomuch, that about the ſame time, or a little before, *Biddiford*, *Appleford*, *Barnſtable* and *Exeter*, were ſurrendred to the King by the victorious arms of Prince *Maurice*, who from *Exeter* march'd to *Dartmouth*, which place was on the ſixth of *October* ſurrendred likewiſe to him, ſo that though the King was unfortunately prevail'd with to loſe the opportunity of ending the War, by beſieging *Glouceſter* and *Hull*, yet was his condition at this time much better than the year before; for whereas a twelve moneth paſt, he had in all the Weſt but the County of *Cornwall*, and in *York-ſhire* no more than that City and *Pomfret* Caſtle, and except at *Redding*, *Wallingford*, and *Abington*, not a Souldier quartered out of *Oxford*, not a Ship nor Port except *Newcaſtle* and *Fawmouth*, and as the Parliament themſelves publiſhed, not ten thouſand men in Arms, he had now five Armies in being, and was poſſeſſed of all the Weſtern Counties and Garriſons therein, except *Plymouth*, *Lyn* and *Poole*, and of all *York-ſhire*, *Hull* only excepted, and in *Cheſhire* none but *Namptwitch* ſtood out againſt him, and *Wales* was wholly His; and though the Parliament got from him, *Stafford*, *Warrington*, *Lyn*, *Lincolne*, and ſome other inconſiderable Garriſons; the King in lieu of thoſe gained from them, *Saltaſh*, *Cirenceſter*, *Burmingham*, *Leige*, *Lichfeild*, *Bradford*, *Hallifax*, *Wakefield*, *Dainton*, *Briſtol*, *Bath*, *Dorcheſter*, *Weymouth*, *Biddiford*, *Barnſtable*, *Appleford*, *Tenby*, *Haverford-weſt*, *Pembroke* and *Exeter*, and as to *Glouceſter*, great care was taken to hinder excurſions from that Garriſon; Sir *William Vavaſor* was ſent with a ſtrong party of Horſe to engariſon *Hereford*, with commiſſion to raiſe Forces, and to command in Chief in that County and *Glouceſter-ſhire*; *Sudeley* Caſtle was garriſoned by the Lord *Chandois* for the King, which ſtop'd *Glouceſters* entercourſe with *Warwick*, the only way of Commerce with *London*; *Berkley* Caſtle was for the King maintained by a Scottiſh Captain. Sir *John Winter* was ſtrongly ſetled in the Forreſt of *Deane*, a Garriſon was likewiſe put into *Beverſton* Caſtle, and indeed Garriſons there were in every corner of the County, beſides ſeveral parties of the Kings Army which lay abroad in the Fields about it; ſo that *Glouceſter* was almoſt as much diſtreſſed as if it had been beſieged, they being inforced to fight or skirmiſh for whatever they got. In the mean time, an additional ſupply of one thouſand Foot, and one hundred Horſe, under the command of Sir *William St. Leger* and Collonel *Min*, landed out of *Ireland* to the Kings aid, and were with eight pieces of Ordnance ordered to advance to *Thornbury*, the more to diſtreſſe the City of *Glouceſter*.

1643.

Many places Garriſon'd for the King, by Sir William Vavaſour and others.

More Forces ſent the King from Ireland.

A ceſſation of Arms agreed upon in Ireland.

Divers places in the Weſt ſurrendred to the King.

The French King and the Queen Regent of *France*, ſeem'd very ſenſible of the Kings condition, and ſent the Count *de Harcourt* (a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*, and a great Souldier,) their Embaſſador into *England*, to offer the mediation of *France* to compoſe the differences betwixt the King and the Parliament; He came firſt to *London*, and addreſt himſelf to both Houſes for a ſafe conduct to *Oxford* to the King, which they granted, and on the 18 *th.* of *October* he made his entry into that City, and three daies after, he had publick audience in the great Hall at *Chriſts Church*, where the King and Queen receiv'd him with great State and Magnificence; and whilſt he ſtaid at *Oxford*, he and his retinue were lodg'd in St. *John's Colledg*, but finding himſelf unable to effect any thing of his Embaſſy, after a few moneths ſtay, he returned. Sir *William Waller* who had lain long in *London* to forme an Army, had at laſt got together ſix thouſand Horſe and Foot, with which he was about this

The French King ſends an Ambaſſador to mediate between the King and the Parliament.

1643. time lain down before *Basing-House*, where he met with no better successe than the King had at *Glouceſter*, but whilſt he was there, the City preſt the Earl of *Eſſex* to beſiege *Redding*, but he found himſelf not in a condition for ſuch a ſervice, but march'd to *Uxbridge*, and ſo to St. *Albans*, where he kept his head quarters, and ſent out parties to ſeveral places to oppoſe the Kings Forces, which were very active in many places, though not alwaies fortunate; for about this time the Lord *Widdrington* with Collonel *Henderſon*, and a good party of Horſe and Foot, were met near *Horne* Caſtle in *Lincoln-ſhire*, by the Parliaments forces under the command of the Earl of *Manchester*, betwixt whom there was a ſharp Fight, wherein Sir *Ingram Hopton* an Officer of the Kings, had once unhors'd Collonel *Cromwell*, but he was again quickly mounted, and the Kings party put to the worſt, and Sir *Ingram Hopton* and ſome few others were ſlain. The King ſhortly after this misfortune, was recompenced with the good news of 4000 Engliſh Foot landed in *North-Wales*, out of *Ireland*, under Sir *Michael Erneley*, who immediately after their landing, took in *Hawardin* Caſtle neer *Cheſter*, and might afterwards have proved more ſerviceable than they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were into ſeveral parts of his Armies, but been kept together under their old and known Commanders.

Lord Widdrington worſted by Manchester in Lincolnſhire.

The Scots promiſed to the Parliament (from whom Commiſſioners were ſent to *Edenburgh* about that buſineſs,) that they would bring into *England* to their aſſiſtance, an Army conſiſting of one and twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot, towards the charge of raiſing whereof, the Parliament ſent 100000 *l.* into *Scotland*, and great levies of men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together, but ſome at *Oxford* had ſo good an opinion of the Scots, that they would hardly be brought to believe they would invade *England*, till they ſaw them in the bowels of the Nation; for General *Leſley* with great imprecations upon himſelf, as has been before expreſt in this Hiſtory, proteſted never to draw his ſword againſt the King, but the ruling party in *Scotland* to facilitate the raiſing of this Army, had raiſed a report that the King was deſerted by moſt of his Nobility.

The Scots raiſe an Army for the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament.

The King repoſing great truſt in the Duke of *Hamilton*, had written to him to uſe all his power and intereſt to keep his Countrey-men at home, which had not been difficult for one of his credit in that Nation; but he by ſome ſecret Arts did more inflame them, and to cover his deceit, pretended to fly from *Scotland* to *Oxford*, where he came about the laſt of *December*, pretending to ſeek a ſhelter there for his loyaltie, but the King had ſo good information of his practices in *Scotland*, that as ſoon as he came thither, he and the Earl of *Lanerick* his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon *Lanerick* got privately out of *Oxford*, and went to *London*, where he was well received, which increaſed the Kings ill opinion of his Brother, and he was ſent priſoner to *Pendennis* Caſtle.

The D. of Hamilton ſent priſoner to Pendennis Caſtle.

The King had on the 22 *th.* of *December* ſummoned the Members of both Houſes, who had deſerted thoſe at *Weſtminſter* to aſſemble at *Oxford* on the 22 *th.* of *January* following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at *Chriſts Church*, & after the King had made a ſhort Speech to them, he diſmiſt them to their ſeats. The Lords ſate in the upper Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation-Houſe, and for their better welcome, he advanced Prince *Rupert* to the Titles of Duke of *Cumberland*, and Earl of *Holderneſs*, and created *James* his ſecond Son, Duke of *York*, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his birth, that they might ſit and vote amongſt them. After they had ſat a while, by a letter they mov'd the Earl of *Eſſex* to endeavour peace, and did alſo declare againſt the Invaſion of the Scots by another letter ſent to them, in which they acquainted them with the falſeneſs of their reports concerning the King, and ſhewed how inconſiderable a number of Lords were with thoſe that invited them in; the King himſelf writ alſo to them to put them in mind of their ſeveral ingagements to be quiet, but before thoſe letters could come to *Scotland*, and indeed ſome daies before the Parliament had aſſembled at *Oxford*, the Scots Army was marched into *England*, but when the letters came to the ruling party at *Edenburgh*, with a ſtrange unheard of inſolency, they commanded them to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman, but the diſhonour of that Nation was in a great meaſure repaired by the gallantry and faithfulneſſe of the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who about the time of this their Invaſion, was made General Governour of *Scotland*, and with an incredible induſtry by ſmall numbers of men won many Battails, and overthrew well form'd Armies, whereof ſome relation ſhall be made hereafter, and had he not been betrayed by thoſe he truſted, he had forc'd that people to Juſtice and quietneſſe. Upon the entry of the Scotch Army into *England*, a letter was writ from *Barwick* in the name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, ſubſcribed by the Marqueſſe of *Argile* and Sir *William Armine* to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, who then lay at *Anwick* with 16 Troops of Horſe, two Regiments of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, wherein it was ſignified, *That they came into* England *to proſecute the ends of the Covenant, namely, the Preſervation and Reformation of Religion, the true honour and happineſs of the King, and the publick peace and liberty of his Dominions, hoping that things of ſo great and conſiderable conſequence would find with him and them ſuch entertainment as might anſwer the weight and importance of them: Adding, That if miſinformation, or any other unhappy grounds ſhould ſo far prevail with him and the reſt, as to reckon them in the number of their enemies; and if inſtead of that concurrence with them which they wiſhed and hoped to deſerve, they found oppoſition and acts of Hoſtility, the Law of Nature and their own reaſon, might tell them what they were to expect.* Sir *Thomas* return'd an anſwer to this Letter, to this purpoſe,

1643. The King ſummons a Parliament at Oxford.

Prince Rupert made Duke of Cumberland, and James the Kings ſecond ſon created Duke of York.

The Scotch Army enters England.

The Marqueſſe of Montroſs made General Governor of Scotland.

A Letter to Sir Thomas Glemham, ſhewing the reaſons of their Armies march into England.

That there being none with him but Officers, he could not return an anſwer ſo ſuddenly by their Trumpeter, but he ſaid he would ſend to the Gentlemen of the County to give him a meeting, and thereupon they ſhould receive an anſwer by a Trumpeter

Sir Thomas Glemham's Anſwer to the Letter.

1643. petter of his own, and by this means he gained time to draw his forces and Artillery to *Newcastle*, for *Anwick* was not tenible, and many of the Gentlemen of *Northumberland*, especially such as were allied to my Lord *Grey* of *Wark*, either for fear of the *Scots* or affection to their cause were very backward in their opposition to them, but *Newcastle*, *Tinmouth*, *Shields*, and such other places as were garrisoned by the Kings forces did so obstruct their march, that they passed not *Tyne* till the second of *March*, and when they did, the Marques of *Newcastle* and General *King* marched so near them, that they could not advance Southward, but got into *Sunderland*, where they lay, till the Lord *Fairfax* and the rest of the Parliament forces made a diversion able enough to give them opportunity to descend into *Yorkshire*, as hereafter will be shewn.

The Scotch Army descend as far as Yorkshire.

Sir *John Meldrum*, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Tho. Fairfax*, Sir *Will. Constable*, and Col. *Lambert* had out of *Lincolnshire* & the associated Counties got many men together, and made such impressions upon the Marques of *Newcastles* Quarters, that they became very well able to keep a Body together in *Yorkshire*, and Sir *John Meldrum* marched into *Nottinghamshire*, where he joyned with some troops of the Earl of *Manchester*, & the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, to the number of 8000 Horse & foot, with which they besieged *Newark*.

Newark besieged by Meldrum.

The King was much concerned at the news of this Siege, and was resolved at any hazard to relieve the Town, in order whereunto the King sent an express to Prince *Rupert*, which came to him on the 12 *th.* of *March* to *Chester*, wherein he commanded him to draw what Forces he could together to raise the Siege of *Newark*; upon this advice he made hast to *Shrewsbury*, speeding away Major *Legg* (General of the Ordnance) before to chuse out so many commanded Musquettiers of the English (of late come out of *Ireland*) as might well be spared out of that Garrison. These were a thousand Musquettiers of Colonel *Broughtons* and Colonel *Tilliers* Regiments, with a hundred and twenty of Colonel Sir *Fulk Hunks*. All these sent down by the *Severn*, met the Prince at *Bridgenorth* on *Friday*. Of Horse he took along his own Troop, and Regiment, with twenty of Major General *Urrey's*; with these Forces he drew along three field pieces. At *Wolverhampton* next day was his Army recruited by a hundred horse, and 200 foot of Colonel *Levesons*. On Munday night he had notice at *Ashby de la Zouch*, of two thousand two hundred enemies under Sir *Edward Hartop*, sent out by *Meldrum* to the pass and Bridge over the *Sore*, a mile from *Loughborough* in *Leicestershire*. Their purpose was either to intercept General Major *Porter*, or to prevent his joyning with my Lord *Loughborow*: for thither with four Regiments of Horse, and a thousand commanded Musketiers of my Lord of *Newcastles* men, was *Porter* now come from about *Newark*, to hinder the farther inroads into *Leicestershire*. Daily slight Skirmishes here passed. For *Meldrum* not able to force the passage, and hearing of my Lord of *Loughborow's* drawing out stole away. *Porter* thus dis-ingaged, was the next day together with my Lord *Loughborows* forces conjoyned to the Princes. That night they all quartered in a Close by *Bingham*, eight miles short of *Newark*,

An express sent by the King to Prince Rupert to raise the Siege.

About two of the Clock, the Moon then well up, 1643. the Drums beat, and all marched. Hitherto had the marches been so speedy, as fame it self was prevented; for by *Meldrums* own Letter sent to the Lord *Fairfax*, which was intercepted the night before; they had no more but an uncredited Rumor of Prince *Rupert's* coming. On this days march the Prince had notice by his espials, how the enemies were busied all that morning in sending away their Cannons; which proved no other, than their drawing them off their Batteries into their Chief work at the *Spittle*, or *Exeter*-House, a little more than Musket-shot from the Town; for into that one Quarter had they this morning drawn all their Regiments and Ammunition. The Prince having intelligence of their amassing themselves thus into one body, which he supposed a preparation to march off suddenly; advanced his Van of Horse upon the spur to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had order to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and Ammunition. Coming near the Beacon-hill a mile short of *Newark*, he perceived some Horses of the enemies; who upon his approach, drew down the other side to their own Gross. The Prince thus easily gaining the hill, was earnest to pursue his good fortune, upon his apprehension of having many advantages upon a retreating enemy: whereupon he gave order to charge them with all the Horse then with him to ingage them till the Reer and Foot should be marched up to him. Trooping his to the edge of the Hill, he perceived the most of the enemy in Batalia, (Horse and Foot) near the *Spittle*: all except four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at the very descent of the Hill. The Prince thus ordered his own few forces; first himself with his own Troop of Life-Guards undertook to attacque that Body on the left hand, appointing my Lord *Loughborow's* Troop to second him, and Colonel *Charles Gerara's* Troop to be as a Reserve a little on my Lords right hand. The Princes Regiment was cast out into five Divisions, two Troops to each Division: in the first and very right hand of all, were Captain *Gardiner*, and Captain *Richardson*; then Captain *Cobb*, and Captain *Martin*; then the Lord *Grandison* and Sir *Thomas Dallison*, next them the Troops of Sir *Lewis Dives*, and the Lord *Dillon*; Major *Leggs* and Lieutenant Colonel *O Neals* Troops being next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was seconded by Major General *Porters* Regiment: the Field-Word, was *King and Queen*; theirs *Religion*. The fight began about nine a Clock; and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the Princes his right wing, the other doubling their Files from three to six deep, and charged two utmost Troops upon the Flanks so hard, that Capt. *Martin* came timely in to help to beat them off; the Prince himself having pierced deep into the enemies, and being observed and known, was dangerously at once assaulted by three sturdy Persons, whereof one fell by his own sword; a second being pistoll'd by Master *Mortaign* one of his own Gentlemen; the third now ready to lay hand on the Princes collar, had it almost chopt of by Sir *William Neal*; he thus dis-enggaed with a shot only in his Gauntlet, with Sir *Richard Crane* and his own Troop, charged quite thorow the Body, pursuing them in a Rout home to their

The fight at Newark.

1643. Works at the *Spittle*, presently after this, his Regiment with their seconds likewise routed the three other bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain prisoner; *Loughborow* also deported himself honorably, some of his shrunk at the second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel *Gerard* was shot in the arm in this encounter, and being by the fall of his Horse much bruised, was taken prisoner.

After a little pause both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make impression, and they to receive it: and though for a good while they disputed it roughly, yet by fine force were they and all the rest driven quite out of the field beyond their own work, Foot and Cannon at the *Spittle*; divers of them hasting by a Bridge of Boats over that branch of the *Trent* into the Island: four other Troops, with as many foot Companies hasted up to *Muskam*-bridge upon the other side of the Island, and main stream of the River, about three quarters of a mile both from *Newark* and the *Spittle*: here they stayed till towards evening; when breaking the Bridge behinde them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the *Trent*, they hasted to *Nottingham*. In both these stiff bouts, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereof three Captains, some Gentlemen, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cannoniers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an hours silence, excepting that the enemies Canon disturbed it. As for the Prince he now staied for his Foot and the Reer of his Horse, both left full two miles behinde, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Colonel *Tillier*: these resting themselves a while upon the hill, the first division being part of those that came from *Shrewsbury*, were led on by the Colonel; these marched down in the face of the enemy, hooting at their Cannon, and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the right into a Meadow; at their coming, the enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their *Spittle*-work, and coming up against this place, both sides saluted one another at too far a distance with a short volley; but Colonel *Tillier* was not to stay here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the enemy; but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more bodies brought down into the field, who charged up to the enemies work, and killed many: *Loughborows* men being left upon the hill for a reserve. Thus was the valley bespread with the Princes Battalions: and in this posture stood the Army. Sir *Richard Byron* Governour of *Newark* likewise before this, had sent part of his Garrison both (Horse and Foot) into another ground on the South-east side of the Town. And by this time had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were so distressed for want of Victuals, that they were not able to live there two days. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other Counsels, esteeming it cheaper to block up their trenches than to storm them. And blockt up they were already in a very narrow room, no more being free than the backside of the *Spittle* towards the River. Besides which they were on all sides surrounded by his forces. On the South-side by the Town; on the East by the Prince; and on the North by Colonel *Tillier*. Into the Island on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horse, besides 200 of the *Newark* Troopers. Thus the late blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden relief, or safe means for sally: for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen on upon their first issuing out, both in front, and flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Reer. Had they offered to escape over their Boat bridge, those in the Isle had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over. By this time had the Prince commanded Sir *Richard Byron* with his own, and Sir *Gervase Eyres* Horse Regiment with 800 of Sir *John Digbyes* foot, to advance so high into the Island, as to put in betwixt the enemies two Bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off, betwixt their greater Body at the *Spittle*, and those at *Muskam*-Bridge: upon this those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated, as aforesaid. Under favour of these Town-forces too, was the Prince resolved to cast up a Redoubt that night betwixt the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had *Sir John Meldrum* some hours before sent home Colonel *Gerard*, yet upon the Parole of a Souldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner when ever he should be called. They having sent out to Parley quit their bridg, which the Prince presently possessed by 100 Musquettiers. For the Parley on the Prince his part was appointed Sir *Richard Crane*, Captain of his Life Guards, with Sir *William Neale*, Scout-Master-General, the other sending Sir *Miles Hobard*, and Sir *John Palgrave* two Colonels of *Norfolk*, on their part. The Prince his Horse were so overmarcht, and the Foot so beaten off their Leggs by long marches, that he found his men not very able to engage a new, and the enemy were more than was believed; so that he was willing to give them good conditions, and the rather, for that (as by intercepted Letters it appeared) the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son Sir *Thomas*, being commanded by the Councel of State to march, other places might ere long have need of his presence, so that (at length) he condescended to these Articles.

1643. The Prince blocks up their trenches.

Prince Rupert beats them out of the field.

The Prince grants them these Articles.

1. *That all Match, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.*

2. *That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.*

3. *That all Officers march without molestation, with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servant, , and all Bagg and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever doth truly belong to themselves.*

4. *That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses, and Colours.*

5. *That*

5. *That His Highneſs ſend a Convoy to protect us from any injury two miles from the utmoſt of His Highneſs quarters.*

Dated *March* 22. 1643.

The Parliamentarians quit their Garriſons in Lincolnſhire

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garriſons of *Gainsbrow*, *Lincolne* and *Sleeford*, were quitted by the Parliamentarians, and *Sterne* Caſtle in *Stafford-ſhire* was ſurrendred to Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* for the King; but four daies after the action at *Newark*, The Kings Forces under the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtle* received a conſiderable loſs at a place called *Hilton*, where for two or three daies ſeveral skirmiſhes were made betwixt the Engliſh and Scotch Armies, and on the 25 *th.* of *March* they came to a pretty cloſe engagement, wherein the Engliſh Foot were much diſordered and one Brigade of the Horſe routed, and about two hundred horſe and men were taken, but not without great loſſe to the Scots, though their numbers were increaſed with 3000 Engliſh Sea-men and others which came to them in *Sunderland* from *Hull*, and upon this diſorder the Marqueſs inlarged his quarters Southward, but the Scots did not yet advance much farther.

1644.

The Marqueſſe of Newcaſtle receives a loſs at Hilton.

Arundel Caſtle taken by Sir William Waller.

Sir *William Waller* having taken *Arundel* Caſtle in *Suſſex*, and procured a commiſſion from the Parliament leſs dependent on *Eſſex* than that he had before, marches into *Hampſhire* againſt the Lord *Hopton*, who was then very fortunate there, having taken *Warder* Caſtle, and many other places. At *Brandon Heath* neer *Alesford*, both parties met on the 30 *th.* of *March*, and there was a very hot diſpute betwixt them, but *Waller* having the advantage of the ground, and a covert of trees and hedges to ſhelter his foot, did thereby great execution on the Kings Party, who preſſing too eagerly to gain a Victory, loſt it; yet it was not an intire Conqueſt, for my Lord *Hopton* retreated to *Wincheſter* with all his Cannon, except two heavy pieces which were plunged, and could not eaſily be drawn off; but Sir *John Smyth* and Collonel *Butler*, and ſome other Officers of leſs note, of his Army, were ſlain, and 200 common Souldiers, and many others wounded, amongſt which the Lord *Steward* Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* was one, who died three or four daies after at *Abington*, of his wounds: He was a young Noble-man of great courage and generoſity in all his actions, and very debonaire and affable in his behaviour towards all; on the Parliament ſide many Officers and Souldiers were killed and wounded, and of the wounded, Collonel *Thomſon* who loſt his leg, and Collonel *Dalbie*, were the moſt remarkable; after this Fight, the Town of *Wincheſter* was yielded to Sir *William Waller*, but the Caſtle continued long after a Garriſon for the King. The news of the affront lately given to the Marqueſs of *Newcaſtles* Army by General *Leſley*, animated *Fairfax*, and the Forces in *York-ſhire*, to draw what Troops they could together to endeavour to joyn with the Scots, who were now upon their march, and in purſuance of this deſign, the Lord *Fairfax* marched out of *Hull* with twenty Troops of Horſe, and joyned with his Son Sir *Thomas* and Collonel *Lambert*, who made up about Sixty Troops more, beſides a good body of Foot under Sir *John Meldrum*, making up in all to the number of ſeven thouſand Horſe and Foot, and with this little Army they made as if they intended to march to *York*, but on the 11 *th.* of *April*, when they came neer *Selby* (where Collonel *Bellaſis* lay with a good body of Men, as a reſerve to the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle*) they drew before the Town, and about eleven of the Clock they aſſaulted it in three places, & after two hours fight, made themſelves maſters thereof, wherein they took Collonel *Bellaſis* the Commander in Chief, Governor of *York*, with moſt of the reſt of the Officers, and ſixteen hundred common Souldiers, a Drake, and a Saker, ſeven barrels of Powder, ſixteen bundles of Match, great ſtore of Bullets, and two thouſand Arms; immediately upon this ſucceſſe, the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle* retreated to *York*, to re-inforce that Garriſon, in caſe any attempt ſhould be made upon it; and *Fairfax* march'd to meet the Scots, and joyned his Army with theirs at *Wetherby*, from whence they diſpoſed them to quarters till a reſolution ſhould be taken for further action: In the mean time, the Queen being great with child at *Oxford*, and ſomewhat apprehenſive of a ſiege there by the Earl of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller*, which was the common intelligence of that time, to prevent the inconveniences thereof, ſet out from *Oxford* on the 17 *th.* of *April* towards *Exeter*, where ſhe ſafely arrived ſome time after; and two daies after her departure from *Oxford*, the Parliamentary convention at *Oxford* were by the King prorogued to the eighth of *October*, and that prorogation was afterward inlarged to the ninth of *November* by proclamation. Prince *Rupert* was very active in *Shropſhire*, *Cheſhire*, *Stafford-ſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, to make an Army ſufficient to relieve the Marqueſſe of *Newcaſtle*, who was ſomewhat ſtreightned in *York-ſhire* by the Parliament Forces, where he had done very good ſervice in taking many Garriſons from the Enemie, as *Longford* Houſe, and *Tonge* Caſtle in *Shropſhire*, *Stopford* in *Cheſhire*, and *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, beſides the relief of *Latham* Houſe, (which had been 18 weeks defended by the Counteſſe of *Derby* againſt a cloſe ſiege) and the defeat of many parties that encountred him or his Forces at ſeveral times, but we ſhall leave him for a while to ſpeak of the Kings condition at this time.

1644.

Selby taken by the Lord Fairfax.

Fairfax joyns his Army with the Scots.

The Queen upon apprehenſion of danger, removes from Oxford to Exeter.

The Parliament at Oxford prorogued.

Latham Houſe defended 18 weeks by the Counteſs of Derby, relieved by Prince Rupert.

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were far the moſt part made up of *London* Trained-Bands and Auxiliaries, one under the Earl of *Eſſex*, and the other under Sir *William Waller*; both Armies randezvouz'd on the 24 *th.* of *May* at *Blewbury* in *Berkſhire*, and kept their head-quarters that night at *Abington* within five miles of *Oxford*, where they continued five or ſix daies, and *Eſſex* marched from thence to *Iſlip*, with purpoſe to diſtreſs *Oxford* on the North part, and left Sir *William Waller* at *Abington* on the South part.

The Parliament form two Armies under the Earl of Eſſex and Sir William Waller.

The King perceiving the Parliaments intention to beſiege *Oxford*, was reſolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies ſome diſtant diverſion, or at leaſt to remove his perſon from the incommodities of a ſiege: The place reſolved to go to, was *Worceſter*, which he kept ſo private, that ſcarce any knew of it but himſelf, and

Waller defeated at Brandon-Heath by the Lord Hopton.

Wincheſter yielded to Sir William Waller.

1644. to amuse the enemie, on the third of *June*, he sent a party of five or six hundred Horse, under the Command of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, to alarm *Abington*, who bravely enter'd the Turnepike, and if he had had more forces, might have carried the Town, but having done his business, he retreated with his Party to *Oxford*, whilst *Waller* drew his Troops about *Abington*, expecting the Kings march that way, but He that evening appointed his Randezvouze at *Northly*, about eight miles from *Oxford*, where he drew up his Army, consisting of about 7000 Horse and Foot, 12 Drakes, and 60 Carriages, and having refresh'd himself at one Mr. *Parrets* House there, from whence he marched to *Burton on the Water*, a Village between *Burford* and *Stow on the Wold*, and there lodged at Dr. *Temples* the Parson there.

The King removes with his Army from Oxford to Worcester.

From *Burton* the King went to *Parshore*, and from thence to *Worcester*.

Essex and *Waller* having notice of the Kings march 18 hours after he was gone, pursued him two several waies; *Essex* was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that fighting would not so much waste his men, as tedious marches after the Kings light Army, when his was cumber'd with a heavy train of Artillery, so that he thought it more prudent to put *Waller* upon this service, and to stay for him at *Burford* to consult about the prosecution of it. At *Burford* it was resolved that *Essex* should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the obedience of the Parliament, whilst *Waller* should get what Forces he could together, to joyn with him in pursuit of the King, who was yet at *Worcester*, from whence on the 11*th*. of *June* he sent a party out to relieve *Dudley* Castle that was besieg'd, and having intelligence that the Parliament Armies were now sever'd, and hearing that *Waller* came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King advanced to *Budeley*, where he stayed four daies, and *Waller* imagining his intention to be to march towards Prince *Rupert*, hastned into *Stafford-shire* to get before him, but the King turns back with resolution to be furnish'd with more men and ammunition from *Oxford*, and in order thereunto on the 18*th*. of *June* he come to *Witney*, where he staid till some forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time; He march'd towards the Parliaments associated Counties, and on the 22*th*. of *June* he came to *Buckingham*, where he received the joyful news of the Queens safe delivery of the Princess *Henrietta*.

Essex marches Westward. Waller pursues the King to Worcester.

The King marches to Buckingham, where he receives the news of the birth of the Princess Henrietta at Exeter.

Waller to recruit his Army from the Garrisons of *Glocester*, *Warwick*, *Coventrey*, *Northampton* and *Kenelmworth* Castle had on the 26*th* of *June*, a Rendezvouze in *Keinton* field, whereof the King having notice, turn'd his march towards him, and quarter'd that night at *Brackley*; two daies after the King coming before *Banbury*, he found *Waller* drawn up in Battalia Westward from the Town on the side of *Crouch-Hill*, taking advantage of the Hills, Boggs, and Ditches, so that the King march'd to *Daintry*, leaving a guard of Dragoons at *Cropredy-bridge*, to secure his pass over the River, and thereupon the Army march'd over, and the Musketeers that guarded the Bridge, were gone off, when *Waller* greedily apprehending to make some advantage upon the Kings Reare, puts over 2000 Horse, with a great body of Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it; the Kings Rear consisted of the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and the Earl of *Northampton's* Brigades of Horse, and Sir *Bernard Ashley's tertia* of Foot: These fac'd about, and routed all of the Enemie that had pass'd the Bridge; and the Earl of *Northampton* seeing some of *Wallers* Horse indeavouring to ford the River, charg'd and repuls'd them: In this fight 300 of *Waller's* Souldiers were slain, and *Weems* their General of the Ordnance was taken prisoner, with two Lieutenant Collonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Cornets, with other Ensigns and Officers, 180 common Souldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the Kings part, Sir *William Butler*, and Sir *William Clarke*, the Lord *Wilmot* General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, and the second time by Mr. *Robert Howard*, who was knighted for the service of that day, Collonel *Nevil* was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners, but there were not above twenty slain. 1644.

Sir William Waller routed by the Kings Forces at Cropredy-bridge

The King marched to *Evesham* after this fight, from whence he sent a message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went on to *Bath*; Sir *William Waller* was not in a condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to *London* to sollicit recruits, whilst the King marched after *Essex* into the west. In the beginning of this Moneth, Prince *Rupert* marched out of *Lancashire* with a considerable Army for the relief of *York*, wherein the Marquesse of *Newcastle* had been besieg'd two moneths by three Armies under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester*, the Lord *Fairfax* and General *Lesley*; they all upon approach of the Prince, drew of their Army, and thereupon the Prince and the Marquesse of *Newcastle* marched after them to a plain called *Marston-Moor*, where on the third of *July*, a terrible Fight began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordnance, and many of them Prisoners, insomuch that General *Lesley* and the Lord *Fairfax* thinking all had been lost, fled many miles from the place where the Battail was fought, and never came to the remainder of their Army, till two daies after the Fight; but in conclusion, (whether by fate that attends the event of War, or by neglect, I know not) the fortune of the day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Princes Baggage, and with it Sir *Charles Lucas*, Collonel *Porter*, and Collonel *Tilliard* Prisoners. In this Battail were slain on his Majesties part, the Lord *Cary*, Sir *Thomas Metham*, Collonel *Eure*, Collonel *Towneley*, with some others of note, and about 1500 common Souldiers. On the Parliaments part were slain Sir *Charles Fairfax*, with many other of their Commanders, and at least 3000 Souldiers.

The King sends a message to the Parliament about a Treaty of Peace.

York besieged by Manchester, Fairfax & Lesley, is is relieved by Prince Rupert,

Marston-Moor Fight, wherein Prince Rupert was at last defeated.

After this Battail the Parliament Army sate down again before *York*, and Prince *Rupert* marched away with about 6000 Horse and Draggoons into *Lancashire*, and from thence to *Chester*, but the Marquess of *Newcastle*, and his two Sons, General *King*, the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Lord

1644. Lord *Widdrington*, Earl of *Carnwarth*, Bishop of *London-Derry*, Lord *William Carnaby* General Pay-master, Sir *Edward Widdrington*, Colonel *Carnaby*, Colonel *Basset*, Colonel *Mozen*, Sir *Wal. Vavasor*, Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, Sir *Fra. Mackworth*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish*, did all take shipping at *Scarborow*, and were from thence transported to *Hamborough*. The reason of the abrupt departure of the Marquess at this time, was said to be occasioned upon some difference betwixt the Prince and him, concerning the conduct of the late Battel at *Marston-Moor*, or rather betwixt the Prince and General *King*, by whom as one of great experience in War, the Marquess was then much advised; but *King* being a *Scotch-man* was was very hardly spoken of by the Northern Officers as a person of less courage and skill in Military affairs, then was ascribed to him, or else not zealous enough against his Countrey men.

The Parliament Army had now lain twelve days before *York*, since their last approach to it, and preparation was made for a storm; but Sir *Thomas Glemham* the Governour sent a Trumpetter out late at night for a Parley, for his Provisions and Ammunition was much wasted, and he had not above 1000 Souldiers beside those that were sick and wounded to defend the Town: So that upon the 16 *th* of *July* the City was surrendred upon very honorable terms, amongst which the two or three first were, *That all Officers and Souldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Matches lighted, Bullets in mouth, with Bagg and Baggage, and a Convoy to* Skipton, *and that no Souldiers shall be plundered*: But the Souldiers that were to guard them, in violation of these conditions, plundered many of the Waggons, at which the Earl of *Manchester* and *Cromwel* were so much displeased, that many of them were censured at a Court Martial, but little restitution was made, and most of them that were accused, agreed in one excuse, *viz.* That they never heard it was any part of the agreement, that they should march away, and be protected with their Bagg and Baggage, and that many of Sir *Thomas Glemham*'s Souldiers set them on to plunder, discovering to them which were the Waggons of Papists, in rifeling whereof they assisted and got their share.

York surrendred to the Parliament.

Having endeavoured hitherto in the actions of this year, to apply them to the times whereon they were acted, we must now return to describe the motions of the Earl of *Essex* and the King in the Western parts, which for some weeks together administred the greatest matter for Story.

Whilst the King was at *Bath*, he received advice that *Essex* was about the 16 *th*. of *July* marcht from *Teverton* in *Devonshire* towards *Plymouth* to raise the Siege, which Sir *Richard Greenvil* had at that time before *Plymouth* and disperse his forces, which was the result of a Councel of War then had, when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the Kings forces, or to besiege *Exeter*, but neither of those were approved, and they were not very earnest to attempt *Exeter* now they knew they had frighted the Queen from thence, who about the 15 *th*. or 16 *th*. of *July* safely arrived at *Brest* in *Britanny*, where she was very well received, though she got not thither without much hazard, having 100 great shot made at her, and those few small Vessels of her Guard by a Squadron of the Parliament Ships that lay to intercept her. 1644.

The Queen leaves Exeter and arrives at Brest in Britanny.

As soon as the King heard of *Essex*'s advance towards *Plymouth*, he marcht with his Army into *Somersetshire*, and at *Kingsmore*, he summoned the Gentry of the County, and recommended to them the care of that County in his absence, and not to suffer themselves to be drawn away from his service: and hearing that upon the march of *Essex* his Army towards *Plymouth*, Sir *Richard Greenvil* had raised his Siege thereof, and was marcht into *Cornwal*, with his own Regiment, and the Regiments of Colonel *Fortescue*, Colonel *Carew*, and Colonel *Acktland*, and that *Essex* was marching after him with his Army, he immediately advanced with all his forces towards *Cornwal*, but before he could get thither, *Essex* had much distressed *Greenvil*, having almost inclosed him with three Regiments of Horse, and a Company of Dragoons under Colonel *Bear*.

The King marcheth with his Army into Somersetshire.

Sir Richard Greenville distressed by Essex.

On the first of *August* the King entred *Cornwal*, passing over the *Tamor* at *Polton*-Bridge, and he marched directly to *Liscard*, where for some time he setled his head-Quarters; the County was very cordial to him, insomuch that not any of *Essex* his men could straggle from their Quarters without danger to be killed or taken prisoners by the Country people, which made him (who then Quartered at *Listithiel* about 8 miles from *Liscard*) keep his Army very much together, and call back those he had sent to attempt on Sir *Richard Greenvil*, but all his care did not prevent the loss of some of his chief Officers; for Quartermaster-General *Dalbeir*, Colonel *Allured*, Lieutenant Colonel *Carleton*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Bartley* with some other Officers being at the Lord *Mohuns* House at *Buccononck* at Dinner, were all except *Dalbier* surprized by a party of the Kings Horse, and brought prisoners to *Liscard* on the 4 *th*. of *August*.

The King enters Cornwal and marcheth to Liscard.

Many of Essex his Officers surprized and brought prisoners to Liscard.

The King by the addition of Prince *Maurice* his Army was much increased in strength, and in all appearance likely to give himself (as it after happened) a conquest over *Essex*, but the tenderness he always had towards his Subjects, made him try rather (according to his custome) first to seek peace before he proceeded to the rigour of War, in order whereunto he writ from *Liscard* a Letter to *Essex*, dated *August* the 6. which he sent to him by his Nephew, the Lord *Beauchamp*, but no return was made to it, and a day or two after another Letter was writ to him by the Officers of the Army, to which he sent a negative answer to the Earl of *Forth*, importing, *That he had received a Letter from his Lordship, and some other Commanders, by which a Treaty was desired with him for a general Peace, which he could not admit of without breach of the trust reposed in him by the Parliament having no power by his Commission to treat in a matter of such importance*. During this conjuncture of affairs, an unhappy accident fell out in the Kings Army, for in the consultation amongst the Officers of the Letter to be sent to *Essex* a very earnest debate

Prince Maurice joins his Army with the Kings.

The King sends a Letter of grace to Essex.

was

1644. was had of the matter of it, and the manner of the addreſs, and ſome expreſſions uttered by the L. *Wilmot* therein, of making the Prince of *Wales* Mediator in the buſineſs, which by ſome diſaffected to that Lord was improved to his prejudice, as if he intended to make a diviſion in the Army; and thereupon the King was perſwaded to ſecure him, and ſend him away with a Guard to *Oxford*; which cauſed a great conſternation in the Army, for he was very well beloved of the Souldiers, and if great care had not been uſed to temper the minds of many of them, great inconveniencies might have enſued; but nevertheleſs the King loſt hereby the counſel and conduct of one of his beſt Officers, who by all the actions of his life before and after gave ſuch evident marks of his Loyalty that even his enemies were aſhamed and ſorry for their apprehenſions of him: General *Goring* was at the inſtant of his remove put into his Command, and the King began to uſe all poſſible means to diſtreſs the Enemy by almoſt encompaſſing them with his forces, he himſelf and Prince *Maurice*, quartered at *Boconnock*, *Greenvil* faſtned himſelf at *Lanhetherock* three miles Weſt of the King, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Leprin*-Bridge a mile above *Liſtithiel*, to which place the Tide flowed up from *Foy*, ſo that it was not fordable but at one paſs between that and the Sea. the Kings Army incamped between *Boconnock* and a Heath that parted his Quarters and the enemy, and placed Guards on all places on the River leading from his Quarters at *Liſtithiel* to *Foy*, poſſeſſing a Houſe of the Lord *Mohuns* over againſt the Town, and a Fort that commanded the mouth of the Haven; ſo that *Eſſex* had no place for relief by water but at a ſmall Creek *Mimibilley*, and St. *Blaſe*'s his Bay, but neither ſafe for Ships, but they retained a large ſpace of ground Weſtward, whereupon *Goring* was ſent with moſt of the Horſe, and Sir *Thomas Baſſet* with 1500 Foot to thoſe parts to ſtop all proviſions coming in at St. *Blaſe*, by which means *Eſſex* and his Army were reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that Sir *William Belfour* with five and twenty hundred of their Horſe broke away before day in the morning on the 31 *th.* of *Auguſt* between the Quarters of his Majeſty and Prince *Maurice*, as they lay encamped, and got to *Saltaſh*, and the ſame night *Eſſex* himſelf and the Lord *Roberts* deſerted the Army, and got away in a Boat to *Plymouth*.

Lord Wilmot ſecured at Oxford.

General Goring put into his Command.

Eſſex is blockt up by the Kings forces in Cornwal.

Eſſex forced to deſert his Army.

The next day *Skippon* with the foot endeavoured to march to *Foy*, but the King having notice of their motion marched ſoon after them, and that day took five of their Ordnance, falling into their Rear within two miles of *Liſtithiel*, the next morning they made a ſtand, and with their remaining Horſe regained ſome fields from whence they had been forced before, whereupon the King ſent Captain *Edward Brett* with the Queens Troop, who in his view forced them to retire, regained the loſt ground, and got more, and returned in good order with the loſs only of four of his men, and himſelf ſhot in the arm; for which good ſervice the King immediately Knighted him. In the evening their men were ſo harraſſed, they could ſcarce be made to ſtand to their Arms, and in that their condition Lieutenant Colonel *Butler* came to deſire a parley of the King, which was granted, and a Treaty followed, by which on the firſt of *December*, the following Articles were accorded betwixt Prince *Maurice* and the Earl of *Brainford* on the one part and Major General *Philip Skippon* and Colonel *Chriſtopher Whithcot* on the other part.

Captain Brett Knighted for his good ſervice.

1644. A Treaty betwixt Prince Maurice and Major General Skippon.

1. *That all the Officers and Souldiers Horſe and Foot on this ſide the River* Foy, *ſhall to morrow being the* 1 *of* September *at* 11 *of the Clock deliver up their own Quarters, all their Cannon, Train of Artillery, Carriages, Arms Offenſive and Defenſive, both of Horſe and Foot, Powder, Bullet, Match, and Ammunition unto ſuch Officers as the General of his Majeſties Artillery ſhall appoint, except Swords and Piſtols of all Officers above Corporals.*

2. *That all Officers and Souldiers, both Horſe and Foot of the ſaid Army ſhall march out of their Quarters to* Liſtithiel *with Colours, Trumpets, and Drums, and that all Officers above the degree of Sergeants, ſhall have their Servants, not exceeding the number of fifty.*

3. *That they ſhall march from* Liſtithiel *to* Pool *and* Wareham, *and not touch any Garriſon by the way.*

4. *In caſe they march from* Pool, *that they ſhall not bear Arms, till they come to* Portſmouth *and* Southampton.

5. *That all the ſick and wounded ſhall lie at* Foy *till they be cured.*

6. *That they ſhall have in their march all the money they can procure from* Plymouth, *and all other accommodation they can obtain from thence.*

7. *That there ſhall be no inviting of Souldiers, but ſuch as come voluntary to his Majeſties ſervice.*

And according to theſe Articles, the King had delivered up to him all the Train of Artillery, conſiſting of 49 Braſs Pieces of Ordnance (with thoſe taken before) two hundred and odd Barrels of Gunpowder, with Match and Ball proportionable, 700 Carriages, and betwixt eight and nine thouſand Arms; and many of the Common Souldiers deſerted their Officers, and voluntary offered their ſervice to the King; but this Victory did not leſſen the Kings inclination to peace, inſomuch that on the 8 *th.* of *September* he ſent a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament from *Tavеſtock*, though this, as that before had no anſwer; nor was any Treaty agreed on till *January* following, as will be hereafter mentioned. But inſtead of this Meſſage, if he had gone with his Army towards *London* in all probability he might have made an end of the War, the Army of *Eſſex* being thus broken, and that of *Manchеſter* not returned from the Northern ſervice.

The King ſends a ſecond Meſſage to the Parliament for peace.

About this time the Marqueſs of *Montroſs* was very victorious for the King in *Scotland*; having obtained a great victory over the Covenanters upon *Newbigging*-Moor, and taken *Perth*, and within fourteen days after this he gained another victory near unto *Aberdeen*, and ſoon after took that City, and marched from thence into the Earl of *Argyles* Countrey, which he waſted with fire and ſword, and did many great ſervices, even to admiration, conſidering the ſmallneſs of his be-

The ſucceſs of Montroſs in Scotland.

1644. beginning, and the little assistance he had from *England*; but we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the transactions in *England*, which were the remaining part of this year prosecuted in several places with various success: In the West after the great Victory over *Essex* his Army, *Ilford-Comb*, *Barnstable*, and *Saltash* submitted to the Kings Arms, and *Basing*-house that had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from *Oxford* under Sir *Henry Gage*, and a little after, he with the Earl of *Northampton* raised the Siege of *Banbury*-Castle, which had been a moneth beleagur'd by Colonel *John Fines*, and slew and took many of his men, and one piece of Ordnance: but the good fortune of the Parliament in several parts ballanced this success with advantage, *Monmouth* was in *September* taken by Colonel *Massy*, and the Town and Castle of *Newcastle* which had long endured the utmost force of the *English* and *Scotch* Armies was taken by storm with great loss to the Assailants on the 27 *th.* of *October*, and a while after *Leverpool* in *Lancashire* was surrendred to Sir *John Meldrum*, but the great businesses that concluded this year were the Battel of *Newberry*, and the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable occurrences that then hapned.

The King has good success in the West.

The Parliaments success in divers parts.

The Earls of *Essex* and *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller* had drawn a great Army together, with a resolution to hinder the Kings march to *Oxford*, but he not believing that *Essex* could have so soon appeared at the head of an Army, sought or was willing not to decline engagement. *Essex* and *Manchester* on the 23 *th.* of *October* rendevouz'd their Army in *Aldermaston* Park, and the next night came privately over the water at a Ford near *Padworth*, and next morning to *Bucklebury*-heath neer *Newberry*, where the King then was, and about 12 of the Clock drew down their whole Army between *Thatcham* and *Shaw*, and skirmished with the Kings Horse; On *Saturday* both Armies plied one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done. Then some of *Manchesters* Troops and *London* Trained bands crossed the River *Kennet* between the hill and *Newberry*, and did some execution upon those that kept the pass against them: But Sir *Bernard Ashley* coming to their rescue, forceth the other over the River. Again, in the afternoon 4000 of *Essex* and *Wallers* Horse and Dragoons with 500 Pikes charged the Royal Army on the West-side of *Newberry*, where were the Cornish foot, & the Duke of *Yorks* Regiment, with 5 field pieces, and Prince *Maurice*'s Brigade of Cornish Horse, all which having not unmanfully sustained the rough charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some disorder, and here some of the Kings field pieces were taken. The Essexians following their success, advanced with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Muskettiers betwixt *Newberry* and *Spine* upon the Kings Life-Guards, and Sir *Humphrey Bennets* Brigade, whom they overpowred, and had much more endammaged, if the Lord *Bernard Stewart* had not come up to their assistance, and secured their Retreat on the East-side of *Spine*; the Parliamentarians having setled three bodies of Foot in certain inclosures, advanced over a ditch with a great body of Horse to break through the Kings Guards, but first they were obliged to fight with General *Goring* and the Earl of *Cleavelands* Brigade (who charged stoutly & beat back the enemy, but pursuing disorderly were repulsed with loss.

The Battel at Newberry.

1644.

Upon the North-east of *Newberry* stood the Lord *Ashley*, with Colonel *George Lysle*, against whom the Earl of *Manchesters* Horse and Foot, with the Trained Bands of *London* came down the hill, and worsted Colonel *Lysles* Guards. But Sir *John Brown* Lieut. Colonel of the Prince of *Wales* his Regiment of Horse charged the Foot, and stopt them, and then received a charge of 1000 Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next place forces his way to charge the Reserve commanded by Colonel *Thelwel*, and after a smart dispute beat them out of the field and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battel on the Kings part were were slain, Sir *Anthony St. Leger*, Lieutenant Col. *Leak*, Lieutenant Colonel *Topping*, and Cap. *Catlin*; the Earl of *Cleaveland*, and some few were taken; the Earl of *Brainford* & *Forth*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Richard Campfield*, Major *Alford*, and Captain *Walgrave* and others were wounded, many private Souldiers slain and taken prisoners. The fight endured till eight of the Clock at night, and was ended to the advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King perceiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total overthrow if the Battel should be renewed, marched away secretly to *Dennington*-Castle, and there left behind him his great pieces of Ordnance, and so hasted to *Wallingford*. General *Essex* lodged himself in *Newbury*, and having in vain summoned and assaulted *Denning*-Castle, he marched away on the 29 *th.* of *October*, committing the care of that Siege to a party which he left behind him.

The Kings party worsted at Newbury.

The King after this fight made what hast he could to recruit and refresh his Army that he might relieve *Dennington*-Castle, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition & Baggage which he left there, and that he might also succor *Basing* house, which was again besieged & therefore on the 6 *th.* of *Novemb.* he had his Rendevouze at *Bullington-Green* betwixt *Wallingford* and *Oxford*, and from thence he marched two days after to *Dennington*, but upon his approach to the Castle, the enemy drew off their forces, and he put into the Garrison a supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he had left there: and hearing Sir *William Waller* was with an Army about *Hungerford*, he marcht thither to ingage him, but they would not venter an encounter, and from thence Sir *Henry Gage* was sent with a Party to relieve *Basing*-house, but before he came, the besiegers drew off, and left the work very easie to him. After these performances the King returned to *Oxford*, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters, and there he was attended by the Earl of *Denbigh*, and some of the House of Commons as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace, which produced an overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of *Richmond*, and the

The King returns to Oxford, and receives Propositions for a Peace.

1644. Earl of *Southampton*, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at *Uxbridge*, which began about the first of *February* after, of which we shall make further mention in its place.

About the end of this Moneth, Sir *Alexander Carew* who was Governor of St. *Nicholas* Island at *Plymouth*, was tryed by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was a few daies after executed upon him on *Tower-Hill*, and by the same Court Martial Sir *John Hotham* and his Son were in like manner arraigned, found guilty, and executed for designing to quit their party, and by some service to ingratiate a return to their allegiance to the King, concerning whose misfortunes, The King amongst other reflections thereon in his excellent * Book, express'd him thus;

Sir Alexander Carew beheaded.
Sir John Hotham and his Son executed.
* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, cap. 5. p. 46.

"Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, not curst by any language or secret imprecation of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward than thus, to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

"Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successful to them, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much premerited of of them: For Apostacy unto Loyaltie, some men account the most unpardonable sin.

"Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the affront done to the head of the Common-weale. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey; Root and branch God cuts off in one day.

"These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows I was so far from rejoycing in *Hotham's* ruine, though it were such as were able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, (being executed by them who first imployed him against Me) that I so far pitied him, as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, than I hope other men do in the same cause.

By these and other executions at this time, the Parliament made themselves very terrible to their Officers, against whom any particular crimes could be objected, but where the offences were general and the persons of great interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their methods, and it happened at this time, that they were much perplex'd at the ill conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that progress he lately did in the relief of *Dennington* and *Basing*-House; for by his appearance there, the quarters of the Parliaments Army on that side, were at *Redding*, *Henly*, *Abington* and *Farnham*, and the Kings Troops were quarter'd at *Basing*, *Odiam*, *Newbury*, *Blewburie*, and *Marlborough*.

Dennington and Basing-House relieved by the Kings Forces.

Essex began to be suspected as careless or 1644. discontented, and Collonel *Norton* writ a letter that he had received a warrant from a chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from *Basing*: And the Earl of *Manchester* made a long Relation in writing concerning the carriage at *Dennington*, wherein he made his own defence, but accused Collonel *Cromwell*. Upon this the House of Commons fell into consideration of the slow proceedings of their Armies, alledging that many of their Officers were deficient in not prosecuting advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the differences amongst their Commanders were commonly most where the command is greatest; which produced this Resolution, *(viz.) That no member of either House of Parliament, shall (during this War) injoy or execute any Office or Command Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that purpose.*

The House of Commons vote that no Parliament man shall execute any command military or civil.

This Vote and the Ordinance thereupon was very much opposed by the Peers, but petitions from the City and several Counties were framed and presented to move their compliance, which in the end prevailed upon them; In the mean time, though it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of action, the War went on in several places, and several new Garrisons were made by both parties, to the miserable spoyl and destruction of the Countrey. Sir *Jacob Ashley* possessed himself of *Cirencester* with three Brigades of Foot, and four Regiments of Horse, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very gates of *Glocester*, nor were the Garrisons in *Worcester*, *Hereford*, and *Bristol*, less active, and *Munmouth* that had been before taken from the King, was regain'd by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland*, but in the midst of this good Fortune on the Kings side, a Garrison was form'd at *Abington*, a Town within five miles of *Oxford*, by order from the Two Houses of Parliament, under the command of Collonel *Brown*, the King and Councel looking on, and suffering the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordnance to be planted on the same. * It cannot be denied, but that Sir *Henry Gage* and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about *Oxford*, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them. But the Lord *George Digby*, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had perswaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with *Brown*, and that as soon as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms and Ammunition, at the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesties hand. In which design he was deluded, and exposed to some loss of Reputation: For *Brown* having brought his project to the highest round of the ladder (as himself expressed it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after all the letters which passed between him and the Lord *Digby* upon this occasion.

Monmouth regained by the Lord Herbert of Ragland.

Abington made a Garrison for the Parliament under Browns command.

* Heylin's short view of the Life and Reign of King Charles, fol. 109.

1644.

But

1644. But now when it was too late, Sir *Hen. Gage* was sent with a commanded party out of *Oxford* and *Wallingford* to raise a Fort at *Cullam* Bridg within half a mile of *Abington*, but the design being discovered, he was prevented, and in the attempt unfortunately received a shot, whereof within two hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Collonel *Lower* the Deputy Governor of *Wallingford*, and Major *Green* of that Garrison, with several others of great courage and reputation.

Arch-Bishop Laud beheaded on Tower-Hill.

On the same day, or the day before, *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, after he had been kept four years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, his Rent sequestred, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seiz'd; his Charge was, *a constructive Treason under several heads reducible into two particulars*;

1. *For indeavouring the subversion of the Laws of the Land.*
2. *And a like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.*

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inne*, his profest enemy, was made his Prosecutor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his offences, though when all that could be, was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him, but the Scots who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied, unless he were put to death, to manifest thereby their zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to usher in the Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High Treason, though at the passing thereof in the House of Peers, there were but seven present, (*viz.* * the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbrook*, and the Lords, *North*, *Gray*, and *Bruce*.)

Heylins History of the Life of King Charl. pag. 113.

He ended his life with such a modest confidence, and so much piety, that his greatest enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes as full of tears.

The Treaty at Uxbridge

In pursuance of several messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at *Uxbridge* Commissioners met on the 30 *th.* of *January* for the King, on one part, and for the Parliament of *England* and the Parliament of *Scotland* on the other.

The Commissioners for the King were.	Commissioners for the Parliament were.
Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox.*	Earl of *Northumberland.*
Marquess of *Hertford.*	Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery.*
Earl of *Southampton.*	Earl of *Salisbury.*
Earl of *Kingston.*	Earl of *Denbigh.*
Earl of *Chichester.*	Lord *Wenman.*
Lord *Capel.*	Mr. *Pierpoint.*
Lord *Seymour.*	Sir *Henry Vane, Junior.*
Lord *Hutton.*	Mr. *Crew.*
Lord *Culpepper.*	Mr. *Whitlock.*
Sir *Edward Nicholas.*	Mr. *St. Johns.*
Sir *Edward Hide.*	Mr. *Prideaux.*
Sir *Richard Lane.*	Mr. *Prideaux.*
Sir *Thomas Gardner.*	Lord *Lowdon*
Sir *Orlando Bridgeman.*	Sir *Cha. Erskin.*
Mr. *Jo. Ashburnham.*	Mr. *Douglas.*
Mr. *Jeffery Palmer.*	Mr. *Brackley.*
Doctor *Stuard.*	Mr. *Henderson.*

Scots Commissioners.

1644.

The first things to be treated on, were;

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. *Ireland.*

The matters of the Treaty.

The first paper at the opening of the Treaty was, concerning Religion which was delivered from the Kings Commissioners to the others in these words;

1. *That freedome be left to all Persons of what opinion soever in matters of Ceremony, and that all the penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoyn these penalties, be suspended.*

2. *That the Bishops shall exercise no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and counsel of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergie of each Dioceses, out of the Learnedst and gravest Ministers of that Dioceses.*

3. *That the Bishop keep his constant Residence in his Dioceses, except when he shall be required by his Majesty to attend him on any occasion; and that if he be not hindred by the infirmity of old age, or sickness: he preach every Sunday in some Church within his Dioceses.*

4. *That the Ordination of Ministers shall be alwaies in the publick and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men who shall be received into Holy Orders: And the Bishop shall not receive any into holy Orders without the Approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the major part of them.*

5. *That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, out of the Impropriations according to the value of the several Parishes.*

6. *That no man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicaridges with cure of Souls.*

7. *That toward the setling of the publick Peace,* 100000 *l. shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alienation of any of the said Lands.*

8. *That the Jurisdiction in causes Testamentary, Decimals and Matrimonials, be setled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament: And likewise that Acts to be passed for regulating of Visitations, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions as shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.*

And if the Parliaments Commissioners will insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners after they had perused this paper, delivered one of theirs to the

1644. Kings Commissioners, which was as followeth.

That a Bill be passed for abolishing of all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Proposition.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by Act of Parliament.

That the directory for Publick worship already passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning Church-Government annexed and passed both Houses, be Enacted as a part of Reformation of Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Proposition.

That his Majesty take the Solemn League and Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoyned to be taken according to the second Proposition.

To this was annexed the following Paper.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for edification, is by the respective bounds of their dwellings.

That the Minister and the Church Officers in each Congregation, shall joyn in the Government of the Church, as shall be established by the Parliament.

That many particular Congregations shall be under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational, Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, to be established by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of Provincial and National Assemblies.

These papers were debated on three daies without any determination on any one controverted point, and on the 4*th.* of *February*, The Parliament Commissioners delivered in the following proposals concerning the Militia.

We desire that the Subjects of *England* may be Armed, Trained and Disciplined as the Parliament shall think fit; and that the like be for *Scotland*, as the Parliament there shall think fit: And that his Majesty give his Royal assent to the Acts following.

1. *An Act for setling the Admiralty and Forces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance, to be as the Parliament shall think fit, and the like for* Scotland.

2. *An Act for setling the Admiralty, and all Forces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like for* Scotland.

3. *An Act for setling all Forces by Sea and Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament, to be such as both Kingdoms shall confide in, with power to suppress all powers and forces contrary thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Parliament.*

And so for the Kingdom of *Scotland.*

That the Militia of the City of London, *and the Parishes without* London, *and the Liberties within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.*

That the Tower of London *may be in the Government of the City, and the chief Officers thereof nominated, and removable by the Common Council.*

That the Citizens or Forces of London *may not be drawn out of the City without their own consent, and the example of drawing them out in these distracted times, may be no President for the future.*

These papers were likewise debated three days, and then the Parliament Commissioners presented a paper concerning *Ireland*, to this effect;

That His Majesty give his Royal assent to an Act to make void the cessation of Ireland, *and all Treaties of the Rebells without consent of Parliament, and to settle the Prosecution of the War of* Ireland *in the Parliament, to be managed by the joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein.*

The Kings Commissioners in the debate of this Proposition, did lay open the eminent and inevitable necessity which caused the King to make the Irish Cessation, which he was in honour obliged to make good; nevertheless they offered to condescend to any thing for the security of the Kings Protestant Subjects, but the Parliament Commissioners were so bound up by their instructions, that they could admit of no alteration of what they offered.

The matter of Religion was then resumed, and that was to be concluded before they proceeded to any other proposition. But so many difficulties occurr'd in the debate thereon, that no accord could be made; for the Parliament to endeare the Scots to them, had caused every Member of each House to take the Scotch Covenant, *whereby they bound themselves to the preservation of the Religion of* Scotland, *in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government: and, To endeavour the extirpation of Episcopacy, and the Reformation of Religion in* England *and* Ireland, *according to the example of the best Reformed Churches.* Whereby they could mean nothing less than to bring them to the discipline of *Scotland*, because they had sworn to the preservation of the Religion there. Moreover, they had sworn in this Covenant against detestable indifferency and neutrality (to keep their own words) whereby it seem'd apparent, that though at first the contrivers of this Oath pretended only for liberty of Conscience, they now would allow none to any: wherefore the Kings Commissioners were at a stand; for the King took himself bound by the Oath of his Coronation, not to alter the government of the Church, and they were bound by their instructions to insist thereon, so that the Treaty became desperate upon this account, though on the Kings part it was offered. That if the Articles proposed by them, did not give satisfaction, that then so great an alteration as the total abolishment of a Government established by Law, might (for the imparlance of it, and any reformation in doctrine for the scandal of it) be suspended, till after the disbanding of all Armies, when the King should be present with the Parliament, and calling a National Synod, might receive such advice both from the one and the other, as should be necessary, and as any Reformation thus calmly made, would needs prove for the singular benefit; so, whether the contrary, that is an alteration even to things though in themselves good, could by

The Scotch Covenant taken by both Houses.

1644. by the principles of Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty daies, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no peace but on their own terms, believing all the Kings proposals for peace, to proceed either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irresolutions of his Councel.

The Treaty proves ineffectual.

Shrewsbury taken.

After this followed the taking of *Shrewsbury*, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into *Wales*, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed about by the River *Severn*; that part which is not invironed by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town, the Kings former intercourse with his loyal Subjects of *North-Wales* was not only hindred, but a present stop was given to an association which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counties of *Salop*, *Flint*, *Chester*, *Worcester*, *&c.* to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in those parts of the Kingdom.

Pomfret Castle relieved by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the Lord Fairfax's Army defeated.

But to make a recompence in some measure for this great loss about the beginning of *March* this year, *Pomfret* Castle in *York-shire* was relieved by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who there defeated the Lord *Fairfax*'s Army that lay before it, and in his going thither, he defeated a great Party of the Parliament Forces commanded by Collonel *Rossiter* near *Melton-Moubray* in *Leicestershire*.

The Prince of Wales sent into the West to perfect the Association.

The King at this time thought fit to send the Prince of *Wales* into the West, to perfect the association which had been begun in the end of the last Summer: and in those Countreys to advance such further Forces as might not only serve for the defence of themselves, but give some reasonable increase to his Army; so that upon the fifth of *March*, He set forwards toward *Bristol*, accompanied by the Lord *Culpepper* and Sir *Edward Hide*, as his principal Counsellors, and some of the chief Gentry of the West, who were of most authority in their several Countreys.

The King having advised with such of the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as had assembled at *Oxford*, from their last meeting in *November* after their Prorogation, to the tenth of *March*; He then, being resolv'd for action, dismist them to their several Countreys.

1645. And now both sides prepare for action, in order whereunto the Parliament had passed their Ordinance which they called self-denying, wherein all and every the Members of either House were to be discharg'd of all their Command Military or Civil, and in pursuance thereof, they elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to be General of their Army, which they new modell'd out of their other Armies, consisting of 11 Regiments of Horse, and 10 Regiments of Foot. *Oliver Cromwell*, though a Member of the House of Commons, was particularly excepted out of the Ordinance, and so was *Skippon* the Major General, and *Ireton* the Commissary General of the Horse; and to make way for these Officers, the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, and *Denby*, surrendred their Commissions in the Lords House, and the Earl of *Warwick* also surrendred his Commission of Admiral.

The Parliament pass their self-denying Ordinance.

Sir Thomas Fairfax made General of their Army.

Cromwel, Skippon, and Ireton, excepted out of their Ordinance.

Essex, Manchester, and Denby, surrender their Commissions, and Warwick his Admiralship.

April the third Sir *Thomas Fairfax* sets forth for *Windsor*, where he applies himself to the gathering together of his Army, to which place Lieutenant General *Cromwel* came to him, and was immediately ordered to march towards *Oxford*, with a Brigade of 1100 Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horse, which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester* to fetch off the King from *Oxford* with his Train of Artillery, and some foot with intention to take the field, and at *Islelip*, *Cromwel* falls upon them, which after some dispute he routed, and took divers Prisoners, and about 200 Horse, and from thence he pursued several of them that escaped to *Blechingdon* House, where Colonel *Windebanck* kept a Garrison for the King, which was surrendred to him upon the first summons, but the Colonel was soon after condemned by a Court of War at *Oxford*, and shot to death for parting so easily with the place. A few days after *Cromwel* marches to *Farringdon*, and assaulted that Garrison, but was repulst with the loss of near two hundred men, besides many that were wounded and taken prisoners. The King perceiving that *Fairfax* intended to besiege *Oxford* sent for Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring* to march to him thither, and these about the beginning of *May* came to *Oxford*, and fetcht of the King, who quickly increased his Army, and advanced with it towards the relief of *Chester*, but *Goring* returned to the Siege of *Taunton*, from whence he had been called to this service.

1645.

Fairfax goes to Windsor to gather up his Army.

Cromwel routs some Horse sent to Convey the King from Oxford.

Colonel Windebank shot to death at Oxford.

Cromwel repulsed at Farringdon.

Prince Rupert and Gen. Goring come to Oxford and fetch off the King.

Fairfax in commiseration of the distrest condition of *Taunton* marched with his Army to the relief of it as far as *Blanford*, but upon second thoughts he sends Colonel *Welden* with near two thousand Horse and Dragoons, and 5000 Foot to *Taunton*, and returns to *Newbury*, where he receives an expres to march to *Oxford* and lay close Siege to it: in the mean time *Welden* makes hast to *Taunton*, and the Kings forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, resolved to give one furious assault, and if that took not effect to quit the place, which was performed, and they entred the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governour retired to the Castle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and suffered Col. *Welden* to enter the Town, but *Goring*, *Greenvil*, and *Barkley*, uniting their forces together did so press upon *Welden*, that they besieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved *Chester*, and from thence marched to *Leicester*, and taken it by assault, wherein were many Prisoners of note, and good store of Arms and Ammunition; and from thence he went to *Daventry*. *Fairfax* having intelligence as he lay at the Siege of *Oxford*, of this fortunate progress of the Kings Arms, was resolved to raise his Siege, and march directly towards him, with an intent to give him Battel, and in pursuance hereof on the 5th of *June* his Army randevouzed at Great *Brickhil*, and from thence he marcht to *Gilbrough*, within four miles of *Northampton*, and five miles of *Brough-hil*, which was one of the quarters of the Royallists.

Fairfax lays close siege to Oxford.

The King relieves Chester, and takes Leicester by assault.

The King hereupon drew of from *Brough-hil*, minding to march Northward to the relief of *Pomfret*, which was again besieged, but *Fairfax* being eager to engage, sent *Ireton* with a flying

1645. party of Horſe, who fell into *Naſeby* Town, and took many priſoners, giving ſuch an Alarm to the whole Army, that the King at midnight left his own Quarters, and for ſecurity haſtned to *Harborough*, where he raiſed Prince *Rupert*, and called a Councel of War, where it was reſolved to give Battel, and becauſe *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would not ſtay for him, but ſeek him out, and at a place near *Naſeby* in *Northamptonſhire*, the two Armies met on *Saturday* the 14 *th.* of *June*.

The fight at Naſeby.

The King himſelf commanded the Main Body, Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* the Right Wing, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* the Left, the Earl of *Lindſey*, and the Lord *Aſhley* the right-hand Reſerve, the Lord *Bard* and Sir *George Liſle* the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, *Fairfax* and *Skippon* commanded the Main Body, *Cromwel* the right Wing, with whom was *Roſſiter*, who came with his forces but a little before the fight, and *Ireton* had the Left. The Reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborow*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*: Prince *Rupert* charged the Parliaments left wing, Commanded by *Ireton*, who made notable reſiſtance, but at laſt was forced to give ground, *Ireton* himſelf being run through the Thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halbert, his Horſe ſhot under him, and himſelf taken Priſoner. For a while *Rupert* follows the Chaſe almoſt to *Naſeby* Town, and in his return ſummoned the Train, who made no other anſwer but with their Fire-locks: but in the mean time *Cromwel* chargeth furiouſly on the Kings left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them and their Reſerve; during which the Main Bodies had charged one another with incredible fierceneſs, often Retreating & Rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Muſquets, and coming to handy-blows with their Swords. But *Fairfax*'s his Foot coming up ſeaſonably to the Horſe, and *Cromwel* coming in with his Victorious right Wing, they all charged together upon the Kings main Army, who unable to endure any longer, retired out of the field towards *Leiceſter*, and Prince *Rupert*, who now too late returned from his too eager purſuit, ſeeing the day loſt, accompanied them in their flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who purſued them within two miles of *Leiceſter*, and the King finding the purſuit ſo hot, leaves that Town, and haſts to *Litchfield*. This Battel was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very courageous and numerous; not being five hundred odds, fought in a large fallow field, on the North-weſt-ſide of *Naſeby*, about a mile broad, which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliaments ſide were wounded and ſlain, above a thouſand Officers and private Souldiers: Major General *Skippon* (who was an old experienced Souldier, and was ordered to draw up the form of the Battel) fought ſtoutly that day; and although he was ſorely wounded in the beginning of the fight, and the General deſired him to go off the field, he anſwered, he would not ſtir ſo long as a man would ſtand; and accordingly ſtayed till the Battel was ended. *Ireton* (as is ſaid before) was dangerouſly hurt and taken priſoner for a while, after he had done his part, but in the confuſion of the fight got looſe again, and ſaw the Victory atchieved. The General and Lieutenant General performed their work with ſufficient reſolution (had their Cauſe been as good) and by their own examples infuſed valour into their followers, ſo likewiſe did the other Officers, of whom divers were wounded. 1645.

The Victory obtained by the Parliamentarians.

The King eſcapes to Litchfield.

On the other ſide, the King ſhewed himſelf that day a couragious General, keeping cloſe with his Horſe, and himſelf in perſon rallying them to hot encounters, the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Aſhley*, Colonel *Raſtol* and other were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of note, and 600 private Souldiers ſlain: but much more was the dammage that the King ſuſtained, by what was taken, *viz.* ſix Colonels, 8 Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 200 Enſigns, and other inferiour Officers, 4500 Common Souldiers, and many women, 13 of the Kings houſhold Servants, four of his Footmen, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages; all their Bagg and Baggage, with ſtore of rich Pillage, 3000 Horſe, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after publiſhed by the Parliament (with leſs decency and civility than became ſuch an aſſembly) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* haſted away the the ſame night to *Newark*. The next day General *Fairfax* ſent up Col. *John Fines* to *London* with the Priſoners and Colours taken in the fight.

The King having ſaved himſelf by flight, gathered together ſome part of his ſcattered forces, but never was able to make head againſt the Conquerors, loſing this year one Garriſon after another, till his whole ſtrength was almoſt reduced to *Oxford*, I ſhall take notice only of ſome of the principal, namely *Leiceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Pomfract-Caſtle*, *Bridgwater*, *Scarbrough*, *Briſtow*, *Hereford*, and *Weſtcheſter*, on which ſo great a part of his affairs did moſt eſpecially depend.

Several garriſons of the Kings taken.

On the 16 *th.* of *June*, *Fairfax* ſat down before *Leiceſter*, and ſummoned the Governor the Lord *Haſtings* to deliver up the Town, which he refuſing, Warrants were iſſued for the Country to bring in Ladders and other neceſſaries for a ſtorm; and *Haſtings* continuing yet obſtinate, he aſſailed it in ſeveral places, and at the *Newark*-ſide, he made ſo wide a Breach, that the Governor deſired a Parlee, which was granted, and thereupon a ſurrendring enſued upon very fair terms. There were in the Town 14 pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horſe, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable, and about a week after Sir *Thomas Glemham* Governor of *Carliſle*, having been long beſieged by the Parliament forces, and deſpairing of ſuccours yielded up the Town. The low condition of Col. *Welden*, & the Town of *Taunton*, cauſed the Committee of both Kingdoms to order General *Fairfax* to march thither, which he readily obeyed, but upon his approach to the Town, General *Goring* on the tenth of *July*, drew off from *Taunton*, and retreated to *Langport*. The next day *Fairfax* being at *Long-Sutton* within two miles of *Langport*, he drew out his forces early in the morning in *Sutton-field*, *Goring* likewiſe drew forth at that time, and took a paſs leading to *Bridgwater*, and lined the way to it with Muſquettiers, *Fairfax* ſent Major *Bethel*

Leiceſter & Carliſle ſurrendred up to the Parliament.

to

1645. to force the pass, but he was repulst; then *Desbrough* was sent with 200 Horse, who prest so hard upon the Royallists, that they were put to a disorderly retreat into *Langport*, setting one end of the Town on fire, that the smoke thereof might hinder the enemies pursuit of them; but Lieutenant General *Cromwel* with some Troops prest through, and pursued them within two miles of *Bridgwater*.

In this fight *Goring* lost about 200 of his men, who were slain, and about 1400 taken prisoners, of which Colonel *Brettrige*, and Colonel *Slingsby* were the Chief. On *Fairfax*'s side Colonel *Cook*, Colonel *Butler*, and Major *Bethel* were wounded, and a Captain of *Butlers* slain, and about 100 of the Souldiers killed and wounded.

Sir *John Digby* who was Major General of the Horse to *Goring* was shot in the elbow, and carried into *Bridgwater*, where shortly after he died of his wound, and was very much lamented by his party, he was about forty five years of age at the time of his death, and in all his life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great courage and conduct in Martial affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. *Goring* after he had refresht himself for some time in *Bridgwater*, marched away to the North of *Devonshire*: Sir *Thomas Fairfax* presently thereupon sits down before *Bridgwater*, and summons the Town, but being resolutely denied by Sir *Edmond Windham* the Governor, he stormed the lower part thereof which is divided from the rest by a Bridge and gained it, and the next day he shot hot steel plugs into the Town, by which means, and by some intelligence he had with the Town, most of the houses that were thatcht were fired, whereby the Townsmen were so distracted, that they left the Works, and flung down their Arms to endeavour to save their houses. In the midst of this consternation, *Fairfax* sent a Trumpeter in to the Governor, wherin he acquainted him, that he purposed to assault the Town, but in compassion to the women and children therein, he offered to permit as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this there was so great a distraction in the Garrison, that the Governor was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon on the 23 of *July* the Town was surrendred, upon condition only of fair Quarter, but all except Townsmen that were in Arms to be prisoners at War, of which there were a thousand Officers and Souldiers, and in their stores they found 44 Barrels of Powder, and 400 weight of match; and in the Town 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 1500 Arms; and two days before *Pomfract*-Castle after three moneths Siege was delivered up to Major General *Pointz* upon condition for the Officers and Souldiers to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and bullet in mouth, with six shot of Powder, and bullet proportionable: and on the 25 *th.* of *July* the Castle of *Scarbrough* had the like fate, it being then surrendred by *Sir Hugh Cholmley* the Governour, to Sir *Matthew Boynton*, who commanded the forces before it upon very honorable conditions, amongst which it was provided, that the Governor and all his Officers and Souldiers should have a safe Convoy to *Newark*, and from thence after six days notice, as many as desired should have a pass to go into *Holland*, or any other place abroad, and none were to be plundered or forced to take up Arms against their wills, but to have Passes to go home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle so well, that at the delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Souldiers were so sick and weak, that they were brought out in sheets: there were about 35 pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Arms, but very little Victual or Ammunition. 1645.

Sir John Digby died of his wounds at Bridgwater.

Bridgwater yeelded up to Fairfax.

Pomfract-Castle delivered up to Gen. Pointz.

Scarbrough Castle surrendred to Sir Matthew Lointon.

Bristow comes next, a place conveniently seated for the trade of *Spain*, the River capable of great ships, and the Port well guarded: At the taking of this City by the Kings forces, to such strengths as before it had, there was added a fort Royal, then conceived impregnable, into this City Prince *Rupert* had put himself at the present, and was besieged not long after by General *Fairfax*, who came before it on the 25 *th.* of *August*. The Prince made several sallies, and did some execution upon the enemy, but not without considerable loss to his own party, amongst which Sir *Bernard Ashley*, and Sir *Richard Crane* died of wounds they received in one of them.

Fairfax had intelligence that the works in many places were very weak and imperfect, and withal he heard that the King did purpose to joyn with *Goring* to raise the Siege, but first expected that they should weary themselves so long before the Town, till he should be able to draw together a force sufficient for such an enterprize: upon consideration whereof a counsel of War was called, and resolution taken to storm the City, which was done in this order; Colonel *Forteſcue* with four Regiments on *Sommersetshire*-side, Colonel *Montague* with the like number on both sides of *Lawford*-Gate, and Colonel *Rainsborough* on this side the River *Froom*, from the Sally-port to the Fryers port, and other Regiments were disposed in several stations, to second the assailants, and enter the lines; *Forteſcue* failed in his attempt, but *Montague* and *Rainsborough* effected their business, and *Rainsborough* possest himself of Fryers-port, and all the other Forts, except the great Fort were taken; the way being thus made by the Foot, the Horse entred the Town, and the Princes Horse hastned to get themselves into the Fort-Royal, but the Parliamentarians from the Fryers-port did so command the Gate and entrance into the great Fort, that none could go in or out, so that the next day a Parley was had, and Articles concluded on for the surrender thereof; and in the place they had above 200 pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 200 barrels of Powder, 80 Tun of Beer, and great store of other Provisions. In the storm on the Kings side Major *Price*, Major *Williams*, and ten other Officers were slain, and many Souldiers, and Colonel *Taylor* wounded. On the Parliaments side, Lieutenant Colonel *Parefoy*, and Captain *Hill* and Major *Cromwel* with 30 more Officers were killed; and Major *Bethel*, Major *Gethings*, with some others of less note were wounded. The Prince on the 11 *th.* of *September* marched out of the City with eight Lords in his Company, 500 Horse, and 1400 foot, the Foot marched with their Muskets and other Arms, but when they

Bristow stormed by Fairfax.

1645. they came within 20 miles of *Oxford*, they were to lay them down.

Fairfax marches into the West to the Prince of of Wales.

Briſtow being thus reduced, *Fairfax* marched into the Weſt, towards the Prince of *Wales*, (who was now in the middle parts of *Devonſhire*) intending to take in *Exeter*, but there were ſo many blocks in his way, that it was a long time after before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick ſurrendring of *Briſtow* did much trouble the King, for he thought that City (ſo well fortified and furniſht with Victual, Arms, and Ammunition) would rather have given a turn to his affairs, by the ruine of the Parliament Army againſt it than otherways, there had before ſome Letters paſſed betwixt the King and the Prince, touching the Kings coming to a ſpeedy agreement with his two Houſes of Parliament, in which the King was ſo far preſſed, that he ſeemed to be diſpleaſed at it, and diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Lords at *Oxford* to diſplace Colonel *William Legg* (then Governour thereof, and a great confident of the Prince's) and to put Sir *Thomas Glemham* into his place.

Scots raiſe their ſiege from Hereford. Montroſſes Victory in Kilſieth-field neer Glaſcow. Hereford ſurpriſed by Colonel Birch and Morgan.

Hereford next followed the ſame fortune of *Briſtol*, which having been beſieged by the *Scots* from the 13 *th.* of *July* to the firſt of *September* (at which time they were forced to draw off, upon news that their help was required in their own Kingdom, where *Montroſs* was very prevalent, having defeated an Army imployed againſt him in a Battel fought in *Kilſieth* field near *Glaſcow*:) the Town was ſuddenly ſurprized by Colonel *Birch* and Colonel *Morgan* (the laſt then Governor of *Gloceſter*) on the eighteenth of *December*; the King a little before this time had got a ſmall Army together in *Wales*, and ſeeing *Briſtol* loſt, was very deſirous to free *Cheſter* (a City of very great importance in thoſe parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it by Sir *William Brereton*, Collonel *Jones*, and others, to effect which, he march'd with his Army conſiſting of about five thouſand men, and moſt Horſe to relieve the Town; but in his march towards it, he was fought by General *Poyntz* at *Routon-More* within two miles of *Cheſter*, where being outpower'd with numbers, his Army was worſted, and amongſt others, the Lord *Bernard Stewart* (Brother to the Duke of *Richmond* then newly made Earl of *Lichfeild*) was ſlain; he was a young Nobleman of great hopes, and therefore was his loſs very much lamented by the King; upon this diſcomfiture, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-eaſt, and commanded the Lord *Digby* and Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* to march for *Scotland*, and to joyn with the Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, who was very ſucceſful there, and only wanted Horſe to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the Kings obedience. Theſe in obedience to their order march'd Northward, and at a Village called *Sherborne*, they ſurprized ſeven hundred of the Parliament Foot, with their arms and baggage, but ſtaying there for carriages, ſome of General *Poyntz* his Forces commanded by Collonel *Copley*, Collonel *Lilborne*, and Collonel *Allured*, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about a hundred Officers, three hundred common Souldiers, ſix hundred Horſe, with their furniture, and the Lord *Digbyes* Coach and Horſes, and therein his Cabinet of Letters, but he, with the remains of his ſhatter'd Brigade, making towards *Scotland*, was a ſecond time met upon *Carliſle* Sands, and utterly defeated, he himſelf eſcaping to the *Iſle* of *Man*, from whence he got a paſſage into *Ireland*: The King was got to *Newark* when this misfortune hapned to the Lord *Digby*, but ſo great was the diſcontent he found there, that he was put to much trouble thereby; Sir *Richard Willis* upon ſome inſtigation of *Digby*, was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord *Bellaſis* made Governor thereof in his place, at which Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* were diſpleaſed, becauſe he was a perſon by them much favoured and eſteemed, and their diſpleaſure was in a while too openly manifeſted; for at a dinner with the Governor upon the 17 *th.* of *October*, upon ſome diſcourſe of the preſent tranſactions, and the managery of the Lord *Digby*, General *Gerard* ſaid, he was a Traytor, to which *Bellaſis* made ſuch a reply as occaſioned many paſſionate diſputes, wherein the two Princes juſtified *Gerard*; the King in the interim came in, and quieted the buſineſs by his preſence for a time, but in the doing thereof, ſome indecent carriages and expreſſions were made towards him by the inſtigation of *Willis*, which are not fit to be remembred; and in the concluſion, the two Princes, *Gerard*, the Lord *Hawley*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, with ſome others of their friends, retired to *Norton Houſe* fourteen miles from *Newark*, from whence they ſent to the Parliament for a paſs to tranſport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

1645.

The King comes to Newark.

Sir Richard Willis removed, and the Lord Bellaſis made Governor of Newark.

The two Princes, Gerard, Lord Hawley, and Willis, depart the Kingdom.

Theſe traverſes were accompanied with unwelcome intelligence from moſt places; for about this time, the King received the ill news of the taking from him of *Baſing-Houſe* by ſtorm, (the defendants not having a ſufficient number to man their works) and therein the Marqueſſe of *Wincheſter* (who had long and gallantly defended his Houſe) taken priſoner, with about two hundred others, and about a hundred were ſlain in the defence of the place; and as one misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had notice about the ſame time of the loſs of *Shelford Houſe* taken by ſtorm, wherein the Governor Collonel *Stanhop*, a Son of the Earl of *Cheſterfeild*, and neer two hundred more, were kill'd after the Houſe was entred.

Routon-More Battail, wherein his Majeſties Army was worſted, and the Lord Bernard Stuart Earl of Lichfield ſlain.

Baſing-houſe taken by ſtorm, and in it the Marqueſs of Wincheſter.

Shelford-Houſe taken by ſtorm, and Colonel Stanhop, with many others ſlain.

Newark at this time became ſo in-ſecure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, and therefore with a guard of three hundred Horſe, he got ſafe to *Oxford* on the third of *November*, and thither the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* came to him from *Worceſter* after a ſerious reflection upon themſelves for their miſcarriages towards him, and were perfectly reconciled to his favour.

The King leaves Newark, and comes ſafe to Oxford, whither the two Princes came to him and regain his favour

Lord Digby defeated at Sherburn in York-ſhire, and himſelf compell'd to fly into Ireland.

The Kings Forces in moſt parts became very much leſſen'd, and though by the endeavours of the Queene, and ſome of his Miniſters abroad, forein aid was promiſed him againſt the next Summer, yet the King in affection to his people, was rather inclined to trye all other waies than accept of thoſe ſuccors, and to that purpoſe from the 5 *th.* of *December* to the three and twentyth of *March* following, he ſent nine or ten meſſages to the Parliа-

1645. Parliament with offers of Peace, and for the better accompliſhment thereof, he propoſed to have a perſonal treaty with them, but they would not conſent to any other terms of accommodation, than to have all their demands drawn up into Bills to be preſented to him for his aſſent, yet in the mean time the King omitted not to uſe all waies in his power to relieve his Garriſons, and the Prince of *Wales* in the Weſt was very active, but the ſpirits of men became ſo much depreſſed by the victorious progreſſe of the Parliaments Troops, that nothing ſucceeded.

The King ſends offers of Peace to the Parliament, but they would not hear of an accommodation.

The ſiege of *Plymouth* was raiſed by *Fairfax*, and two daies after *Dartmouth* was ſurrendred to him by Sir *Hugh Pollard* the Governor thereof, and from thence he marched to *Exeter*, and ſummon'd it, and there he left Sir *Hardres Waller* to block up the City, whilſt himſelf with the reſt of his Forces went to find out the Prince his Army then commanded by the Lord *Hopton*, he himſelf being gone into *Cornwall* to raiſe the Trained-Bands, and what other Souldiers he could to ſtrengthen his Troops; whilſt theſe things were acting in the Weſt, the King at *Oxford* was again intent upon the relief of *Cheſter*, and for that ſervice ſeveral Forces were by Sir *William Vaughan* drawn out of the Garriſons of *Hereford*, *Ludlow*, *Worceſter*, and *Bridgenorth*, who with ſeven hundred Horſe, and ſeven hundred Foot, advanced to its relief; but the enemie drawing out a party of a thouſand four hundred Horſe, and a thouſand Foot, encountred, and utterly routed him, ſo that after this attempt, all hopes of relief failing, on the ſame day the City was delivered up to Sir *William Brereton* upon theſe conditions, *viz.* That the Lord *Byron* and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers, and Souldiers, ſhould depart the Town in all their apparel whatſoever; The Lord *Byron* with Horſe and Arms, and ten men alike accompliſhed to attend him; his Lady, and Servants, with Coaches, in each four Horſes, with ſuch other Ladies & Gentlewomen as he thought fit, and with his Books, Evidences and Writings in his poſſeſſion; but all of them with not above fourty pounds in money, and twenty pound in plate; the reſt of the Noblemen with their Ladies anſwerable to their honour, with not above thirty pounds in money, and ſo every one in their degrees to the common Souldiers, who were to march away with 20 *s.* each: Nor were the Conditions for the Citizens leſs reaſonable, which were the eaſier condeſcended to by Sir *William Brereton*, though he knew their diſtreſs, becauſe of the deſire he had not to ruine the City, the chief of his County, and of which he hoped to be Governor.

Dartmouth ſurrendred to Fairfax.

The Kings Forces ſent to the relief of Cheſter, routed, and the City delivered up to Sir William Brereton.

And on the ſame day *Belvoir* Caſtle was by Sir *Gervaſe Lucas* ſurrendred to General *Poyntz* upon Conditions, and the Governour and his Lady, with the Officers and Souldiers, were with a Convey conducted to *Lichfield*. At *Torrington* in *Devonſhire*, *Fairfax* found the Lord *Hopton* with his Army, which he reſolved to ingage; *Hopton* having the leſſer number, drew up his men into ſeveral cloſes, and *Fairfax* preſſed upon him very hard, but a great part of the time was ſpent in Skirmiſhes by ſeveral parties, till both retired; at length the Forlorne-hopes of both Armies engaged, that of the Parliaments, with its Reſerve, was at firſt beaten back to the main body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight a clock at night, nigh the Town, to which the Royaliſts retreated, and there they maintained the charge ſo reſolutely, that had not *Fairfax*'s Souldiers been heartned with freſh ſupplyes, they had given it utterly over; but the other overpowered by their freſh numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemie gained the Town; which being entred into, the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a train, and deſtroyed *Fairfax* more men than he had loſt in the Battail; for there was no leſs than eighty Barrels of Powder: upon the firing of the Magazine, Sir *John Digby* took advantage of the Enemies amazement, and gave them a reſolute Charge, in which he did ſome execution, and ſo fell off, and marched with the reſt of the Forces into *Cornwall*; whither *Fairfax* followed with ſo much ſpeed, that he compell'd the Royaliſts in diſorder to quit *Launceſton*, whereupon the Prince of *Wales* marched away towards *Pendennis* Caſtle, accompanied with the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Culpepper*, and Sir *Edward Hide*, and took ſhipping there on the firſt of *March*, and arrived ſafely at *Scilly*; the Lord *Hopton* ſoon after finding it in vain to make reſiſtance with his broken Army, being ſummoned by *Fairfax* to disband, conſented to it upon very honourable Conditions; but having experienc'd how ill Articles had been obſerved, and being likewiſe ſenſible of the ill effects of the Kings gratious propoſals for peace; He choſe rather than to go to *Oxford* (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliaments Horſe) to tranſport himſelf to *France*.

1645.

The Lord Hopton beaten, and Torrington taken by Fairfax.

Launceſton quitted by the King.

The Prince of Wales takes ſhipping, and arrives at Scilly.

Lord Hopton accepted of conditions for diſbanding his Army, and tranſports himſelf to France.

After the disbanding of theſe Forces, all the Kings Garriſons and Forts in *Cornwall* yielded, except *Pendennis* Caſtle, and St. *Michaels Mount*, and General *Fairfax* return'd to the ſiege of *Exeter*.

All theſe miſchances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectation reſted upon the coming of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, (created Lord *Aſtley* of *Redding* two years ſince:) Who having kept together ſome Remainders of the Kings Forces ſince the fight near *Cheſter*, and increaſing them with the acceſſion of ſome freſh ſupplyes, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir *John Campsfeild* with the *Oxford* Horſe. But either through the want of Intelligence, or the neceſſity of fate, or ſome occaſional delaies, it was ſo long before *Campsfield* was upon his march, that the News came of the Lord *Aſtleys* being vanquiſh'd by Colonel *Morgan* at a place called *Donnington* near *Stow* on the *Wold*, on the 21 *th.* of *March*: In which fight himſelf was taken priſoner, and with him all the Kings hopes were loſt of preſerving *Oxford*, till he could better his condition.

Belvoir Caſtle ſurrendred to the Parliament.

Lord Aſhley defeated at Stow.

The King having often ſent to the Parliament (as hath been ſaid) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to *Weſtminſter* in Perſon, had on the 30 *th.* of *March* a meſſage from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unſafe for him or them to return to *Weſtminſter*, untill he had aſſented to the Propoſitions which they were framing, &c. And to pre-

1646. vent his coming to *London* without their knowledge and consent, they voted, That if the King should come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication; that then the Committee of the Militia of *London* should have Power, and were thereby enjoyned to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent resort unto him, and to secure his Person.

The Parliament vote against the Kings coming to London in order to a Treaty.

Exeter was at this time so much distress'd, and without possibility of relief, that the City was on the 13 *th.* of *April* surrendred to *Fairfax* upon very good conditions; Sir *John Berkley* the Governor was to march out with his Souldiers, both Cornish and others in the height of Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Bullet in mouth, Matches lighted, &c. The first into their Countrey, and the others to *Oxford*; The Princesse *Henrietta* youngest Daughter to the King, (who ever since her Birth had continued in this City under the care of the Lady *Dalkeith*) was sent up to *London*, there to be disposed of by the Parliament, till soon after she was by her Governesse conveyed privately to her Mother in *France*. To the Fortune of *Exeter*, *Barnstable* Town and Fort, St. *Michaels Mount*, *Dunston* Castle, *Woodstock*, and many other Garrisons soon after submitted; so that *Fairfax* his victorious Army having cleared the West, was now resolved to march up to a close beleaguering of *Oxford*, (which had sometime before been extremely streightned by the continual Alarms of *Fleetwood* and *Rainsborough*) which made the King begin to think of some way for his safety; and at last on the 27 *th.* of *April* the King disguised, departed out of *Oxford*, accompanied only with Mr. *Hudson* a Minister, and Mr. *John Ashburnham*, and few or none else were acquainted with his design, so that though many knew that he was gone, yet various were the opinions whether; some said to *Wales*, others to *Montross* in *Scotland*, but the most general opinion was, that he was come up and lay in *London* concealed; to discover which, the Parliament passed an Order, *That whatsoever person should harbour or conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the Kings Person, and should not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Common-wealth, forfeit his whole Estate, and dye without mercy*. But contrary to all mens expectations, he is at length heard of at the Scots Camp before *Newark*; many wondred how he durst trust his Person with them, but the Parliament having notice of it, immediately ordered that the Commissioners, and the General of the Scotish Army, should be desired, *that his Majesties Person might be disposed of as the Two Houses should desire and direct, and that he be thence disposed of, and sent to* Warwick *Castle, and that* John Ashburnham *and the rest that came with him into the Scots Quarters, should be sent for as Delinquents by the Serjeants at Arms, and that the Commissioners of the Parliament residing before* Newark, *should make a Narrative of the Kings coming thither, and present it to the House*; But these votes were scarce past when came a Letter from the General and Commissioners of the Scottish Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms, to be communicated to the Parliament, acquainting them, *That the earnest desire they had to keep a right understanding between the two Kingdoms, moved them to acquaint them with that strange providence wherewith they were surprized, together with their carriage and desires thereupon; That the King came yesterday into their Army in so private a way, that after they had made some search for him upon the surmises of some Persons who pretended to know his face, yet they could not find him in sundry Houses; That they believed their Lordships would think it was matter of much astonishment to them, seeing they did not expect him to come into any place under their Power; They conceived it not fit to inquire into the Causes, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved for procuring the work of Uniformity, for setling Religion, and attaining of Peace according to the League and Covenant, and Treaty, by the advice of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and their Commissioners authorized for that effect; That trusting to their integrity, they were perswaded that none would so far misconstrue them, as that they intended to make use of this seeming advantage, for promoting any other ends than were expressed in the Covenant, and had hitherto been pursued by them with no less Conscience than care; That for further satisfaction they did ingenuously declare, That there had been no Treaty nor Capitulation betwixt his Majesty and them, nor any in their names; but that they left the waies and means of Peace to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and so far as concerned them as they had a witness in Heaven, they were confident to make it appear, That there was nothing more in their desires than in all their resolutions and proceedings to adhere to the Covenant and Treaty; That their greatest thoughts should be taken up in studying, and their utmost abilities imployed in acting those things which most advanced the publick good and common happiness of both Kingdoms, wherein by the help of God they should labour to use so much tenderness and care, that they hope it shall soon appear, their actions were the result of honest and single intentions; That they could not in a matter of so deep consequence and common interest, but seek their Lordships advice; for which effect they had also written to the Committee of Affairs in* Scotland, *with intentions to move joyne consents and resolutions, that after a seed time of Afflictions, we might reap the sweet fruits of Truth and Peace.* This was the account given by *Leven* the General, and the Commissioners in the Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms at *Westminster*. In the mean time the Garrison of *Newark* (which had been for a long time valiantly defended by the Lord *Bellasis* both against the Scots and English Forces, and had made many fortunate Sallies upon the Besiegers) was upon the 4 *th.* of *May*, the day before the King came into the Scotch Camp, entred upon a Treaty, and on the 9 *th.* was agreed to be surrendred upon Condition, "That the Garrison, with all the Ordnance, Arms, "and Ammunition, should be delivered up to "the Commissioners for the Parliament of *Eng-*"*land*; That the Lord *Bellasis* Governor, with "all Officers, Gentlemen and Clergy, to march "away with their Horses and Swords unto any "Garrison of the Kings not besieged, or to their "own Houses; the Souldiers to have staves in "their hands, and their own Goods, and all of them

1646.

Exeter surrendred to Fairfax.

The Princess Henrietta conveyed privately to her Mother in France.

Barnstable, Woodstock, with many other Garrisons, submit to the Parliament.

Oxford besieged again by Fairfax.

The King disguised, leaves Oxford.

The Parliaments Order against his concealment.

The King comes to the Scots Camp before Newark.

The Parliament sues to the Scots for the disposal of the Kings Person.

The Scots General and Commissioners Letters to the Parliament.

Newark surrendred.

1646.

"them to have three moneths time to make their "peace with the Parliament; or that failing, to "be allowed Passes to go beyond Sea. About this time also was *Banbury* Castle surrendred, and not long after *Carnarvon* Town and Castle were delivered up upon Articles by the Lord *Byron*, and the Scots having conveyed the King from *Southwel* to *Newcastle*; for the more surer possession of him, He on the 10*th*. of *June* by their advice, published a direction to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, Sir *Thomas Tilsely*, Colonel *Washington*, and Colonel *Blague*, Governors of *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Litchfield*, and *Wallingford*, and to all other Commanders of any Towns, Castles or Forts within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, giving them an account of his Resolutions to comply with the designs of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the good of his Subjects, and leave no means unattempted for the removing of differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the reality of his intentions therein, he required them upon Honourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts intrusted to them, and to disband all the Forces under their several Commands: But before notice hereof came to *Oxford*, the Governor and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at *Hedington* the 17*th*. of *May*, between Sir *John Mounson*, Sir *John Heyden*, Sir *Tho. Gardner*, Sir *George Binion*, Sir *Richard Willis*, Sir *Stephen Hawkins*, Colonel *Gosvelt*, Colonel *Tillier*, Doctor *Zouch*, *Thomas Christy*, *John Dutton*, *Geffry Palmer*, and *Robert Mead*, Esquires, for the besieged; and Lieutenant General *Hammond*, Commissary General *Ireton*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Rich*, Scout-Master General *Watson*, Major *Desbrough*, Major *Harrison*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Waller*, for the Parliament. And after a tedious Treaty continued to the 25*th*. of *June*, without any Cessation of Arms it was delivered upon Conditions sufficiently honourable, had they been as honourably performed; The whole number of the Garrison was supposed to amount to 7000 Souldiers and Scholars in pay, who all marched out; but many of the Nobility and Gentry had leave to tarry for Passes; the Chief of whom were the Duke of *York*, the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, the Earls of *Dorset*, *Hertford*, and *Southampton*, the Lords *Cottington*, *Dunsmore*, Secretary *Nicholas*, and others. The Duke of *York* was conveyed to *London*, and at St. *James*'s committed with the rest of the Royal Children to the tuition and care of the Earl of *Northumberland* and his Lady. The two Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* had Passes granted them to go beyond Sea, but before their departure by the Parliaments leave they had a visit made to them by their Brother the Prince Elector, (who all this time sided with the Parliament;) which they coldly received. Two daies after the surrendry, all the Seals of Estate were sent up from the General to the two Houses at *Westminster*, to wit, the Great Seal of *ENGLAND*, carried by the Lord Keeper *Littleton* to the King in the year 1642. The Privie-Seal, Signet, Kings-Bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy-Seals, together with the Sword; the Seals were immediately voted to be broken in pieces, which was accordingly performed by a Smith in the House of Lords, the Commons standing by, and the broken Silver given in reward to the two Speakers, but the Sword was laid up safe in the Wardrobe. All other Garrisons were soon after surrendred according to the Kings Order, *Ragland* Castle was one of the last held out in *England* or *Wales*, which the Old Marques of *Worcester* a man of fourscore and four years of age, delivered up on very good Conditions, when the King had neither Field Army nor scarce a Garrison besides it in *England*.

Banbury & Carnarvon Town and Castle surrendred.

The Scots convey the King to Newcastle.

The King sends directions to his Commanders to quit their Towns and Forts, & to disband their Forces.

Oxford delivered up to the Parliament.

The Duke of York with the rest of the Kings Children committed to the care of the Earl of Northumberland.

All the Seals of Estate broken in the Lords House.

Ragland Castle surrendred.

The Kings Children were not long kept together under that restraint the Parliament put upon them, the Princesse *Henrietta* being in a short time after conveyed into *France* by the Lady *Dalkeith*, and the Duke of *York* after, as will be related hereafter.

The King having by advice of the Scots (as you have heard) given Order to all the Governors of his Garrisons in *England* and *Wales*, to give up all the Towns and Castles which remain'd untaken, found not such a general obedience to his Commands, as the Scots expected; for many of them consider'd him as being under a Restraint, and speaking rather the sense of others than his own, upon which grounds they continued still upon their guard, in hope of better times, or of better conditions: but the Scots desirous to haste home in safety with that spoyl and plunder which they had gotten in their marching and remarching betwixt *Tweed* and *Hereford*, were very impatient at this caution of the Kings Governors, and therefore prest his Majesty to reiterate his Orders, but that which they most earnestly importun'd was, that the Marquesse of *Montross* should lay down his Commission, who with small strength in the beginning, and inconsiderable Forces when they were at the best, had acted things in *Scotland* even unto admiration. For besides many victories of less consequence, he had twice beaten the Marquesse of *Argile* out of the Field, followed him home, and wasted his Countrey with fire and sword. He vanquish'd *Laily* one of the best Souldiers of the faction (commanding over a well formed Army) in a set Battel fought between them; and followed his blow so well, that he made himself Master of the City and Castle of *Edenburgh*, releasing divers of his friends who had been seized and imprisoned there when he first took arms. Had the Lord *Digbies* Horse come to him, he had not only perfected, but assured the conquest of that Kingdom: but instead of those aids which he expected, he was unexpectedly set upon, and his whole Army broken by *David Lesley*, sent from the Scots Army in *England*, with six thousand Horse to oppose the progress of his fortune; whose coming being known to the Earl of *Roxborow* and *Traquair* (in whom the King continued still his wonted confidence) was purposely concealed from him, to the end that he being once suppressed, and in him the Kings power destroyed in *Scotland*, they might be sure from being called to an account of their former Treasons: however he began to make head again, and was in a way of well-doing when he received the Kings command to disband his Forces; to which he readily conformed, took ship, and put himself into a voluntary exile.

Montrosses Army broken by Lesley.

Montross receives a command from the King to disband his Army.

1646. Whilſt the King was at *Southnell* he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which after many debates, was ſo far comply'd with, as to ſend Propoſitions to him by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Mr. *Godwin*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Hippeſley*, and Mr. *Robinſon*, but they were ſo high both in relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the change of Religion eſtabliſhed, that he could not conſent to them, but to give them ſome ſatisfaction therein, On the firſt of *Auguſt* the following Meſſage was ſent to them.

C. R.

The Kings Meſſage to the Parliament.

The Propoſitions tendered to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners, &c. (to which the Houſes of Parliament have taken twice ſo many moneths for deliberation, as they have aſſigned daies for His Majeſties anſwer) do import ſo great alterations of Government both in Church and State, as it is very difficult to return a particular and poſitive Anſwer, before a full debate, wherein thoſe Propoſitions, and the neceſſary explanations, true ſenſe and reaſons thereof be rightly weighed and underſtood, & that His Majeſty upon the full view of the whole Propoſitions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away or changed. In all which he finds (upon diſcourſe with the ſaid Commiſſioners) that they are ſo bound up from any Capacity, either to give reaſons for the demands they bring, or to give ears to ſuch deſires as His Majeſty is to propound, as it is impoſſible for him to give ſuch a preſent Judgment of, and Anſwer to theſe Propoſitions whereby he can Anſwer to God, that a ſafe and well-grounded peace will enſue, (which is evident to all the World can never be, unleſs the juſt Power of the Crown, as well as the freedome and propriety of the Subject, with the juſt liberty and priviledges of the Parliament, be likewiſe ſetled) to which end His Majeſty deſires and propoſes to come to London, *or any of his Houſes thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and ſecurity of the two Houſes of Parliament, and the Scots Commiſſioners, that he ſhall be there with freedome, honour and ſafety, where by his perſonal preſence he may not only raiſe a mutual confidence between him and his people, but alſo have thoſe doubts cleared, and thoſe difficulties explained unto him, which he now conceives to be deſtructive to his juſt legal Power, if he ſhould give a full conſent to theſe propoſitions as they now ſtand. As likewiſe that he may make known to them ſuch his reaſonable demands, as he is moſt aſſured will be very much conducible to that peace which all good men deſire and pray for, by the ſetling of Religion, the juſt priviledges of Parliament, with the freedome and propriety of the Subject. And His Majeſty aſſures them, that as he can never condeſcend unto what is abſolutely deſtructive unto that juſt power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto, ſo he will chearfully grant and give his aſſent unto all ſuch Bills on the deſire of his two Houſes, or reaſonable Demands from* Scotland, *which ſhall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particulars, (much leſs any bodies elſe) in reſpect of the happineſs of thoſe Kingdoms: Wherefore His Majeſty conjures them as Chriſtians, as Subjects, and as Men who deſire to leave a good Name behind them, that they will ſo receive and make uſe of this Anſwer, that all iſſues of blood may be ſtopped, and theſe unhappy diſtractions peaceably ſetled; and upon aſſurance of an Agreement, His Majeſty will immediately ſend for the Prince his Son, abſolutely expecting his perfect obedience to return to this Kingdome.* 1646.

This Meſſage did not prevail, and many debates were agitated betwixt the Parliament and the Scots about the diſpoſing of the King; It was freely granted by the Parliament to the Scots, that they might carry him if they pleaſed to *Edenburgh*, but that they refuſed, affirming that by his preſence in an unſetled Kingdome, new commotions might ariſe, they rather deſired that he might be carried into the Southern parts of *England*, and live in ſome of his houſes neer *London*, which they thought moſt convenient for treating of a peace, ſo that in all that whole debate, they ſeemed rather to contend not who ſhould have the King, but who ſhould not have him.

But before the Scots entred upon this Treaty about the Perſon of the King, they had agreed with the Parliament upon terms for their marching out of *England*, by which agreement they were to have two hundred thouſand pounds paid in preſent upon their delivery of *Barwick*, *Carliſle*, and *Newcaſtle* to the Parliament of *England*, and two hundred thouſand more ſecured to them upon the publick Faith of the Kingdome.

The firſt payment of this money was made at *Newcaſtle* according to the compact, & thereupon they delivered the King to the Earls of *Pembrook* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Sir *John Cook*, Mr. *Crew*, and Major General *Brown*, who were Commiſſioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and with theſe on the 8 *th* of *February* the King ſet forward towards his Houſe at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he arrived on the 16 *th*. of the ſame moneth, the *Scots* two days before the Kings departure marched from *Newcaſtle*, which was poſſeſt by a Garriſon of *Engliſh*, and a few days after, they alſo put *Barwick* and *Carliſle* into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home to *Scotland*. The King at *Holdenby* was kept ſo cloſe, that none of his domeſtick Servants that had attended him ſince he left *London*, nor any of his Chaplains were ſuffered to have acceſs unto him. And the Parliament having

The Scots deliver up the King into the power of the Parliament.

The King cloſe Priſoner at Holdenby Houſe.

1646. having now the King in their poſſeſſion, and all his Armies and Garriſons ſubdued by their forces, they began to be much divided amongſt themſelves, under the names of Presbyterians and Independants.

Presbyterians deſcribed.

The firſt whereof who were the major part in both Houſes were, thoſe who in compliance with the *Scots* thought themſelves obliged by the Covenant to ſet up the Presbyterian Diſcipline of *Geneva*, as it was exerciſed in *Scotland* under the Government of Congregational, Claſſical, Provincial and National Aſſemblies (to whom the City of *London* very much adhered) but the others diſliked that ſort of Government as too rigorous, imperious and concluſive, holding that Churches ſhould not be ſubordinate as Parochial to Provincial, and Provincial to National, but coordinate, without ſuperiority; and from hence they were called Independents: whereof the firſt eminent appearance was in the Aſſembly of Divines, which met in the year 1643 at *Weſtminſter* to conſult about matters of Religion; for the major part of theſe being Presbyterians, were in conſideration of a Directory and Model of that Government to be propoſed to the Parliament, when five of their Members, *viz. Thomas Goodwin*, *Philip Nye*, *Sidrach Simpſon*, *Jeremiah Burroughs*, and *William Bridge* made ſome oppoſition, and deſired Toleration to be indulged to them, that they might not be concluded by the Votes of the Aſſembly, but the reſt of the Members oppoſed their Toleration, and ſome moved their ejection out of the Aſſembly, except in convenient time they would comply therewith, whereupon the Diſſenters appealed from the Aſſembly, and preſented an Apologetical Narrative to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for ſome favour to them, whoſe Conſciences could not joyn with the Aſſembly in all particulars, concluding, That they purſued no other intereſt or deſign but a ſubſiſtance in their own land, as not knowing where elſe with ſafety, health, and livelihood to ſet their feet on earth.

The firſt riſe of Independents.

An Aſſembly of Divines ſit at Weſtminſter

Upon this Petition they found ſuch favour, that they were ſecured from further trouble; and from this beginning they grew to ſo great an increaſe, that they had the beſt preferments left in the Church, and opened and ſhut the door of preferment to others.

Lieutenant General *Cromwel* and Commiſſary General *Ireton*, and the greateſt part of the Army, conſiſting now of men of ſeveral Sects of Religion, did much favour theſe Independents, who to ingratiate themſelves with them (though in their Confeſſion of Faith and Doctrine they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian) held out a Liberty of Conſcience to all other Sects in the profeſſion of their Faith and exerciſe of their Religion.

1647. This inclination of the Army to the Independents made the Presbyterians, who were the major part of the Parliament, very watchful over their actions, and obſerving that the Army at their Courts of War laid hold on all pretences of ſcandals & crimes to disband & caſhier Presbyterians, that Independents might be put in their places, reſolved to diſband all of them except five thouſand Horſe, a thouſand Dragoons, and five Companies of fire-locks, for people they wanted not a good pretence, that the people might be eaſed thereby of a great part of the Taxes impoſed upon them for their maintenance, and that ſome of them might be ſent into *Ireland*, where there was a want of Engliſh Souldiers. And for this purpoſe they borrowed two hundred thouſand pounds of the City of *London*. The head-Quarters of the Army was at St. *Edmund-Bury* in *Suffolk*, when theſe matters were debated in Parliament; but by the intelligence they kept at *Weſtminſter* nothing thereof was concealed from them, and by the Independent party in the Houſe (as it was commonly ſaid) they were ſo practiſed on, that they were reſolved not to disband, yet when ſomething of this was ſuggeſted in the Houſe of Commons; *Cromwel* with his hand upon his breaſt, ſaid, *In the preſence of God before whom he ſtood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their doors whenſoever they ſhould command them.* Upon this aſſertion, Orders of both Houſes for disbanding were ſent to the Army with inſtructions for determining the Accompts of the Souldiers, but inſtead of obedience to theſe Orders a Councel of Officers met at St. *Edmunds-Bury* to conſider thereof, began to debate of the matter with much diſſatisfaction, and two Souldiers out of each of ſixteen Regiments of Horſe and Foot, as Agitators or Agents of their reſpective Regiments were allowed to meet alſo in a kind of Councel on the ſame buſineſs, and both of theſe Aſſemblies agreed upon the ſame things in ſubſtance, namely, againſt diſbanding; and in a Petition to the General, they deſired the Army might be ſpeedily drawn to a Rendezvouze, and that he would uſe his utmoſt to endeavour that it be not disbanded till publique Grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and all ſuch perſons called to accompt who had been intenders, contrivers, or promoters of their deſtructions (for ſo they termed thoſe of the Parliament that voted them to be disbanded.) Theſe requeſts of the Officers and Souldiers produced a General Rendezvouze of the Army at *Newmarket* on the fourth of *June*, and the Agitators the day before privately ſent Cornet *Joyce* with a party of Souldiers to ſeize on the King (as will be mentioned hereafter) and at this Rendezvouze they aſſociated themſelves together as a kind of diſtinct body from the reſt of the Kingdom, and ſubſcribed a ſolemn Ingagement of their reſolution, wherein they to this purpoſe expreſſed themſelves, (*viz.*)

1647.

The Army reſolve to disband the Presbyterians.

Agitators of the Army choſen.

We the Officers and Souldiers of the Army ſubſcribing hereunto, do hereby declare, agree, and promiſe to, and with each other, that we ſhall not willingly disband nor divide, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be disbanded or divided, until we have ſecurity, that we as private men, as other the free born people of England *ſhall not remain ſubject to the like oppreſſions and injuries as have been attempted, and ſhall have ſuch ſatisfaction and ſecurity as ſhall be agreed upon by a Councel to conſiſt of thoſe General Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the Army in this reſolution* (for many moderate men upon theſe diſcontents left them) *with two Commiſſion Officers and two Souldiers for each Regiment, of ſuch likewiſe as ſubſcribed to this Agreement.* But whilſt theſe contrivances were acted at the head-Quarters, there was a large Petition framed in the County of *Eſſex* againſt the

The Armies Ingagement.

1647. Army; upon this *Cromwel* goes to *Walden* where the head-Quarters of the Army then was, on pretence of quieting the distempers thereof, but nothing was effected; and in the moneth of *May*, they presented a Petition to their General, wherein they desired to be satisfied, not only for their pay as Souldiers, but that a Provision might be made for their Indempnity, and several other things relating to Publike settlement: of which Petition great complaint was made by the Presbyterians; yet they rested not here, but were very active in framing another to be presented to the Parliament. But the Parliament shewed their high dislike of that petition and their approbation and esteem of their good service who first discovered it: but declared, if the Subscribers would forbear to proceed any further therein, they should be retained in the Parliaments good opinion, and that those who shall continue in the present distempers, shall be proceeded against as enemies to the State.

The King brought from Holdenby to the Army by Cornet Joyce.

These and some other alterations wrought at last so far, that on the 4*th.* of *June* a party of Souldiers commanded by Cornet *Joyce*, came somewhat late to *Holdenby*, and desired to speak with the King, which being granted, he told him, he was come by command of the Army to remove him from that place; and so the next day after Dinner he carried him towards the Army. But on the 6*th.* of *June* the General sent a Letter to the Parliament, to certifie that he knew nothing of the Party that attended the King, professing that his remove was without his consent, or his Officers about him, but the Party that did it, told him that the reason thereof was from an apprehension of some strength gathered to take him away, thereby to make a new War, the plot and plotters whereof they were able to prove when called thereunto: when this was known, it was ordered by both Houses of Parliament.

The Armies Representation to the Parliament.

1. *That the King should reside at* Richmond.
2. *That he should be attended by the same persons that he was at* Holdenby.
3. *That* Rossiters *Regiment should guard him.*

But the Army in stead of complying herewith, sent a Representation to the Parliament wherein they proposed.

That the two Houses might be speedily purged of such as ought not to sit there.

That such who abused the Parliament and Army, and endangered the Kingdom might be speedily disabled from doing the like or worse.

That some determinate period of time might be set to this and future Parliaments, according to the Act for Triennial Parliaments.

That provision might be for succeeding Parliaments not to be adjournable or dissolvable by any power but by their own consent during their respective period, and then to determine themselves.

That the freedom of the people to present grievances by Petition to Parliament may be vindicated.

That the exorbitant power of Countrey Committees may be taken away.

That the Kingdom may be satisfied in the Parliaments accompts for their vast sums received, and also in divers other things wherein the Commonwealth have been long abused.

That after such Delinquents as have been of the Kings Party have compounded for their Delinquencies and paid their Compositions, an Act of Oblivion may be passed. 1647.

And immediately after this Representation, there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Councel of Officers, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, (*viz.*) *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Massey*, Mr. *Glyn* Recorder of *London*, *Anthony Nicols*, Esq; Colonel *Edward Harley*, and Colonel *Water Long*, for things done for the most part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, *That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass.* The impeached members declared themselves ready to answer any crime that could be objected against them, but the Officers of the Army requested that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members: but this was denied as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the priviledge of Parliament; but when the Army iterated their desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary secession for six moneths. Concerning that Order of Parliament, That the King should go to *Richmond*, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command that till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no residence for the King nearer to *London*, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be: after which the King was conveyed to *Royston*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Causam* while the Army Quartered at *Reading*, from whence when the General with his Army marched to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedfords* house near *Ouborn*, and during all this time he was received with all possible demonstrations of love and duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common Prayer, as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own party who desired to see him.

Eleven Members impeached by the Army.

The City of *Londons* Militia as it was setled by Ordinance of the 4*th.* of *May* was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and industrious in compleating their Companies both of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracie against the Army, and the General in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10*th* of *June*, requested, *That the Militia of the City might be put into the hands of persons better affected to the Army*: Upon which Letter the Commons upon the 22*th.* of *July* Voted the repealing the said Ordinance of the 4*th.* of *May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old Militia was presently passed.

The Petition of the City against the Vote for taking the Militia out of their hands.

The unexpected news of this changing their Militia caused the City to meet in Common-Councel, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Armies desires, they resolved to Petition the House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26*th.* of *July* by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Councel; but so it hapned, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three hours

1647. hours after with another Petition, therein complaining, *That to order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right, belonging to them by Charters confirmed by Parliament, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put, with the Parliament and Cities consent by Ordinance of the* 4 *th.* of May. Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords revived the Ordinance of the 23 *th.* of *July*, and renewed that of the 4 *th.* of *May*, by a new Ordinance of the 26 *th.* of *July*, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices in a childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, so that at last it passed in the affirmative about three in the afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed, but after this some disorderly persons when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust him again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced from them a Vote, *That the King should come to London.*

After this disorder the two Houses adjourned for four days, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither, so that on the fourth day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord *Hunsdon* for the Peers, and Mr. *Henry Pelham* a Barrister for the Commons, by whom it was that day voted,

The Speakers and divers Members fly to the Army.

1. *That the King should come to* London.

2. *That the Militia of* London *should be authorised to raise forces for defence of the City.*

3. *That power should be given to the same Militia to chuse a General for those Forces.*

It was likewise Ordred, *That the aforesaid eleven Members impeached by the Army should return to their seats in Parliament.* The Citizens armed with these Orders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massey*, and Colonel *Poyntz*, who were each of them busie in lifting of Souldiers; but *Waller* who was a person of good experience and foresight, seeing great numbers of Reformed Officers and Souldiers lately disbanded flocking to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about *London*, to the number of six thousand, and bring them in Tuttle-fields, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have quickly Souldiers to mount them, and in four and twenty hours time they might have a Body of Horse to joyn with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt any thing against the Parliament and the City: and of this the Army were in great fear, but some of their friends in the Common Councel did so distract their consultations, that it appeared impossible for them suddenly to raise any forces to withstand the Army, who by this time upon intelligence hereof made their approaches towards *London*; whereupon the Aldermen and Common Councel were so terrified that they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament then with him, was granted to them upon these conditions: 1647.

The City submits to the Army.

1. *That they should desert the Parliament now sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.*

2. *That they should recal their Declaration lately divulged.*

3. *They should relinquish their present Militia.*

4. *They should deliver up to the General all their Forts, and the Tower of* London.

5. *They should disband all the forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary for the Publike tranquility*; all which things none of them daring to deny, were presently ratified.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons who had left *London*, consulting with the General and chief Commanders of the Army made an Order, That all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26 *th.* of *July* and since should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Councel of the Army. It was likewise decreed, that the General with his Army should march to *London*: and on the 6 *th.* day of *August* he with his Army came to *Westminster*, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in *England* and *Wales*, & Constable of the Tower of *London*: and a moneths pay was likewise given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General *Fairfax*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, Major General *Skippon* and the rest of the Commanders with the whole Army marched through *London* from the Western part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower the General made Colonel *Tichburn*, an Alderman of the Independent faction to be Lieutenant of the Tower, and to humble the City, the Militia's thereof were by Order of Parliament divided, and authority given to *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the Hamlets about the Tower to exercise and command their own Militia's.

The General comes with his Army to Westminster

The Members of Parliament in this manner restored, and the Militia of *London* setled to the Armies good liking, the General marched out of *London*, and Quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about *Whitehal* and the *Mews* to guard the Parliament, his head-Quarters being at *Putney*; and the King about the middle of *August* was brought to the most stately of all his Pallaces, *Hampton-Court*.

The King brought to Hampton-Court.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthning of their factions to proceed against all such of both Houses, of Parliament and others that were in any measure active in the late troubles, and therefore Sergeant *Glyn* was outed of his Office of Recorder of *London*, and one *Steele* a Barrister of *Grays-Inn* admitted in his place, and *Hollis*, *Waller*, *Clotworthy*, *Long*, *Massey*, and *Nichols* were summoned to attend the House on the 16 *th.* of *October*; and the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Suffolk*,

1647. *Suffolk*, and *Middlesex*, with the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Berkley*, *Hunsdon*, and *Maynard*, were impeached of Treason, and committed to the *Black-Rod*, and Sir *John Mainard* of the House of Commons, and Sir *John Gayr* Lord Mayor of *London*, with four Aldermen, *Adams*, *Langham*, *Culham*, and *Bunch*, were also impeached and committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look to the affairs of *Ireland* during these occurrences.

Several Members and Citizens committed for acting in the late troubles.

The Affairs of Ireland.

The Irish when the cessation of arms was concluded with them at *Singiston* in the year 1643. seemed very desirous of a peace, but by their ill observation of the articles of cessation, their reality therein was much suspected; for they were so far from ceasing from acts of hostility during that short term of a year as they had agreed to, that they often pillaged and plundered the English, imprisoning or murdering their persons, and particularly at the Castle of *Wicklow*, which they surprized, and put all the men, women and children therein to the sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the confidence to send Commissioners to the King to supplicate, that before the expiration of the cessation, a peace might be concluded with them, but he referred them back to his Lieutenant *Ormond*, and he considering the necessity of the Kings affairs, and his present inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a pacification; but the Irish having correspondence with the Spanish and French upon the interest of the Romish Religion, spun out out all treaties with tedious delaies, in hopes of supplyes of men and money to be sent to them, so that in two years nothing was effected therein; and moreover, whilst they treated with *Ormond*, they under-hand were upon terms of agreement with the Earl of *Glamorgan*, eldest Son to the Marquesse of *Worcester*, who by a pretended Authority from the King to authorize him thereunto, granted them such conditions for the advancement of the Popish Religion, as would have extirpated the English Clergie in that Kingdom; but *Ormond* upon notice hereof, seized on *Glamorgan*, and clap'd him into the Castle of *Dublin*, and (the King utterly disowning the authority he pretended to have) he was accused by the Lord *Digby* (then in *Ireland*) of Treason; yet whilst these things were transacting, the condition of the English was not better'd, but rather much impaired, and all the strengths in the Province of *Lemster* except *Drogedah* and *Dublin*, were possessed by the Irish, so that about the time the King went to the Scots Army near *Newark*, *Ormond* concluded a Peace with them, and upon conditions very advantageous to the Natives; but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it: For the Popes Nuntio had drawn a great party of the most zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a peace wherein there was not sufficient security for the free exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion; *Ormond* thought to profit himself of that division, and made himself ready to joyn with those that adhered to the peace to suppress the others, not doubting upon his successe herein, to be master of such a force as might make the Kings terms in *England* easier to him: But in the midst of all these hopes, when he was ready with a party to march to *Kilkenny* to joyn with his new friends, he was inform'd of a design against his person, which was related to him with such circumstances, that he was confident of the truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to *Dublin*, he and his party had been lost; In this extremity he thought it better to put *Dublin* and the Forts yet in English hands, in the Parliament of *England*'s power, than suffer them to be possess'd by the Irish, and brought under a forein jurisdiction, in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliament Ships then riding neer *Dublin*, and imparted to them his desires of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his assent thereunto, and obtain'd of them ammunion and powder for his present supply; and in further prosecution of that overture, having the Kings commands for so doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners, and yielded up *Dublin*, and what remained under his Government to their authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel *Jones* with 1450 Horse & Foot, who on the 17 *th.* of *June* took possession of *Dublin*, and from that time such supplies were sent to re-inforce the English, that every week produced news of Victories over the Irish.

A Peace concluded in Ireland by the Marquesse of Ormond.

1647.

Dublin put into the hands of the Parliament of England.

Whilst the King remained at *Hampton-Court*, he seemed not at all a restrained man, but as a Prince living in the splendor of a Court, so freely to his presence were all sorts of people admitted to kiss his hands, and do all obeysances whatsoever; nor did the people from *London* only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Sir *John Berkley*, now by permission of the Army had safe recourse to him: The Marquesse of *Ormond* likewise attended him there with an account of the Irish affairs, and was with much kindness received by him, and about the beginning of *October*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Dorset*, and the Lord *Seymour* repaired to him; but the Parliament were displeased at this liberty, whereupon those Lords being told of it, after two daies stay at *Hampton Court* returned to their Houses: On the seventh of *September* propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of *Scotland* concurring also) were sent to the King at *Hampton-Court*, to which they requested his Answer in six daies; The Commissioners appointed for this business by the Parliament of *England* were, the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cook*, Sir *John Holland*, and Major Generall *Brown*; and for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, and Sir *Charles Erskins*. Two daies after their arrival, the King gave the Commissioners a message in writing to the two Houses of Parliament in answer to the Propositions; which was to this effect, (*viz.*)

Propositions sent from the Parliament to the King at Hampton-Court.

"That having perused the propositions now "brought to him, he found them the same in ef- "fect which were offerd to him at *Newcastle*, to "some of which as he could not consent without "violation of his conscience and honour, so nei- "ther can he agree to other now; conceiving "them in many respects more disagreeable to the present

The Kings answer to the propositions.

1647. "condition of affairs, than when they were formerly presented to him, and having seen the "proposals of the Army to the Commissioners "from the two Houses, residing with them, to "which, as he conceives, they are no strangers, "so he believes they will think with him, that "they much more conduce to the satisfaction of "all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for "lasting peace than the propositions at this time "tendred to him, and therefore he propounds "that Commissioners may be sent from the Par-"liament and the Army for a personal treaty up-"on them, and such others as he shall make, "that a firm peace may be setled.

This Answer was not very pleasing to the Parliament, and it was by many thought, though the Armies proposals had the consent of the General and his Counsel of Officers, yet the agitators who influenc'd the body of the Souldiery, were not assenting to them; nevertheless, the Scotch took great offence at them, and affairs were thereby much perplexed more than before; but for the better understanding of these affairs, we shall relate such of the Armies proposals as were of most consequence, and most acceptable to the King.

The Armies Propos'a's to the King.

1. "That an Act be passed to take away all "coercive Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction of "Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers "whatsoever, extending to any civil penalties "upon any, and to repeal all Laws whereby the "Civil Magistracy hath been, or is bound upon "any Ecclesiastical censure to proceed (*ex offi-*"*cio*) unto any civil penalties against any per-"sons so censured.

2. "That there be a repeal of all Acts or "Clauses in any Act, enjoyning the use of the "Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties "for neglect thereof, as also of all Acts or Clau-"ses in any Act imposing any penalties for not "coming to Church, or for meeting elsewhere, "for prayer, or other religious duties, exercises "or ordinances, and some other provision to be "made for discovering of Papists, and Popish "Recusants; and for disabling of them and all "Jesuites and Priests from disturbing the State.

3. "That the taking of the Covenant be not "enforced upon any, nor any penalties imposed "upon the refusers, whereby men might be con-"strained to take it against their judgement or "consciences; but all orders or ordinances ten-"ding to that purpose to be repealed.

4. "The things here before being provided, "for setling and securing the Rights, Liberties, "Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, his Maje-"sties Person, his Queen, and Royal Issue may "be restored to a condition of safety, honour and "freedome in this Nation, without diminution to "their personal Rights, or further limitation to "the Exercise of the Regal Power then accord-"ing to the particulars before going.

5. "That a lesser number out of the persons "excepted in the two first qualifications of the "Parliaments late propositions to the King, not 1647.
"exceeding five for the English (being nomi-"nated particularly by the Parliament, who to-"gether with the persons in the Irish Rebellion "in the third qualification) may be reserved to "the further Judgement of the Parliament, as "they shall find cause. All other excepted per-"sons to be remitted from the exceptions, and "admitted to composition.

6. "That the rates of all future compositions "may be lessened and limited not to exceed "the several propositions hereafter expressed re-"spectively: That is to say, 1. For all persons "formerly excepted not above a third part. "2. For the late Members of Parliament under "the first branch of the fourth qualification in "the propositions, a fourth part. 3. For other "Members of Parliament in the second and third "branches of the same qualification, a sixth part. "4. For the persons nominated in the said fourth "qualification, and those included in the tenth "qualification, an eighth part; and that Real "debts either upon Record, or proved by Wit-"nesses, be considered, and abated in the valua-"tion of their Estates in all the cases afore-"said.

7. "That those who shall hereafter come to "compound, may not have the Covenant put up-"on them, as a condition without which they may "not compound; but in case they shall not wil-"lingly take it, they may pass their composition without it.

8. "That the Persons and Estates of all Eng-"lish not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or "Goods, be at liberty, and discharged, and that "the Kings menial Servants, that never took up "Arms, but only attended his Person, according "to their Offices, may be freed from composi-"tion, or to pay (at most) but the proportion of "one years Revenue, or a twentyth part.

9. "That in order to the making and perfe-"cting of compositions for delinquency at the "rates aforesaid, the Rents, Revenues, and other "dues and profits of all sequestred Estates what-"soever (except the Estates of such persons who "shall be continued under exception as before) "be from henceforth suspended and detained in "the hands of the respective Tenants and Oc-"cupiers, and others from whence they are due "for the space of six moneths following.

10. "That the faith of the Army, or other "Forces of the Parliament given in Articles up-"on surrenders to any of the Kings party, may "be fully made good, and where any breach "thereof shall appear to have been made, full re-"paration and satisfaction may be given to the "parties injured, and the person offending being "found out, may be compell'd thereunto.

11. "That there may be a General Act of "Oblivion to extend unto all (except the per-"sons to be continued in exception as before) to "absolve from all trespasses, misdemeanors, &c. "done in prosecution of the War, and from all

1647. "trouble or prejudice, for or concerning the same, "and to restore them to all priviledges belonging "to other Subjects.

The resentment of the *Scots* at these Proposals, which was touched at before, was chiefly manifested in a Remonstrance about this time made by the Commissioners of the General Assembly met at *Edenburgh* the 13 *th.* of *October*, to their Committee of Estates; wherein amongst other things they declared;

The Scots Remonstrance.

That his Majesty having the Propositions of both Kingdoms, and pressing the Proposals of the Army, to be the subject of a Treaty, doth much increase the danger of Religion, seeing these Proposals, as they omit and abandon the former desires of both Kingdoms in point of Religion, so they cannot accord (as the words stand) the continuance of Prelacie, the toleration of Heresie and Sects, and the taking away the Ordinance injoyning the taking of the Covenant.

And a little further they thus expres themselves.

These dangers of Religion we have insisted on as being most proper for us to speak to, but not as if we were insensible of the great danger of the Kings person, and of Monarchical Government, for preserving of which, according to our Covenant, our prayer and best endeavours shall not be wanting, and now the danger of Religion is so great and the grounds of our Fears and apprehensions so pregnant, we earnestly beseech and humbly obtest your Lordships in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the Vows of God which are upon you, that as your Lordships desire God and your own Consciences and posterity, may not afterwards charge upon you the Ruine of Religion, King, and Kingdoms, so your Lordships may be very tender and conscionable that no such design be entertained or get place amongst you, as tendeth to the disabling of this Church and Kingdom from an effectual prosecuting and promoting the ends of the Covenant, or to the strengthning and enabling the enemies thereof by affording them the opportunity which they wait for to disturb the peace, and destroy the present Reformation: these and no better effects can be looked for, if the Army in this Kingdom, which hath been so blessed of God, and so faithful to you, shall be disband before this cause of God, which so much concerneth his Glory, the reformation and defence of Religion, the peace and safety of the Kingdom, the honour and happiness of the King be setled upon a firm foundation.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* attended the King at *Hampton*-Court, and gave him full information of all these matters, and so far represented to him the uncertainty of his condition in reference to the Army, which became now by the practises of some busie men very ungovernable, that he began to incline rather to the *Scots*; and the Commissioners of *Scotland* residing at *London* sent Letters to the Parliament dated *November* the 5 *th.* in which they pressed very much that the King might come to *London* and treat personally with the Parliament about the things controverted; urging for reasons thereof, because the King had been taken from *Holdenby* against his will, and without the consent of the Parliament, by the violence of the Souldiers, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a business of so great moment; but if it might not be thought convenient for his coming to *London*, that he may continue at *Hampton*-Court, so he be not under the power of the Army, but in such a condition as the Commissioners of both Parliaments might have a free recourse to him. 1647.

The Scots Commissioners Letter to the Parliament.

The Agitators were much allarmed at this interposition of the *Scots*, and their keeping up their Army in *Scotland*, and from hence they became more violent than before in their practises against the King, which they expressed in several proposals to the General Councel of Officers: and about this time in one of their debates at a General Councel at *Putney* it was proposed.

Whether it were safe either for the Army or the people to suffer any power to be given to the King: and in the discussion of this, it was said openly in the Councel,

Monstrous passages against the King at a meeting of the Officers at Putney.

That they had gone about to wash a Black-a-moor white whether he would or not, and to set up a Power which God would destroy; that the power of Kings was a burthensome stone that would destroy whosoever should fall upon it:

That the reason of their distractions in Councels was from a compliance to save that man of Blood (meaning the King) *and those principles of Tyranny which God from Heaven by his many successes had manifestly declared against.*

Cromwel and *Ireton* (who yet wished well to the King) did what they could to oppose these proceedings, but the stream was too strong against them, & the King having from time to time notice of these agitations, thought it not imprudent to provide (ere it should be too late) for his own safety, and by advice of Sir *John Berkly*, Colonel *Legg*, and Mr. *Ashburnham* (who he then much trusted) he resolved to attempt to get to *Jersey*; and for the effecting thereof a Ship was provided somewhere about *Southampton* for his transportation; but before he took this resolution he thought fit to retract an Engagement made by Mr. *Ashburnham* on his behalf not to depart from the Army without their consent, which we shall relate in Mr. *Ashburnhams* own words:

Ashburnhams Letter from Carisbrook to the Speaker dated November 29. 1647 Printed for R. Royston.

When the differences of the Army grew great, and an active and powerful party thereof dayly menacing violence to his Majesties person; his Majesty commanded me to retract the Engagement which I had formerly given, alleadging that Colonel Whalley *affirmed to him, that the Officers of the Army had so little power to preserve him, as that they were scarce able to keep themselves from affronts; whereupon having found Colonel* Whalley *walking by the river side near* Hampton-*Court, I told him that I came to withdraw that word which I had given him for his Majesty not leaving the Army without their consent, the Colonel said, why then the King doth so to: and I told him you are to understood it so. He added, it was fairly done, and he would take notice of it accordingly.* This being done and the Ship and Horses and other convenience for the Kings escape in preparation, he resolved to take the first opportunity he could to get his liberty, but hearing of some passages at the meeting of the Officers at *Putney*

on

1647. on the 11 *th.* of *November*, tending to the destruction of his person: (where Colonel *Harrison* made a long narration concerning some things that lay upon his Spirit, in relation to the King, Lords, *&c.* saying, *That the King was a man of Blood, and therefore the Engagements to him were taken off, and that they were to prosecute him*: and that on the same day the Agitators of nine Regiments and the Generals Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the same strain by way of narrative to all the Souldiers of the Army to draw them to a general Rendezvouze to declare against any settlement with the King) he resolved that evening to remove himself, and accordingly about eight a Clock at night he got away, having Horses laid ready to receive him on the other side of the River; and about nine a Clock, whilst the Commissioners of Parliament and Colonel *Whalley* (who commanded the Guard) expected when he should come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondred at his long stay, at last some of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his Cloak left there, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament, *Cromwel* about midnight dispatched a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons with notice of the Kings departure: In the Kings letter to the Parliament, after he had discoursed somewhat about Captivity, & the sweetness of Liberty, he protested (as before God) *That he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself to disturb the publique peace, or any Treaty tending to the establishment thereof, but only to preserve his own safety, against which he understood there was a treasonable Conspiracie.* But towards the end of the Letter he useth these words, *Now as I cannot deny but that my personal security is the urgent cause of this my retirement, so I take God to witness, that the publique peace, is no less before mine eyes: and I can find no better way to express this my profession, (I know not what a wiser man may do) then by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction; as for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to consent) ought (in my Judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their Consciences, and have an Act of Oblivion or Indemnity, (which should extend to the rest of all my Subjects, and that all their Arrears should be speedily and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not hindred from using such lawful and honest means as I shall chuse: To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honor and safety, and I shall instantly break through this Cloud of retirement, and shew my self to be* Pater Patriæ.

CHARLES Rex.

Manuscript of the transactions at Putney, collected by Sir William Clerk attending as Secretary at all close meetings. The tie of obedience to him as King.

The King escapes from Hampton-Court.

The Kings Letter to the Parliament at his departure from Hampton Court.

The Parliament were at first surprized with this unexpected news of the Kings departure, and they dispatched Messengers to all Sea-ports to prevent his going out of the Kingdom, and upon a rumour that he was concealed in *London*, they ordred, That if any man should closely detain the the Kings person, and not reveal it to the Parliament, he should be punished with the loss of his estate and life: But in the midst of this confusion, a Letter came to the Lords from Colonel *Hammond* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, dated at *Cowes* the 13 *th.* of *November*, wherein he acquainted them, That being that morning on his way from *Carisbrook*-Castle to *Newport*, Mr. *Ashburnham* and Sir *John Berkely* overtook him and after a short discourse told him, the King was near, and that he would be with him that night, & was come from *Hampton*-Court, upon information, that there were some who intended to destroy him, and that he could not with safety continue any longer there, and finding his case thus, he chose rather to put himself in his hands being a Member of the Army (which he said he would not have left could he have had security to his person) than to go to any other place, and therefore weighing the great concernment that the person of the King was of, he resolved to use his utmost endeavours to preserve his person from any such horrid attempts, and to bring him to a place of safety; hereupon he went over the water, and found the King near the water side, and by his own desire he brought him to the Isle of *Wight*. 1647.

The King is brought to the Isle of Wight, At the Countess of Southamptons-house.

The Parliament were well pleased to hear of the Kings being at *Cowes*, and ordred thereupon on the 16 *th.* of *November*.

1. *That he should continue there and in the Castle.*

2. *That none that have born arms against the Parliament but Inhabitants that have compounded, shall remain in that Island.*

3. *That no Delinquent or Foreiner should be admitted to come to him without leave of the Parliaments of* England *and* Scotland, *and that Propositions should be speedily sent to him.*

4. *That five thousand pounds shall be advanced for his accommodation:* And,

5. *That it should be considered who should attend his person.*

In the little space of time betwixt the Kings departure from *Hampton*-Court, and his arrival at *Cowes*-Castle in the Isle of *Wight* many great distempers appeared in the Army, which had been growing some while before, on this occasion. The Agitators having some jealousie, that *Cromwel* and *Ireton* and the rest of the General Officers designed to establish the King (and being acted and guided by divers persons not of the Army that were for a total subversion of Monarchical Government) possessed the Souldiers with much prejudice against them, as that they had faln from their Principles, and were in their proceedings false and treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by several insinuations of this kind which they dispersed in printed papers they had made great factions and parties in the Army and much divided the Souldiers from the Officers, and both Officers and Souldiers amongst themselves: these disorders and discontents were much encreased by the repair of the Agitators to the head Quarters, where they assembled as a kind of Representative Councel, and debated divers matters of great concernment: But the General doubting the event of these practises, and being willing to quiet the discontents then growing amongst the Souldiers, in the first place, dismissed the Agitators to their several Regiments, and sent also most of the Officers then at the Head-Quarters to their respective and particular charges

Divisions happen in the Army.

1647. ges, to endeavour to satisfie and compose those discontents and divisions; and about a fortnight after he contracted the quarters of the Army, intending to draw them to several Rendezvouzes; the first whereof was to be in a place called *Corkbush Field* betwixt *Hartford* and *Ware* on the 15*th.* day of *November*; But as soon as the Agitators had notice of these orders, they and their associates laboured to hinder the execution thereof, and to draw divers Regiments from the Quarters and Rendezvouzes, to which they were ordered unto, to the first Rendezvouze neer *Ware*; whereupon the General the day before called a Councel of War at *Hartford*, and there agreed upon a Remonstrance, and engagement which was to be read at the Rendezvouze at the head of every Regiment, and subscribed by the Officers and Souldiers; But the next day when the Army was drawn together, many of the Souldiers of five whole Regiments mutined against their Officers, and wore certain marks of distinction to be known by from the rest, nor was this done in so tumultuous a manner as usually mutinies are made, but with some kind of order, and had proved very dangerous, if *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and some of the rest of the Officers had not been very active in seizing on some of the principal Mutineers, in the doing whereof, one or two were shot to death before the Troops were reduced to order and good obedience; but though the present distemper was thus ended, great animosities remained, most of the Mutineers and the Officers that favoured them, were tryed at Court Martials, and cashiered, or otherwise punished, but *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, and their factions, were after this (to keep their credit with the Army) to alter their Counsels, which brought great misery to the Kingdome, as will be shewn hereafter.

The Souldiers mutiny against their Officers.

The principal of them shot to death.

Whilst the Parliament were deliberating about propositions to be sent to the *Isle* of *Wight* to the King; a Letter came to them from him dated the 18*th.* of *November*, super-scribed, *To the Speaker of the Lords House to be communicated, also to the House of Commons*, which was read in both Houses. In which he delivered his sense and opinion concerning many things contained in the former propositions to him, especially concerning the abolition of Episcopacy, which he said, "He "could not consent to either as a Christian or a "King, because he looked upon it as Apostolical, "and had sworn at his Coronation to maintain "it; but yet he was willing that Presbyterie "should be authorized for three years, and in the "mean time, a free debate had between the Di"vines assembled at *Westminster*, and twenty "that he should appoint for the future settlement "of Church Government; he was also willing "that the Parliament should dispose of the Mili"tia, and have the choice of his Privy Counsel"lors during his Reign, provided they would "have it by Grant in Letters Patent from him, "and that it might return to his Successors: He "gave touches also concerning the payment of "the arrears of the Souldiers, and the other mat"ters, of all which he said, he hoped that he "should satisfie the Parliament with his reasons, "if he might personally treat with them. There"fore he desired earnestly to be admitted with "honour, freedome and safety, to treat personal-"ly at *London*." The Commissioners of *Scotland* likewise with great vehemency press'd, that the desire of the King might be granted; insomuch, that after a long debate on the six and twentyth of *November*, it was concluded, that four previous propositions being drawn up into the form of Acts, should be sent to the King in the *Isle* of *Wight* to sign; which when he had signed, he should be admitted to a personal Treaty at *London*.

The King's Letter from the Isle of Wight to the Parliament.

1647.

Four Acts sent to the King to be signed.

The four previous Acts were these;

1. *An Act for raising, setling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of* England *and* Ireland, *and Dominion of* Wales, *&c.*

2. *An Act for recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have adhered to them.*

3. *An Act, That those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made uncapable of sitting in the House of Peers.*

4. *That Power may be given to the Two Houses to adjourn themselves as they shall think fit.*

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which devested the King, his Heirs and Successors of the power thereof for ever; for though it seem'd to be but for twenty years, yet it saith, That neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other shall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and Approbation of the Lords and Commons: It gives also an unlimited power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, and what number for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit, and to raise what Money they please for maintaining them. The titles of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the nature of them, and therefore we shall not inlarge upon them: The Commissioners of *Scotland* would in no wise give their consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he treated at *London*; and in a large declaration they protested against it, notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of *Denbigh*, the Lord *Mountague*, Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Bunkly*, and Mr. *Kemp* Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24*th.* of *December* they were presented to the King at *Carisbrook* Castle; but he willing to satisfie all interests, and finding the Scots openly to protest against them, refused to give his assent to any Acts till the whole peace should be concluded; and the Commissioners returned to *London* with his denyal. The Army after the Rendezvouz neer *Ware*, had another some daies after neer *Kingston*, and from thence they march'd to *Windsore*, where the head-quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many consultations about the present transactions betwixt the King and the Parliament; for *Cromwell* and *Ireton* finding the Interest of the Scots was likely to

The King refuseth to give his Assent to them.

be

1647. be joyn'd with that of the King, and that the City of *London* was very favourable to them, they feared a downfall to their greatneſs, if they did not prevent the progreſſe thereof, and ſtrengthen themſelves by drawing the inferior Officers and Souldiers who were much acted by the late mutinies againſt the King and his Government, to have a good opinion of them; to effect which, as a pretence to procure a unity in the Army, a Faſt was ſolemnly kept amongſt the Officers, and a whole day ſpent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the cloſe thereof, all thoſe Priſoners that were committed for the mutiny at *Ware*, at the mind of God, were ſet at liberty, when as one well knowing in thoſe affairs, publiſhed; * *They had without doubt reſolv'd it before as the only expedient to re-imbalm their loſt reputation; for if the King would have taken their price, to let* Cromwell *and* Ireton *Rule and Reign under him, no doubt but he might have come in, but becauſe the Scots feared if he came in by theſe Grandees of the Army, they and he might joyn together to chaſtiſe them for all their old former provocations, and therefore out of meer ſafety (it may be) they outbid the Grandees to gain the Kings affection, which made them mad.*

The Officers of the Army keep a ſolemn Faſt.

* John Lilburne in a Book called England's Freedome, Souldiers Rights, pag. 59.

Thus much is related in a print, and to manifeſt this practiſe, *Cromwell* and *Ireton* being preſent in the Houſe of Commons when the Kings Anſwer was read, *Ireton* ſaid; *That the King had denyed ſafety and protection to his people by denying the four Bills; That ſubjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people; this being denied, they might well denye any more ſubjection to him, and ſettle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected after ſo long Patience, they ſhould ſhew their Reſolutions, and not deſert thoſe valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all poſſibility of retreat, and would never forſake the Parliament, unleſs they forſook them firſt; and in the concluſion he preſs'd for a Queſtion to be put, That no more addreſſes or applications ſhould be made to the King*: This diſcourſe was received with much admiration of many that had obſerv'd the late motions of the Army, and read their declarations, who knew how contrary this his ſpeech was from what he had often before aſſerted on behalf of the King, and that moſt of theſe declarations were penn'd by him, in one of which were theſe words: * *We do clearly profeſs, we do not ſee how there can be any Peace to the Kingdom firm or laſting, without a due conſideration of, and proviſion for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majeſties Royal Family, and his late Partakers*; And in many others there were the like expreſſions, beſides what was contained in the Armies propoſals before recited; but now, Thoſe that choſe by Arms to compaſs their ends upon the King, began too late to diſcover, That the Government by an Army would introduce at laſt (as in the Romane State it did) The Army to be Maſters of Government. This debate of non-addreſſes was very long in agitation, for it continued from nine in the morning till ſeven at night, and when the Houſe was ready for a queſtion, *Cromwell* ſpake to this purpoſe;

Ireton's Speech in the Houſe of Commons.

* Remonſtrance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Army under his command at St. Albans, June the 23. 1647. pag. 61.

Cromwells Speech in the Houſe.

That it was now expected the Parliament ſhould govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power and reſolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect ſafety and government from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened; That thoſe men who had defended the Parliament from ſo many dangers with the expence of their blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage againſt all oppoſition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms ſafety (in which their own is involved) to think themſelves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemie, whom they have ſubdued for your ſake; and therefore are likely to find his future government of them inſupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Juſtice, leſt deſpair teach them to ſeek their ſafety by ſome other means than adhering to you, who will not ſtick to your ſelves, and how deſtructive ſuch a reſolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to Judge: And to enforce this Speech, at the later end thereof, in a kind of menacing manner, he laid his hand upon his ſword; and in the end, a Declaration, and Votes were paſſed, which were after much debate aſſented to by the Lords, in theſe words: 1647.

The Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, after many Addreſſes to his Majeſtie for the preventing and ending this unnatural War, raiſed by him againſt the Parliament and Kingdome, have lately ſent four Bills to his Majeſty, which did contain only matter of ſafety and ſecurity to the Parliament and Kingdom, referring the compoſure of other differences to a perſonal Treaty with his Majeſty, and having received an abſolute Negative, do hold themſelves obliged to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, ſpeedily to ſettle the preſent Government in ſuch a way, as may bring the greateſt ſecurity to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in Order thereunto, and that the Houſes may receive no delay nor interruptions in ſo great and neceſſary a work, they have taken theſe Reſolutions, and paſſed theſe Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, *That they will make no further Addreſſes or Applications to the King.*

The Parliament vote that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the King.

Reſolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, *That no Application or Addreſs be made to the King by any perſon whatſoever without the leave of both Houſes.*

Reſolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, *That the perſon or perſons that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the penalty of High Treaſon.*

Reſolved, &c. *That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any meſſage from the King: and do enjoyn, That no perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other perſon.*

Within few days after theſe Votes of Parliament were publiſhed; and in compliance with them, a Declaration of the General, and General Councel of the Army was made, and preſented to the Parliament, in the cloſe whereof it was thus expreſſed:

1648. The Declaration of the Army.

We do freely declare for our selves and the Army, That we are resolved, through the Grace of God, firmly to adhere with, and stand by the Parliament in the things Voted, concerning the King, and in what shall be further necessary for prosecution thereof, and for setling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

The Parliament also made a publique Declaration about the beginning of *February* with many invective arguments in it against the King, laying open all those errors of his Government together, which they had with virulencie and malice formerly published in parcels; but the more sober part of the people knew too well by what arts the Councels which produced these actions were framed to be perswaded by them, and so great were the discontents in the City of *London* and the suburbs thereof that part of the Army was quartered about *Westminster*, the *Mews* and other places of the City for fear of Insurrections; and the moneth before these high transactions, 7 Lords & 13 of the House of Commons were chosen out of both Houses to sit as a Committee in *Derby*-House (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* had sitten before) who were impowred to suppress tumults and insurrections, and to that purpose to raise forces as they saw occasion; the names of these were, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Warwick*, and *Manchester*, and the Lord *Say*, *Wharton* and *Roberts*, and of the Commons, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, Sir *Gilbert Gerard*, Sir Sir *John Evelin*, Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, *Nathaniel Fines*, *William Pierpoint*, and *Oliver St. Johns* Esquires, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Brown* and Mr. *Wallop*, these were pretty equally made up of Presbyterians and Independents; but the later seemed to be most prevalent by the influence of of the Army, but they were less violent in their actings, than otherwise they would, that they might not too much exasperate the *Scots*, for their Commissioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes against the King, propounded to know, *Whether the Houses by their Votes, That no person whatsoever do presume to make, or receive any application or address to, or from the King, would debar the* Scots *to make or receive any addresses to, or from him, and so put an incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government towards them*: this Message caused great debate, but at last it was consented to, *That the Scotch Commissioners might make addresses to the King*: But these carriages in the House of Commons made the Army and their Independent friends consult how to suppress or terrifie the Presbyterians, who in that House notwithstanding all the Military means, were yet the major part, though least active; and to effect this, about the beginning of *March* the Lords sent a Message to the Commons (which had been six months before rejected) to desire their concurrence to an Ingagement of those Members that fled to the Army, *To live and die with the Army*, which after eight hours debate was carried by nine voices in the affirmative, when there were near two hundred present, after many Presbyterians, who were awed by th threats of some of the Armies Creatures, had left the House because it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative: and it was insinuated that if they had not approved of the Ingagement, a new charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords against the principal opposers; which prevailed upon the weakness of many, though the wiser sort believed not they durst attempt any such thing; for many arguments at this time were published against those proceedings, very well received by the people, some of which went so high as not to allow the Lords any Judicature over the Commons; but others agreed, *That that the House of Peers was a Court of Judicature, but not without the Kings special Authority granted to them either by his Writ, or by his Commission*; and the Lords by the four Votes before mentioned, having denied all further addresse or application to the King, had cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power. During these practises, to encrease and strengthen the Independent party, the discontents of the people were much augmented in all places, against the Parliament and Army for their severity against the King; for upon his denial to assent to the four Bills or Acts lately sent to him, the Governor removed most of his Servants from him, and restrained him to the Circuit of the Castle within the Walls, and though he did it at first without the Authority of the Parliament, yet they afterwards approved of the action. Those in the Island being neerest to the view of this usage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain *Burleigh* lately an officer in the Kings Army and an Inhabitant there, beat up a Drum in *Newport* to draw some Souldiers together to rescue the King, but being too hasty in the attempt, his endeavours were frustrated, and he himself was taken prisoner, and those that took part with him suppreſt: he was after some time sent in custody to *Winchester*, where by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to Sergeant *Wild* of *Worcestershire* the then Chief Baron and others; he was tried and condemned of High Treason, and on the 10 *th.* of *February* injuriously executed for the same.

1648.

Hist. Indep. 61, & 62.

The Parliament publishes a Declaration.

The Committee of Derby house new impowred.

The King suffers a more close restraint.

Captain Burleigh suffers for endeavoring the Kings rescue.

He is so distinguished from another loyal person of his name, late Recorder of London and now a learned Judge.

The King in this condition set forth a declaration to all his Subjects, which inlarged their compassion towards him, and in that towards the end he thus expresseth himself (*viz.*)

The King puts forth a Declaration

"By what means or occasion I am come to this "relapse in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, espe- "cially when I consider that I have sacrificed to "my two Houses of Parliament (for the peace "of my Kingdom) all, but what is much more "dear to me than my life, my Conscience and "Honor, desiring nothing more, than to perform "it in the most proper and natural way, A perso- "nal Treaty; but that which makes me most at a "loss is, the remembring my signal compliance "with the Army and their Interests, and of what "importance my compliance was to them, and "their often repeated professions and engage- "ments for my just rights in general, at *New-* "*Market*, and Saint *Albans*, and their particular "explanations of these generals by their voted "and revoted proposals which I had reason to "understand should be the utmost extremity

would

The Scots Commissioners allowed to make addresses to the King.

The Parliament pass an Ingagement.

1647. "would be expected from me, and that in some-
"thing therein I should be eased, (here-
"in appealing to the consciences of some of the
"chiefest Officers in the Army, if what I have
"said, be not punctually true) and how I have
"failed of their expectations, or my professions
"to them, I challenge them, and the whole
"World, to produce the least colour of reason;
"And now, I would know what it is that is de-
"sired: Is it peace? I have shewed the way,
"(being both willing and desirous to perform
"my part in it) which is a just complyance with
"all chief interests: Is it plenty and happinesse,
"they are the inseparable effects of Peace? Is
"it security? I, who wish all men would for-
"get and forgive like me, have offered the Mi-
"litia for my time: Is it liberty of Conscience?
"He who wants it, is most ready to give it: Is it
"the right Administration of Justice? Offices
"of Trust are committed to the choice of my
"two Houses of Parliament: Is it the Arrears
"of the Army? upon a settlement they will cer-
"tainly be paid with much ease, but before, there
"will be found much difficulty, if not impossi-
"bility in it.

"Thus, all the World cannot but see my real
"and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the
"which, (by the Grace of God) I shall neither
"repent me of, nor never be slackned in, not-
"withstanding my past, present, or future suffer-
"ings. But if I may not be heard, let every one
"judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would
"or might do; What is it that men are afraid to
"hear from me? It cannot be reason, (at least,
"none will declare themselves so unreasonable
"as to confesse it) and it can less, be impertinent
"or unreasonable discourses; for thereby peradd-
"venture I might more justifie this my Restraint,
"than the causers themselves can do; so that of
"all wonders, this yet is the greatest to me:
"But it may be easily gathered hence, how these
"men intend to govern, who have used me thus.
"And if it be my hard fate to fall together with
"the liberty of this Kingdome, I shall not blush
"for my self, but much lament the future mise-
"ries of my people, the which I shall still pray
"God to avert, what ever becomes of me.

During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entituled, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or, *The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings.*

The Parliament send Visitors to Oxford.

About the moneth of *June* last, The Parliament sent visitors to the University of *Oxford*, but their authority was not submitted to by the Members thereof, who alledged that they could not acknowledge any visitors but the King, or his immediate substitute, without manifold perjuries: but about the 27*th.* of *April* this year, The Earl of *Pembroke* being lately before by Vote or Ordnance of the two Houses, made Chancellor of the University, resorted thither with some others that were with him made Visitors, and being armed with the authority of a vote of the Lords and Commons to expell all such Masters, Fellows, and Officers of Colledges, as refused to submit to their power. The next day after his arrival, he went to *Christ-Church* Colledge, and there by force removed the Dean, and all the Canons and Students that did not comply with him, and take the Covenant, and put others in their places, and in the like manner he proceeded in the Colledges of *All-Souls*, St. *Mary Magdalen*, and *New-Colledge*, and in all other Colledges and Halls, by displacing those that did not submit, and putting others in their places.

1648.

Oxford visited by the new Chancellor.

This Summer the King, though a Prisoner, was as formidable as ever since the beginning of his troubles, and many of the more moderate of his Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had joyned in Arms against him, began to look upon his estate with consideration, and they and others attempted by force to try their fortunes on his behalf; And first, an Insurrection was made in *London*, where some Apprentices in *More-fields* set upon a part of the Trained-Band who were there keeping Guard, and over-powred them, by which successe their numbers hourly increased, and they divided themselves into two or three bodies, one whereof (which was the most considerable) having born before them an Ensign which they took from the Trained-Bands, march'd towards *White-Hall*, but being without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse from the *Mews* charg'd and dispersed them; yet at night they joyned again, and surprized *Newgate* and *Ludd-gate*, and shut up the Gates thereof, and seized a Drake-piece from the Lord Mayors House, which they planted within *Ludd-gate*, being animated hereunto by some of the Army, to make their Conquest of them more Remarkable: The morning following, they laboured to get Arms, and brake open some Salemens Houses of Ammunition, and mastered the Magazine at *Leaden-Hall*, crying out in a tumultuous manner, *For God and King Charles*; but the next day General *Fairfax* entred *Aldersgate* with two Regiments, and marched to *Leaden-Hall-street*, and there charged this undisciplin'd multitude; who after a short Skirmish, were utterly dispersed, with little or no loss to the Assailants.

An Insurrection of the London Apprentices

In *South-Wales*, about this time, Colonel *Poyer* Governor of *Pembroke* Castle, refused to yield up his Charge (though commanded thereunto) but the better to countenance his intention, his first pretences were to have the Arreares of him and his Souldiers paid to him, but this produced some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the Castle, and stored it with provision for a defence, and Major General *Laughorn*, for the same reason, refused to disband his men, and so both resolved to run the same fortune. *Laughorn* surprized *Tenby* Castle with the Parliament Commissioners therein; and for the support of their Souldiers, they raised contribution from the neighbouring parts, and declared for the King, to whom one Colonel *Powel*, a valiant Souldier of that Countrey, joyned. Colonel *Horton* was sent by *Fairfax* Commander in chief against them, with thirty Companies of Horse and Foot, who sent out Adjutant General *Fleming* to charge them, who when he came neer, went to gain a Pass from *Poyer*, which he found quitted to his hands, and going on improvidently, he fell into an Ambuscade which *Poyer* had laid, whereby his men were disor-

Poyer and Laughorn refuse to submit to the Parliament.

1648 disordered, and he with some few of them compell'd to shelter in a neighbouring Church, but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as it is thought) by his own Sword, and the rest were taken Prisoners: This success was attended with the surprize of *Chepstow* Castle, which was taken by Sir *Tho. Keymish* for the King in the Governors absence. And now *Fairfax* thought a greater Force was required than those with *Horton* to reduce *South-Wales*, and therefore *Cromwell* himself, was ordered to march with a strong power into that Countrey; but when the news of his advance came to *Laughorn*, he thought it best to fight *Horton* before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him, and neer St. *Fragons* on the eighth of *May*, the two Armies came in sight of one another, *Laughorn* had many more than the other, but not well armed nor disciplin'd, and for that he did not so soon expect *Horton*, the conquest was the easier; for as soon as his men were charged, after a little resistance, *Horton*'s men obtained a Victory, in which they killed and took 1500 Officers, and 3000 Common Souldiers, *Laughorn* himself, and *Powel*, escaped by flight, Lieutenant General *Cromwel* entred *Wales* shortly after this, and stormed *Tenby* Castle, which yielded upon mercy, and *Chepstow* Castle was retaken by Colonel *Ewer*, and from thence he marched to besiege *Pembroke* Castle: Sir *John Owen*, whilst *Cromwell* besieged *Pembroke* Castle, got together some Forces in *North-Wales* for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppressed, but being too weak, was defeated, & taken Prisoner by him; but shortly after, the same fortune befell *Owen* himself, by the Forces of Major General *Mitton*. *Pembroke* Town and Castle held out couragiously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendred, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon discretion; and to force them thereunto, *Cromwell* gave a furious assault to the place, which the besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke *Hamilton* was preparing to march into *England* with an Army of Scots, he became inclinable to give them better terms, and thereupon the Town and Castle was delivered up to him *July* 13 *th.* on these terms (*viz.*) *Powell*, *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and three other principal Actors, to submit to the Parliaments mercy: the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six weeks, for two years, the rest to return to their respective dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their freedome and Liberties: Those that submitted to mercy, were afterwards tried as Traytors, notwithstanding the Princes Letter in their behalf to General *Fairfax*; But his cruel favour was extended towards them, that they should cast lots for their lives, and so only *Poyer* suffered.

Chepstow Castle taken for the King

Laughorn defeated by Horton.

Tenby Castle stormed by Cromwel, and Chepstow Castle retaken.

Sir John Owen routed by Major General Mitton.

Pembroke Town and Castle delivered up to Cromwel.

April 20. The Duke of *York*, disguised in Womens Apparel, made his Escape from St. *James*'s by Water, and landed at *Dort* in *Holland*, by help of one Mr. *Bampfeild*, sent over purposely on that design by the Queen.

The Duke of York escapes to Holland.

Whilst some by Arms were endeavouring to free their Countrey, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by favour, which would not without great hazard and effusion of blood be procured by force: The County of *Essex* was the first that began, who supplicated the 1668. Parliament, *that the Army might be paid and disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty*; *Surry* followed, and desired the like, but in higher Terms, and being numerous, a quarrel was made with the Souldiers of *Westminster*, who came to keep guard against them, words were first the weapons used, but from thence they came to blows, and some hurt was done on both sides; but night parted the Fray: The City of *London* succeeded next, and petitioned to the same effect; and also requested, that those Prisoners who stood committed for their former difference when the Parliament went to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were; and upon the Cities constant profession to adhere to the Parliament, their *Militia* was restored, and Major General *Skippon* was appointed Major General thereof, and of all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the *Tower* put in by the Army, was also discharged, and Mr. *West* a Citizen, surrogated in his place; and because alarms of insurrections came from all parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from *White-Hall* and the *Mews*, and any other parts of *London*, or the late Lines of Communication upon the Cities promise to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and setled six hundred pounds yearly on their Major General for his entertainment.

Petitions brought from the Parliament, from Essex, and other Counties.

The Kentish men finding those of *Surrey* so ill treated when they came in a peaceable manner to Petition the Parliament, resolved to make their demand with Swords in their hands, and to that purpose a numerous body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord *Fairfax* (for so he was now by his Fathers death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Kentish were ten thousand, but unadvisedly they parted their Forces, and sent away a Brigade to besiege *Dover* Castle, the General advanced, and defeated some of them between *Cranford-Heath* and *Gravesend*, and from thence he sent Major *Husbands* before, who gained a passage over a Bridge at *Northfield*, and took some Prisoners; *Fairfax* followed, marching in a full body, expecting the Kentish, (who hovered in sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any resistance, he came neer *Maidstone*, in which the Kentish men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barrocadoed the avenues of the Town.

The Kentish men in arms

Fairfax having his Army by this time encreased to ten thousand, on the second of *June* at seven a clock at night storm'd the Town twice, and was both times repulsed, but the third time he got entrance, yet then the fight was more perillous than before, whilst the Assailants had to do not only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galled with continual shot from the Houses, getting all by inches, nor could they master the Town till after six hours fight, and much losse on their own side: But of the Kentish, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse, and eight pieces of Ordnance, and good Booty; and presently upon this, *Rochester* was also quitted

1648. ted to the Generals Mercy; many of the Kentish men after this defeat kept still in a body and marched towards *London*, and rendezvouz'd upon *Black-heath*, whither some resolute persons repaired to them from *London*, and the Earl of *Norwich* at the head of them gave them the best encouragement he could; but the Kentish-men perceiving their succours to come short of what they expected, they quitted their Commanders apace, and returned home; *Norwich* with five hundred men crossed over *Greenwich* ferry into *Essex*, in which County the Committee-men were already secured by some that were for the King there, and Sir *Charles Lucas* having gotten together two thousand Horse and Foot joyned with *Norwich*, who seized the Earl of *Warwicks* Armory, and possessed themselves of *Colchester*, which now became a Seat of War, and the Country people flocked in unto them, and many also came from *London*, and the Lord *Capel* and the Lord *Loughbrough* from *Hartford*-shire, but General *Fairfax* leaving Colonel *Rich*, and Colonel *Hewson* to take in those places which held out in *Kent*, which himself had not time to reduce, crossed over into *Essex* after the Enemy; and came before *Colchester*, which he immediately surrounded with a potent Army; neither were these endeavors for the King only confined to the Land, but a considerable part of the Navy Royal encouraged by Captain *Batten* formerly Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick*, was put into the power of the Prince of *Wales*, to be used for the Kings service, and with these the Prince with his Brother, Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Brainford*, the Lords *Hopton*, *Wilmot*, *Willoughby*, and *Culpepper* with others of Quality came into *Yarmouth*-road, he had on board about two thousand Souldiers, and these he would have landed, but hearing of Colonel *Scroops* coming against him with a party of Horse and Foot more in number, he sailed from thence to the *Downs* in *Kent*, seizing what Merchant Ships and goods he could meet withal; *Deal* Castle was at this time besieged, for relief whereof the Prince would needs attempt something, and therefore he set five hundred men ashore, who at first charged handsomly, but being over-numbred, were beaten, and several of them were slain and taken, but the rest got aboard again: Soon after this, *Sandwich*, *Deal*, and *Weymore* Castles were yeelded up, and the whole County of *Kent* fully subdued. Whilst the Prince anchored in the Downs, the States of *Scotland* invited him to them, and engaged the Publike Faith of that Kingdom, for his well-being in Honour, freedom, and safety with them, or with their Army then in *England*, and to remove from them, or their Army, when, or whither he pleased. But he having written to the House of Lords for promoting the Treaty with the King, and in vain summoned the Earl of *Warwick* (Admiral for the Parliament) to submit to him as highest Captain General under the King, and beginning to stand in need of Provision, went with his Fleet into *Holland*.

Routed at Maidstone by General Fairfax.

Colchester besieged.

Part of the Navy revolt to Prince Charles.

A party of his landing in Kent are beaten.

The States of Scotland invite the Prince of Wales to them.

The Earl of Holland takes up arms for the King.

But the Earl of *Holland* being commissioned from the Prince, Heads a fresh Insurrection, just as it were in view of the Parliament at *Kingston* upon *Thames*, his chief Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Brother the Lord *Francis Villiers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*; *July* 2. they rendezvouzed neer *Kingston*, and had five hundred Horse, and some Foot upon the Heath there, and from thence they marched to *Darking*, and would have possessed *Rygate*, but were prevented; for Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons* marched towards them, and thereupon they retreated towards *Kingston*, and being closely pursued, they sent away their foot before to secure their Retreat to the Town, and made a stand between *Ewel* and *Nonsuch* Park, where the Pursuers overtook and engaged them; the fight was short and smart, wherein the Lord *Francis Villiers* (refusing Quarter) was slain with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and others, and the rest put to flight, and many Prisoners of note were taken, the Earl of *Holland* got into *Kingston*, but staid not long there, but fled with all speed to Saint *Needs* in *Huntingtonshire*, where he was totally subdued, and taken by Colonel *Scroop*, and sent Prisoner to *Warwick* Castle, and *Dalbier* was there killed, but the Duke of *Buckingham* retired towards *Lincolnshire*, and escaped beyond Seas; *Colchester* yet held out couragiously, making frequent Sallies upon the Besiegers with indifferent Success and good hopes of relief from the North; for the Parliament of *Scotland* had sat ever since the second of *March*, and were much disgusted at the English proceedings in reference to the King, which was not a little encreased by the report of their Commissioners now returned, so that notwithstanding that the Parliament of *England* made them fair offers concerning the payment of the money due upon account of their Auxiliary Armies, both in *England* and *Scotland*, and on the four and twentieth day of *July* passed an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in *England* and *Ireland* (*viz.*) under Classical Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies: yet all would not serve, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their affairs in relation to *England*; the Major part whereof being of *Hamiltons* faction, Voted a War. And the Scots published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

1648.

He is routed and the L. Francis Villiers slain.

The Earl taken at St. Needs.

An Ordinance for establishing the Presbyterian Government in England.

That the King may come to London, *or some of his Houses near, and that with safety.*

The Scots Declaration.

That reparation be made for his carrying away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

That the Army under the Lord Fairfax *be disbanded.*

That Presbytery be setled, and Sectaries punished.

That all Members of the House be restored.

These actings drew many of the Kings party from the Northern parts to *Edenburgh*, and *Wogan* a Captain in the English Army marched to them with his Troop, and fifty foot, and two Companies of Foot landed out of *Ireland* at *Chester*, and marched thither also: moreover *Barwick* was surprized by some Royallists, and Sir *Thomas Glemham* and Sir *Philip Musgrave* raised forces for the King in *Westmerland* and *Cumberland* with which they seized on *Carlisle*, and with them joyned Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with some Horse, being Commissioned to be General of the

Barwick and Carlisle surprized.

1648. English forces for the King, with which now encreased to three thousand, he coasted about the Northern Counties.

Sir Marmaduke Langdal made Gen. of the English forces for the King.

The Scots enter England under D. Hamilton and joyn with Langdale.

July the thirteenth, a Scots Army under Duke *Hamilton* entered *England*, the Van was brought up by the Duke himself, the Main Body by Major General *Middleton*, and the Rear by the Earl of *Calender*, these joyned with *Langdale*, and fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appleby*, and forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to *Kirkby-Steven* and after to *Bowes*, leaving some of his forces behind him, to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken *August* 7. by Sir *Philip Musgrave*, Colonel *Boynton* Governour of *Scarbrough* Castle declared for the King, and *Pomfret* Castle was taken by Major *Morris*; in *Tinmouth* Castle, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lilburne* declared for the King, but the Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*.

The *Scots* staid some time at *Kendal* in *Westmerland*, and Major General *Lamberts* Army encreased dayly with additional forces, and Lieutenant General *Cromwel* having quieted *Wales*, marched to joyn with him, and in his way took *Pomfret* Town, but not the Castle; *Hamilton* left *Kendal* and marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the English Army resolved to hinder, and therefore marched to *Preston*, where *Hamilton* and *Langdale* lay with their forces, reported to be twenty thousand strong, *Cromwel* and *Lambert* now joyned were reckoned to have five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and seven thousand Foot. *August* the 17 *th.* both Armies faced one another, Major *Smithson* Commanded the forlorn of the English, who charged furiously on the *Scots* Van, and routed them, and alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battels joyned on a Moor two miles East of *Preston* and the fight was very hot for two hours, and then the *Scots* gave ground, which incouraged the English to pursue them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced to divide, one part being a Body of three thousand Horse, moved towards *Lancaster*, and was followed and dispersed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow* (who took multitudes of them prisoners;) and the other part Horse and foot marched over the River *Rible*, whom the Main of the English Army followed, and at *Rible*-Bridge the *Scots* made a stand, defending the pass stoutly for two hours, even to the push of Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The next morning the *Scots* draw up on a Hill on the side of *Preston*, whence being forced by the English, they fled in great disorder to *Wiggon*, which they plundered, and the next morning after marched towards *Warrington* (the English pursuing all the way) near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Pass, made another halt, but were again beaten with the loss of a thousand men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the foot in number 4000. being deserted by the Horse, laid down their Arms and submitted to mercy; *Hamilton* got away with three thousand Horse to *Nantwitch*, where the Country being up in Arms seized upon most of them; Lieutenant Genetal *Cromwel* marched towards *Cumberland*, to meet *Monroe* who was marching with a Reserve of Scots, giving order to all the Parliament Commanders in these Counties to follow the flying Scots, by some of whom Major General *Middleton* who commanded four hundred Horse was defeated and taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed: *Hamilton* himself was met with at *Utoxeter*, and made to submit to mercy by the Lord *Gray* of *Groby*, who sent him prisoner to *Ashby de la Zouch*: in this days fight, the English took more prisoners than their own whole Army amounted to, the Scots Ensigns, Cornets, and Colours taken were afterward hung up in *Westminster*-Hall, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* was apprehended in an Inn: *Cromwel* improved his success, and came to *Durham*, to look out *Monroe* supposed to be about six thousand strong, but the stricter Presbyterian party in *Scotland* having now recovered the Sword, ordered him to return, which he obeyed more for fear of the English, than obedience to them, and joyning with the Earl of *Lanerick*, both together they made eight thousand Horse and foot; to oppose whom, the Anti-Hamiltonians provided an Army, whereof the Earl of *Argile* was Commander in Chief and *David Lesley* Lieutenant General, but being too weak to fight them, *Cromwel* entred *Scotland* by their invitation, and to smooth his way, he published the following Declaration.

1648.

The Scots Army defeated by Lt. Gen. Cromwel.

Hamilton taken prisoner by the L. Grey of Groby.

Cromwel enters Scotland.

His Declaration.

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the Parliament of England *into the Kingdom of* Scotland, *in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy, who lately invaded the Kingdom of* England, *and for the recovery of the Garrisons of* Barwick *and* Carlisle: *These are to declare, that if any Officer or Souldier under my Command shall take, or demand any moneys, or shall take any Horses, Goods, or Victuals without Order, or shall abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried and punished with death by a Court Martial.*

To him *Argile*, *Lowden*, *Leven*, and other of the Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with him for subduing of the publike Enemy: and so much feared was he in *Scotland*, that the following Agreement was consented to by them.

First, *That the Armies under* Argile, *and the other under* Lanerick *and* Monroe *with all the forces in any of the Garrisons in* Scotland *be disbanded, and* Barwick *and* Carlisle *be delivered to the English.*

Secondly, *That the settlement of Religion at home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered by the determination of the General Assembly, and all Civil differences be referred to a Parliament speedily to be called.*

Thirdly, *That no party that were in the last Ingagements against* England, *be of the new Parliament, or of the General Assembly.* And so he returned into *England* after he had been invited to *Edenburgh* to Feasts and Banquets, and highly caressed by the States of *Scotland* with all expressions of Honour: and in *Yorkshire* as he marched homewards, he was desired to reduce *Scarbrough* and *Pomfret* Castles, which was then promised, but not till some time after effected; *Colchester* had endured a tedious Siege, and was now brought to such scarcity of provision that the besieg'd had not Horse-flesh enough to serve them one day (that being the food which they had fed on almost

1648. most a fortnight, and not purchased without much blood spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitated to yeeld upon these Conditions following:

Colchester yeelded upon conditions.

The Common Souldiers to depart with life, and the Officers to remain at the Generals disposal, and he to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliaments mercy, and the Town to raise fourteen thousand pounds to preserve it from Plunder.

The Prisoners of Quality were the Earl of *Norwich*, *Capel*, and *Loughborough*, eleven Knights, Twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty five Gentlemen, the private Souldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Marshal (*viz.*) Sir *Charles Lucas*, Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoin* a *Florentine*; but the last was reprieved because a stranger, and the other two shot to death, the first having (as the † General said in his Letter to the Parliament falsified his word with him) the second directed the shooting of poysoned Bullets against the Laws of Arms.

Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle shot to death.

† This was alleadged but never proved.

And so General *Fairfax* after much loss of time and men, and difficult service for a quarter of a year) took possession of the Town of *Colchester*, *August* the 27 *th.* after which he marched up and down the Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Hartford* to settle peace, and visit the Garrisons, and then returned to St. *Albans* his Head-Quarters: and thus we have briefly described the Military actions of this year; and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of *London* among the rest had preferred one, & withal desired as in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunch*, and Sergeant *Glyn* their Recorder, to which the Houses readily consented, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Middlesex*, and the Lords *Berkly*, *Hunsden*, *Maynard*, *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and the eleven Members, for they became very well inclined to peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolencie of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of *Middlesex*, Sir *John Hipsley*, and Mr. *Bulkley* were sent to the King, to let him know this their resolution: who returned with his ready compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament Voted.

Petitions from City and County for a Treaty with the King.

The Vote of Non-Addresses recalled.

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted.

That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton-Court, *with such Servants as he desired.*

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport *in the Isle of* Wight. *And that the King be admitted to invite the* Scots *thereunto to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners (*viz.* the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembrook*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord *Say*, for the House of Lords; and the Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Sir *Henry Vane* the younger, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Sir *John Pots*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, and Mr. *Bulkley* for the House of Commons, and with these were joyned Mr. *Hollis* and Mr. *Glyn*. 1648.

The Commissioners sent with Propositions to the King.

Munday *September* the eighteenth the Treaty began: The Propositions were in number eleven.

The first was for calling in all the Kings Declarations, which he assented to, with this Proviso, *That neither of this Concession, nor any other of his, advantage should be taken, unless the whole were concluded.*

The 2 Proposition was, concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he condescended to settle the Directory, and to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving Liberty to Himself and his Party to use the old form: But would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The third Proposition was, for setling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years, solely, to which he assented.

Likewise to the fourth, for making void the Cessation of Ireland, *and remitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the two Houses at* Westminster.

And to the fifth and sixth, for nulling all Honors and Titles since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of Publike Debts.

The 7 th. Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great severity; the King moderated thus, he was contented that they should be fined, and prohibited access to Councel or Court without the Parliaments consent, that they should be deprived for three years of their right of sitting in Parliament, and brought to Tryal (if the two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereof they should be legally convicted: But he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away either Lives or Possessions from any, but such as after a legal Tryal should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The eighth, for impowring the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the Chief Magistrates for twenty years he agreed to; and to

The ninth, for confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it. And to

The tenth, for ratifying all Priviledges, Grants, and Charters and Immunities to the City of London, *with power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them: and the Ci-*

1648. *tizens to be exempted from Military service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliaments appointment.*

The last was for total exterminating the Court of Wards, which was also consented to, so as an hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of *Ormond* had gotten back into *Ireland*, and raised forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the Kings Commission, but the King assured the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the *Irish* affairs should be managed at the discretion of the houses only.

The Parliament vote a full agreement with the King.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

That he be in Honour, freedom, and safety, according to the Laws.

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the deductions for such Forts and Garrisons, as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That he have compensation of the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an Act of Oblivion be past with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses.

Most men thought now that the King and Parliament would have united, and so in all likelihood they had, nothing being in difference but only the business of Episcopacie. But whilst the King was treating for Peace at the Isle of *Wight* with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at *Windsor* the destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there, and at *London*, by the Levellers and some of their Independant friends about a frame of Government to be represented to them, the result whereof was,

The Officers of the Army have many meetings about a new frame of Government.

That some persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-affected in every County (for so they distinguished their Party) *should chuse one person to represent them: and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.*

That these persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power, but only to draw up the Foundations of a just Government, and to propound them to the well-affected people in every County to be agreed to; which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the bounds, limits, and extent of the peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement should be drawn up into a formal contract, to be mutually signed by the well-affected people, and their said Deputies upon the days of their elections respectively.

To prevent confusion, the Parliament may not be by force immediately dissolved, but the day of its dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by vertue whereof it should be dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approved of by the Chief Officers; but Colonel *Harrison* told the Agents imployed to them: 1648.

Colonel Harrisons Speech to the Agents.

That they could not stay so long from going to London, *as to perfect an agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going* (said he) *we are unavoidably destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, at the conclusion whereof we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoydably destroyed for what we have done already, and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament Proclaim us Traytors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of setling peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament.* So that he and the Officers with him declared the first thing the Army was to do, was *to cut off the Kings head, and force & throughly purge* (*if not dissolve*) *the Parliament.* The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid resolution, but pressed against the doing it without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future settlement of their liberties and freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councels will follow in the sequel of this History: in prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their tempers:

The Army petition for Justice against the King.

For a scrutiny to be taken for discovery of the Contrivers and Actors in the late bloody Wars, and that speedy Justice should be done upon them. That the same fault may have the same Justice and punishment in the person of the King or Lord, as in the person of the poorest Commoner: that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (*tilt he be acquitted of shedding innocent blood*) *be proceeded against as Traytors.* When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder termes which they sent to the Parliament by six Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated the 10*th.* of *November.*

Their Remonstrance to the same effect.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the Capital cause of all the evils of the Civil War.

Secondly, That a peremptory day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, *and Duke of* York, *and if they refused to come to declare them incapable of Government or Succession, and to stand exiled as Traytors, and if they rendred themselves, yet to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and that the Revennues of the Crown be sequestred.*

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.

And lastly, They concluded, desiring their Arrears with the old pretence of easing the Country of free Quarter; and request that a Period may be put to this Parliament, and a care taken to elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon election of and upon trust for the people, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters to deliver up his charge of the Kings person to Colonel *Ewer*,

by

1648. by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst-Castle* the 30 *th.* of *November*. But the Parliament declared their ill resentment of this action, and Voted, *That the seizing upon the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner unto* Hurst-Castle *was without the advice and consent of the Houses.*

Col. Ewre put in place of Hammond.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the Kings Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourned, and the Major part of the Commons Voted the same. But the Army being now come up to *London*, and Quartered at *White-Hall*, St. *James*, the *Mews*, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and Ordered Colonel *Prides* and *Riches* Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*, and the parts adjoyning; and not satisfied with this, they accused Major General *Brown*, and ninety odd Members for inviting in the *Scots* the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these proceedings the Commons (being displeased) adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was amongst other things proposed:

Divers Members of Parliament excluded by the Army.

The Parliament adjourn.

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the last of April *next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an Act of Law, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Councel of State should govern.*

The Model of Government proposed by the Army.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they stiled, *The Agreement of the People*; which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and sixteen Officers when the House new moulded by the Army, met again (for besides those that they forced out, a great number absented themselves) and to testifie their submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addresses, and repealed those which approved of the Kings Concessions, and Voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason*; *That the General should take care of his person: ann that the Councel of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him*; which manifested that impious intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: But before this open and avowed acting, some secret practices were designed upon his life, as appeared in the Letters and informations of one *Dowcet* and *Osburn* against Captain *Rolph*, who commanded a Company of the Guards about the King, whom *Osburn* particularly accused to have projected his death, by poyson or pistol, and not without the privity of Colonel *Hammond* and some Chiefs of the Army that incited him thereunto: and though great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of people was so great, that they were forced to commit him to prison, and subject him to trial; but by the tickling of some of the prevailing party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found *Ignoramus* by the grand Jury of *Hantshire*, at *Southampton* or *Winchester*, by the advice of *Maynard* of Councel with him, because there was but one witness to each fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

The Parliament new moulded by the Army meet again.

Their Votes

Secret practises to take away the Kings life.

1648.

December the tenth, the King was brought from *Hurst*-Castle with a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and the next day to *Windsor*: In the mean time the two Houses differed among themselves; the Commons asserted, That it is Treason for the King to levie War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traytor; and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their consent*; and adjourned for a fortnight, upon which the Commons Voted, *That all Members and others appointed to act in any Ordinance with Peers, are impowred and enjoyned to sit, act, and execute notwithstanding the Peers joyned not therein*; and so earnest were both the Commons and the Army about the Kings Trial, that the Queen desiring to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

The King removed from Hurst-Castle.

The two Houses clash

January the sixth, the Ordinance for the Kings Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in *Westminster-Hall*, *Cheapside*, and the old *Exchange* for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now the City (or rather a contemptible party therein, suborned to that purpose) petitioned the House for Justice against the King. And *Hillary* Term, beginning *January* the twenty third was adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the proceedings against him.

January the nineteenth, the King was brought from *Windsor* to St. *James*'s House, and all things were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded notwithstanding the dissent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland*, now convened against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a new Tribunal, called the High Court of Justice, who were impowred to convene, hear, Judge, and Execute *Charles Stewart* King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the great Seal of *England* to be broken, and a new Seal to be made with the Cross for *England*, and the Harp for *Ireland* thereon, and these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons sitting with these words, *In the first year of freedom by Gods blessing restored*, 1648.

The King is brought to St. James's.

A high Court of Justice erected for the Trial of the King.

A new great Seal made.

Thus this great, though unfortunate Prince, Monarch of three mighty Kingdoms, was now through the inscrutable Providence of the Omnipotent disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was tried, condemned, and lastly executed, yet not without a sharp retaliation (however late) upon the heads of the greatest part of those that were the chief contrivers and actors of so abhorred a fact, as in the sequel of the Story will appear.

Of

Of his Taxations.

KIng *James* dying, left his Son a large Dominion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the occaſion that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Fathers Reign.

In his firſt year, the Parliament at their firſt Seſſion granted him two Subſidies from Proteſtants, and four from Popiſh Recuſants, and from the Clergie three; and till the Parliament took order therein, he continued the levies as in his Fathers time of Tonnage, Poundage, and other ſums by way of impoſt upon Merchandiſe imported and exported.

In his ſecond year he engaged in a War with *France*, and for the relief of *Rochell*, he raiſed neer two hundred thouſand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at *Weſtminſter*, they gave him five Subſidies.

In his ſixth year, he revived an antient * Cuſtome or Uſage by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon them that order, or to make fine for reſpite of the ſame, whereby a hundred thouſand pounds was brought into the Exchequer.

See Coke, Second Book of Inſtitutes, fol. 593. Statute de militibus.

In his ninth year, by the advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Councel learned in the Laws, ſeveral Writs were iſſued under the great Seal of *England*; for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs, and Counties of this Realm reſpectively, to provide and furniſh Ships for the defence of the King and the Kingdom, whereby great ſums were raiſed. And in a Parliament holden in *Ireland*, the Deputy obtained ſome Subſidies for the payment of the Army of that Realm, and the encreaſe of his Majeſties Revenue there.

In his ſixteenth year, the Earl of *Strafford* obtained of the Iriſh Parliament the grant of four Subſidies: And the Convocation of Biſhops in *England* gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the pound for ſix years, to be aſſeſſed on all the Clergie in *England*, towards the carrying on of a War with *Scotland* then begun.

And in the ſame year, The Parliament of *England* then aſſembled, granted to him four entire Subſidies for relief of his Army then raiſed againſt the Scots, and for relief of the Northern parts of the Kingdom then much burthened by an Army of the Scots quartering in thoſe parts, who impoſed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their maintenance.

In his ſeventeenth year, the ſame Parliament granted two Subſidies for the further relief of his Majeſties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom; and likewiſe a Subſidie of Tonnage and Poundage, and other ſums of money payable upon Merchandiſe exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of *May* to the fifteenth of *July* following, and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the ſame duties from the fifteenth of *July* to the tenth of *Auguſt* following; and by five other ſubſequent Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subſidie and Impoſition upon Merchandiſe to the third of *May*, 1642. And the ſaid ſeventeenth year, ſeveral ſums of money were by Act of Parliament charged upon perſons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Eſtates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the ſpeedy disbanding two Armies then in the bowels of the Kingdom.

This year alſo a Contribution and Loan was granted for the relief of *Ireland*, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the year before.

And in his eighteenth year, an Act paſſed for raiſing and levying of moneys for the neceſſary defence and great affairs of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

Theſe were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwiſe raiſed by Royal Authority during the Kings Reign. But the War which the Parliament raiſed without his Authority, and againſt it, was ſupported and maintained by great and vaſt ſums of money illegally levied on the Subjects by Contribution, Aſſeſſments, and Exciſe, which cannot be properly here inſerted; and we wiſh the memory of ſuch unjuſt proceedings, may be for ever effaced.

Of the Laws made in His Reign.

HAving under the head of Taxations ſet down ſuch Acts of Parliament as granted money to the King, we ſhall herein make no further mention of them in the enumeration of the other Laws enacted during his Reign.

In the Parliament holden in his firſt year, an Act was made for puniſhing abuſes on Sundaies; and

An Act to enable the King to make Leaſes of Lands parcel of his Dutchy of *Cornwall*; and

An Act for eaſie obtaining Licenſes of Alienation, and in the pleadings in the Exchequer or elſewhere; and

An Act for reſtraining of ill behaviour in Inns and Ale-houſes.

In his Third Year.

The Petition of Right was enacted, and the ſeveral Statutes following, (*viz.*) An Act for reformation of divers abuſes committed on the Lords Day, commonly called Sunday.

An Act to reſtrain the paſſing, or ſending any to be popiſhly bred beyond the Seas.

An Act for the better ſuppreſſing unlicenſed Alehouſe-keepers.

An Act for continuance and repeal of divers Statutes.

An Act for eſtabliſhing of the Eſtates of the Tenants of *Bromfield* and *Yale* in the County of *Denbigh*, and for the Tenures, Rents and Services thereon reſerved, according to a late compoſition made for the ſame.

In the *16th.* *17th.* and *18th.* years of his Reign, the Laws hereafter mentioned were made, whereof ſuch of them as are ſince repealed, we note with Rep. and ſuch as being but temporary Laws, and are ſince expired, we note Exp.

An Act for preventing of inconveniences happning by the long intermiſſions of Parliament, Exp.

An Act whereby the Lord Admiral and others by his Authority may raiſe and impreſs Mariners, Sailers and others for the preſent guarding of the Sea, and neceſſary defence of the Realm, Exp.

An

An Act concerning the Limitations, and abreviation of *Michaelmas* Term.

An Act declaring, That this Parliament ſhall not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by Act of Parliament, Exp.

An Act for regulating the Privy-Councel, and taking away the *Star-Chamber* Court.

An Act for repeal of a branch of a Statute *Primo Elizabethæ*, concerning Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

An Act for declaring the late proceedings touching Ship-money unlawful and void, and all Records and Proceſs concerning the ſame.

An Act againſt divers incroachments and oppreſſions in the Stannery Courts.

An Act for the certainty of Forreſts, and the meets and bounds of the Forreſt.

An Act for confirmation of the Treaty of Pacification between *England* and *Scotland*, with the Commiſſions and Articles thereupon, Exp.

An Act by which the Office of Clerk of the Market is allowed, and regulated, and falſe weights and meaſures reformed.

An Act for the prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.

An Act for bringing in of Gun-powder and Salt-petre from forein parts, and for the free making of Gun-powder in this Realm: There were two Acts paſſed ſucceſſively for the better raiſing and levying of Mariners, Sailers and others, for guarding the Seas, Exp.

An Act was paſſed alſo for relief of Captives taken by Turkiſh and other Pyrates, Exp.

An Act declaring, That perſons in holy Orders ſhall not exerciſe certain temporal powers and Authorities, Rep.

An Act was alſo paſſed, For the ſpeedy and effectual reducing of the Rebells in *Ireland*, and

An Act for adding to and explaining certain clauſes therein, and

An Act by which Corporations and bodies Politick are enabled to take the benefit of an Act for reducing of the Rebells in *Ireland*, and

An Act for the further advancement of an effectual and ſpeedy reduction of the Rebells in *Ireland*.

Moreover, beſides the above-mentioned Statutes made in the *16th.* *17th.* and *18th.* years of this King, which are of publick concernment. There were ſeveral other Acts made of a more private nature, the titles whereof were,

An Act for the Attainder of *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*. Rep.

An Act to enable the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* to grant Eſtates for three lives, or twenty one years, of Lands in the County of *Southampton*, reſerving the old Rents.

An Act for naturalizing of *Dorothy Spencer*, Daughter of *Henry* Lord *Spencer*, Baron *Spencer* of *Wormleighton*.

An Act for enabling of the ſale and leaſing of Lands for payment of the debts of *Thomas* Earl of *Wincheſley*.

An Act for the ſetling and eſtating upon the Lady *Elizabeth* Counteſs Dowager of *Exeter*, her Heirs and Aſſigns for ever; the ſoil of the Hoſpital of St. *Leonards* within the Town of *Newark* upon *Trent* in the County of *Nottingham*, with the dwelling houſe, & other buildings thereupon built, and of certain cloſes and grounds, parcel of the poſſeſſions of the ſaid Hoſpital, and for the ſetling of divers Lands and Tenements of better valew, being the inheritance of the ſaid Counteſs, to be added to the poſſeſſions of the ſaid Hoſpital for ever in liew of the ſame.

An Act for making the Chappel of *Hool* in the County of *Lancaſter*, a Pariſh Church, and no part of the Pariſh of *Groſton*.

An Act for *John Eggars* Free-School within the Pariſh of *Alton* in the County of *Southampton*.

An Act for ſetling of certain Manors, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments on *Katharine* Counteſs Dowager of *Bedford*, *William* now Earl of *Bedford*, *John Ruſſel*, and *Edmund Ruſſel* Eſq. Sons of *Francis* Earl of *Bedford*, deceaſed.

An Act for the confirmation of his Majeſties Letters Patents to the Town of *Plymouth*, and for dividing the Pariſh, and building a new Church there.

An Act for the alteration of the Eſtate and tenure of ſome Lands within the Pariſh of *Fulham* in the County of *Middleſex* held of the Lord Biſhop of *Lond.* as of the Manor of *Fulham*.

An Act to ſettle the Manor of *Belgran*, and other Lands in the County of *Leiceſter* to and upon *William Byerly* Eſq. his Heirs and Aſſigns, for and towards payment of the Debts of *William Davenport* Eſq. deceaſed.

An Act to enable Sir *Alexander Denton*, Knight, to ſell the Manor of great *Barvard* & *Barford* St. *Michael* and other Lands in this preſent Act mentioned for the payment of his Debts, and preferment of his younger Children.

An Act for the aſſuring of a Meſſuage called *Dureſme-Houſe*, *alias Durham-Houſe*, and certain Stables, part of the poſſeſſions of the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, ſituate in the pariſh of St. *Martins* in the Fields in the County of *Middleſex*, unto the Right Honourable *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke* & *Mountgomery*, and his Heirs, and a yearly Rent of two hundred pounds a year to the ſaid Biſhop of *Dureſme* and his Succeſſors in liew thereof.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

THe King was a Zealous Proteſtant according to the profeſſion of the Church of *England*; for the peace and defence whereof, he laboured much all the time of his Reign, though the malice and ignorance of the enemies thereof much obſtructed his pious indeavours.

In his firſt Year, ſome differences were revived about the Tenents of *Arminius*, which began in the later end of his Fathers Reign, and were heightned by the Commons Houſe of the Parliament then newly aſſembled, the members whereof generally favoured the oppugners of thoſe points, and the controverſie was the more remarkable, becauſe it divided the Biſhops themſelves, but thoſe of that Order that were reputed *Arminians*, did not own themſelves to be ſuch, but maintained, That what they held, was ever the Doctrine of the Church of *England* contained in the *17th.* Article thereof, and the like was aſſerted by thoſe that oppoſed thoſe Tenents, ſo that both made claim to that Article, and about the Expoſition thereof, and the conſequences from thence derived, the peace of the Church was not a little

1648. little disquieted, to put some stop to this growing evil, a conference was this year kept in *York*-House betwixt Dr. *Buckbridge* Bishop of *Rochester*, and Dr. *White* Dean of *Carlisle* on the one side, and Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Coventry*, and Doctor *Preston* on the other about these points, and chiefly about the possibility of one elected to fall from Grace; and the success of this and of another in the same kind answered neither the intention nor expectations of such as procured them; but the King taking notice of these Arminian Controversies, by his Declaration a while after published, forbad any in preaching or writing to meddle with those high points, as tending more to destruction then edification of the people.

A Conference at York-house for ending the Controversies of Arminians and Calvinists.

The Kings Declaration against medling with these Controversies.

In his fourth year at the confirmation of Mr. *Richard Mountague* to be Bishop of *Chichester*, which was in *Bow*-Church, according to the usual custome in such cases all persons were summoned to appear, to shew cause why the Elect there present should not be confirmed; whereupon one *William Jones* a Stationer of *London* excepted against Mr. *Mountague* as unfitting for the Episcopal Office, because lately Questioned by the Parliament for a Book he had writ, wherein they said were many dangerous opinions of Arminianism and Popery (yet upon examination thereof) some sharp and invective expressions were the greatest offences in it, but exceptions were taken at the exceptions of *Jones*, though the reason thereof appears not otherwise than what is alleadged in the Record by Dr. *Rives* (substitute at that time for the Vicar General) *Quod nullo modo legitime comperuit, nec aliquid in hac parte juxta Juris exigentiam diceret, exciperet, vel apponeret*, so that the Bishop was confirmed, and immediately after he sued out a Pardon under the great Seal of *England* for all Errors before committed, either in speaking, writing, or printing, whereof he might hereafter be Questioned.

Bishop Montague at his consecration excepted against.

In the same year one *Richard Smith* a Secular Popish Priest, titular Bishop of *Chalcedon*, *in partibus Infidelium*, acted, and exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in *Lancashire*, with his Miter and Crosier, conferring Orders on divers Priests, and in granting and administring confirmation, which much disturbed the Peace of the Church of *England*, and made disorders amongst their own party; for *Nicholas Smith* a Jesuite wrote bitterly against him, urging that a Bishop over the English Catholikes was useless in times of persecution (as he called it) there being but two peculiar performances of a Bishop (*viz.*) ordination and confirmation; for the former it might be supplied by forein Bishops, since the English Papists were most bred abroad; and for the later he offered out of *Thomas Aquinas* and other Divines, that by Commission from the Pope a Priest, though no Bishop, might confirm; he added likewise, that a Bishop was burthensome to the English Church, considering that the present pressures of those of that Religion needed now no unnecessary expences.

The contest between the Jesuits and secular Priests.

These and the like objections were answered by Doctor *Kellison*, Rector of the English Colledg at *Doway*, and many other Secular Priests, which occasioned great animosities betwixt the Regular and Seculars; but the King to shew his dislike of the Bishops presumptions, by his Proclamation, promised an hundred pounds to be paid to any that should apprehend him, besides all the profits that accrewed to the Crown, from the person who entertained him, which frighted him into *France*, as was mentioned before in the History.

In his sixth year *Davenant* Bishop of *Salisbury* was questioned for breach of the Kings Declaration, by falling on some points in his Sermon before the King touching the Arminian controversies which were forbidden therein; but by his modest and discreet answers, he was acquitted; though in the same year *Thorn* and *Ford* two Masters of Arts of *Oxford* were expelled the University for being judged offenders against the same Declaration.

Bishop Davenant questioned, and Thorn and Ford expelled the University for offending against the Kings declaration.

In his ninth year the Sabbatarian Controversie was revived by one *Theophilus Bradbone* a Minister of *Suffolk*, which first began in the year 1595. occasioned by a Book put forth that year by one Dr. *Bound*, for before that time (as in *Geneva* at this day) no civil recreations were denied to any of the people at such times as they were not exercised in their publique devotions at Church; in *Bounds* Book these following opinions were maintained.

The Controversie about the Sabbath revived.

The sum of Dr. Bounds Book concerning the Sabbath.

1. "That the Commandment of sanctifying "every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Deca- "logue is moral and perpetual.

2. "That whereas all other things in the Jew- "ish Church were taken away (Priesthood, Sa- "crifices, and Sacraments) this Sabbath was so "changed, that it still remaineth.

3. "That there is great reason why we Christians "should take our selves as streightly bound to rest "upon the Lords Day, as the Jews were upon "their Sabbath, it being one of the moral Com- "mandments, for before all were of equal Autho- "rity.

4. "The rest upon this Day must be a notable "and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and pre- "cise rest, after another manner than men are ac- "customed.

5. "Scholars on that Day are not to study the "Liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the Case, "nor peruse mens Evidences.

6. "Sergeants, Apparitors, and Sumners to "be restrained from executing their Offices.

7. "Justices not to examine causes for the "conservation of the Peace.

8. "That ringing of more Bells than one that "day is not to be justified.

9. "No solemn Feasts, nor Wedding-dinners "to be made on that day (with permission not- "withstanding of the same to Lords, Knights, and "Gentlemen of Quality.)

10. "All honest recreations and pleasures "lawful on other days (as shooting, fencing, bow- "ling) on this day to be forborn.

11. "No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or "any other worldly matter.

The Doctrine was at first very well received because of the piety of such persons as maintained it in their publique Writings; but a while after

ter it was opposed, as galling mens necks with a Jewish yoke against the liberty of Christians; and further, it was urged that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations.

That this Doctrine puts an unequal lustre on the Sonday, on set purpose to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the Authority of the Church, and that this strict observance was set up out of faction to be a Character of difference to brand all for Libertines who did not entertain it; so that Archbishop *Whitgift* called in all such Books as were written on this Subject. But *Bradbone* who revived this matter at this time was questioned for it by the High Commission Court, whose well tempered severity so prevailed upon him, that submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of *England* ever after.

Bradbone retracts his opinion of the Sabbath.

Just in this conjuncture of time the King being troubled with Petitions on both sides by the strict and the more moderate observers of the Lords Day, thought good to follow his Fathers Royal example upon the like occasion in *Lancashire*, where in his Progress in the 14*th.* year of his Reign taking notice that some Preachers perswaded the people to so rigorous observation of the Sabbath, that it was unlawful therein to dress meat, sweep their Houses, kindle the fire, or the like, and that the Popish Priests took advantage thereby to pervert many to Popery, perswading them that the Protestant Religion was so rigorous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein, the year after he set forth a Declaration to this effect, *That for his good peoples lawful recreations, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted or discouraged from any lawful actions, such as dancing either of men or women, or for men leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless Recreations; nor from having* May-Games, Whitsun-ales, *or* Morrice-dances; *and setting up of* May-Poles, *or other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or let of Divine Service, and that women should have leave to carry rushes to the Church for decoring of it, according to their old custome: withal prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and Bowling* (at all times in the meaner sort of people prohibited.)

A Declaration for toleration of sports on the Lords-Day.

In his tenth year by the procurement of *Laud* Bishop of *London*, all such Impropriations in *Ireland* as were in the Crown, were by the King restored to the Church, and at a Convention in that Kingdom concurrent with a Parliament then in being, the 39 Articles of the Church of *England* were there received for all to subscribe unto.

Impropriations in Ireland restored to the Church, and the 39 Articles received.

In his 13*th.* year the same Bishop of *London* being some time before translated to the See of *Canterbury*, and himself a strict observer of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, did in his Metropolitan Visitation more rigorously than before press conformity thereunto, which occasioned many differences in the Church about Divine Worship, (*viz.*) about the holiness of Churches, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the manner of Adoration in Gods House, which last was by the Conformists practised to be towards the Communion Table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence, others would not admit of the name of Table, but have it Altar; and then a great controversie was raised about the placing of it, some would have it constantly fixed with the sides East and West, ends North and South, and a gradual advance next the East wall of the Chancell, citing a Canon, and the practice of the Kings Chappel for the same; whilst others pressed Queen *Elizabeths* Injunctions (allowing it at other times to stand in the Chancel) but to be set in the Body of the Church when the Sacrament is celebrated thereon: Many were the Books writ *pro* and *con* of these matters to the great rent and division of the Church, and such heat about this Altar, and other differences on both sides was kindled that had almost sacrificed their mutual charity thereon: amongst the writers in the controversie of this time, there were three that writ most bitterly against Bishops and the established Discipline of the Church, Mr. *Henry Burton* a Minister, Dr. *John Bastwick* a Doctor of Phisick, and Mr. *William Prynne* a Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*, who were severely censured for their offences, as hath been before mentioned in the History of the Kings Reign.

Differences about Ceremonies.

In the same year or the year after, the Book of Service or new Lyturgy was sent into *Scotland* to be used in that Kingdom, the circumstances whereof, and the miseries thereby occasioned are likewise related in the foregoing History.

In his fourteenth year on the 13*th.* of *April* a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and with the Parliament a Convocation began, but the Parliament being after a moneth dissolved, the King nevertheless continued the Convocation under the Title of a Synod, which was authorized under the great Seal of *England*, the Acts of this Synod were scarce any time in use, so that we shall here only insert the Titles of the 17 Canons that passed therein:

The Acts of the Synod.

1. "Concerning the Regal Power.
2. "For better keeping of the day of his "Majesties most happy Inauguration.
3. "For suppressing of the growth of Pope-"ry.
4. "Against Socinianism.
5. "Against Sectaries.
6. "An Oath injoyned for the preventing of "all Innovations in Doctrine and Government.
7. "A Declaration concerning some Rites "and Ceremonies.
8. "Of Preaching for Conformity.
9. "One Book of Articles of inquiry to be "used at all Parochial Visitations.
10. "Concerning the conversation of the "Clergy.
11. "Chancellors Patents.
12. "Chancellors alone not to censure any of "the Clergy in sundry cases.
13. "Excommunication and Absolution not "to be pronounced but by a Priest.
14. "Concerning the Commutations and dis-"posing of them.
15. "Touching concurrent Jurisdictions.
16. "Concerning Licences to Marry.
17. "Against vexatious Citations.

As to the Oath concluded in the Synod, which was a subject of so much discourse at that time, and after in the succeeding Parliament that the Members of the Synod and the whole Episcopal Clergy suffered much thereby, it is here set forth at large according to the true tenor thereof.

The Oath concluded on by the Synod.

" I *A. B.* do swear, that I do approve the " Doctrine and Discipline or Government esta- " blished in the Church of *England*, as contain- " ing all things necessary to salvation: And that I " will not endeavour by my self, or any other, direct- " ly or indirectly to bring in any Popish Doctrine " contrary to that which is so established; nor will " I ever give my consent to alter the Government " of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, " and Archdeacons, † *&c.* as it stands now esta- " blished, and as by right it ought to stand, nor " yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and su- " perstitions of the See of *Rome*. And all these " I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and " swear, according to the plain and common sense " and understanding of the same words, without " any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret " reservation whatsoever. And this I do heartily " willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Chri- " stian. So help me God in Jesus Christ.

† The &c. much cavelled at.

As soon as these Canons were published, various were mens censures upon them, and many objections were raised against them, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed to the prejudice of the Fundamental Liberty of the Subject, though their sitting was justified by the opinions of the ablest of the Kings learned Council in the Laws; but against the Oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall insert.

For these and other reasons.

1. Because the (*&c.*) did leave the Oath so loose, that neither the makers nor the takers thereof understood the same.

Secondly, These words were disliked (*viz.*) (*we will never give consent to alter this Church Government,*) as if the same were intended to abridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations. *Goodman*, Bishop of *Gloucester* the day before the ending of the Synod repaired to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and acquainted him that he could not with his Conscience subscribe these new Canons, and thereupon he was by the King committed to the Gate-house, and it appeared afterward that he scrupled some passages about the Corporeal presence.

Bishop Goodman committed to the Gate-house.

In *Scotland* the distempers were so great about the Service Book sent thither, that the King raised an Army to reduce them to obedience: And from this beginning many and great calamities ensued in the Church and State in the few remaining years of this Kings Reign.

The Liturgy and shortly after Episcopacie it self were both abrogated by those that usurped the Government of the Kingdom, and (which is the more to be lamented) many Ministers of the Gospel in *England*, who were reputed learned and pious men, and had conformed to the established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to the scandal of Religion, joyned with those that opposed the Kings just Authority, and the Laws, and by their preachings and writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural War, on pretence of Reformation of Religion, forgetting, That not Guns and Swords, but Prayers and Tears ought to be the Arms of the Church; and then came in that flood of Errors that does yet too too much obscure the beauty thereof; for hitherto though some differences arose in Discipline, yet so far was there unity amongst us, that the Ministers in the common grounds of Religion and of the Ministry were all one, and all preached one Faith and substance of Doctrine; but we shall no further inlarge on these things which will make matter for an intire History of it self to describe.

Works of Piety done by this King and others in his Reign.

Pembroke Colledge in Oxford built and endowed.

Pembroke Colledge in *Oxford* was erected and built in the place where formerly *Broadgates*-Hall stood, at the Charge of *Thomas Tisdale* of *Glympton* in the County of *Oxford*, who gave five thousand pound thereunto; and *Richard Wightwick* Rector of East Isle in *Berkshire* gave to it Lands of the yearly value of an hundred pounds, and hereupon King *James* in the later end of his Reign gave his licence for the building the Colledge, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred pounds a year; but the Colledge was not built till the first year of this Kings Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of the Church of St. *Aldates* near adjoyning. Sir *Foulk Grevil*, Lord *Brook*, founded a History Professorship in the University of *Cambridge*, and gave an hundred pound a year thereunto for ever; and Sir *Thomas Adams* a competently learned and worthy Citizen, and sometime Lord Major of *London*, erected and endowed an Arabick Professorship in the same University.

An Arabick Professorship erected and endowed there.

Oriel Colledg in Oxford new built.

Anthony Blencow sometime Provost of *Oriall* Colledge in *Oxford*, gave twelve hundred pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that Colledge, and by his example some other Benefactors did so largely contribute, as to new build the whole Colledge, which from a very old and decayed Building, is now as handsome a uniform pile as any in that, or any other University in *Europe*.

The King and Queen great Benefactors to Jesus and Queens Colledge in Oxford.

The Queen *Henrietta Maria* wife to this King of her great goodness and love to Learning, procured of the King her Husband the perpetual Patronage of several good Parsonages in *Hantshire* to be granted to Queens Colledge in *Oxford*; and the King out of his care to have the Inhabitants of *Jersey* and *Guernsey* well educated, gave some Fellowships in *Jesus* Colledge and *Pembroke* Colledge in *Oxford*, to the Natives of those Islands.

Sir *William Paddy* Knight, Doctor in Phisick gave two perpetual Parsonages to St. *Johns* Colledge in *Oxford*, and beautified the Chappel thereof, and endowed some singing men and Choristers to make a Quire therein; and *William Laud* Archbishop of *Canterbury* built a new Court in the same Colledge, a very elegant Fabrick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereunto, he also enlarged the publique University Library, and purchased to it at a great price many Ma-

A new court in St. Johns Oxford built by Archb. Laud.

manuſcripts of the Eaſtern Languages; and by that Example, Sir *Kenelme Digby* a Valiant and Learned Knight, gave a numerous Collection of Choice and Excellent Books to it.

Clare-Hall in Camb. new built.

The antient Hall of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and many lodgings there were built at the charge of *Barnaby Oky*, Proctor of the Univerſity, and Fellow thereof, and ſome other Benefactors (procured chiefly by his Sollicitation,) which is for ſo much of it, as handſome a building as any in *England*.

St. Pauls repaired.

The King was very ſollicitous to repair the antient Cathedral Church of St. *Paul* in *London*, which was much decayed with age, and adviſed with Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, and ſome others of his Councel, how to effect ſo pious and ſo noble a purpoſe, which was after ſome time reſolv'd on, and he himſelf at his own charge repaired ſome part thereof, and by his inducement, Sir *Paul Pindar*, a wealthy and worthy Citizen, and many others, contributed lagely thereunto, ſo that the work went on very faſt, and had not the Civil Wars made an interruption to it; in few years St. *Pauls* Church would have been made the moſt magnificent Structure of *Europe*.

Mr. *John Eggor* erected and endowed a Free-School in the Pariſh of *Alton* in *Hantſhire*, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

A new Church built at Plymouth. The like at Edenburgh.

The King alſo, by his Letters Patents, gave power to the Town of *Plymouth* to erect a new Church there. The Citizens of *Edenburgh* in *Scotland* alſo built a new Church in that City called the *Fronekirk*, and covered it with plates of Copper; and one *Heriat* a Citizen of that City founded an Hoſpital there, which is one of the moſt beautiful buildings of that Kingdom. There were many Free-Schools beſides thoſe here mentioned, and many Alms-houſes erected in ſeveral parts of *England*, and ſome Hoſpitals; but we have not now ſo particular information thereof, as to make mention of them in this place, but by what has been here expreſſed, we may ſee the pious and charitable effects of the juſt ſecurity & peace of the firſt fifteen years of the Kings Government, which is all the time he reigned freely, and without oppoſition.

Of Caſualties hapning in his Time.

The Plague breaks out in London.

IN his firſt year, the Plague broke out in *London* more dangerouſly than in the beginning of his Fathers Reign, inſomuch that the King was fain to adjourn the Parliament, becauſe of the thin appearance of the Members by reaſon of the Contagion.

Earthquakes

In his ſecond year, was great Earthquakes in many parts of the Kingdom.

A Star appears at Noon a little after Prince Charles his Birth.

In his ſeventh year, *May* the 29 *th.* a ſtar appeared viſible at Noon, the Sun ſhining clear at what time the King rode to St. *Pauls* Church to give thanks for the Queens ſafe delivery of her ſecond Son Prince *Charles*.

The great Fire at London-Bridge.

In his eighth year, a fire brake out on *London*-Bridge, by which moſt of the houſes which were built upon it (which when they were all ſtanding, made up a very beautiful ſtreet) were burnt down to the ground.

In his ſixteenth year, the Earl of *Haddington* in *Scotland*, having recovered ſome pieces of Ordnance which the Garriſon of *Berwick* had ſeized at *Dunce*, return'd back to *Douglaſs*, where ſitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a ſudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by accident, whereby the Earl and his company were blown up. A ſad Accident at Douglaſs in Scotland.

The ſame ſame year likewiſe, a Pond in *Cambridge* became red as blood, the water whereof being taken up in Baſons, retained ſtill the ſame colour. Many ſights alſo were ſeen in the Air, as Armies fighting one againſt the other, which were looked upon as the ſad preſages of the enſuing Wars: Neither is that ſtrange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention which hapned at *Withecombe* in the County of *Devon* in the fourteenth year of his Reign, where a Ball of fire was ſeen to come into the Church in the time of Divine Service, whereby three perſons were killed, and threeſcore and two hurt, divers of whom had the linings of their clothes burnt, though their outward Garments were not ſo much as ſinged, and moſt of the ſeats were turned up-ſide down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more endamaged than the expence of three hundred pounds could repair. A Pond in Cambridge blood-red. Strange Thunder at Withecomb

Of His Wife and Children.

HE married *Mary* the Daughter of *Henry* the fourth King of *France*, whoſe Marriage was ſolemnized in the year, 1625. being the firſt year of his Reign; He had Iſſue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldeſt Son born before the time, was baptized *Charles*, and lived not above two hours: His ſecond Son born *May* the twenty ninth, 1630. was alſo named *Charles*, and afterwards created Prince of *Wales*. And in the year, 1660. Reſtor'd (after many years ſecluſion in forein Countries) with the univerſal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Fathers Throne, happily bleſt with the Regal Vertues of ſo Illuſtrious a Monarch: His third Son was born *October* the 13 *th.* 1633. and was baptized *James*, and created Duke of *York*, a Prince of Invincible Courage, and Heroick Valour, as his Actions in *France* and *Flanders*, yet freſh in memory, have given ſufficient Teſtimony: His fourth and laſt Son was born the twentyth of *July*, 1640. and Chriſtened *Henry*, afterwards created Duke of *Glouceſter*; He ſince his Brothers happy Reſtauration, deceaſed on the 13 *th.* of *September*, 1660. thereby bereaving the World of thoſe fair hopes which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His Eldeſt Daughter *Mary*, was born *November* the 4 *th.* 1631. and afterwards married to *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange*, by whom he had one Son named *William*, Heir and Succeſſor to his Father in his Dignities; ſhe quickly followed her Brother the Duke of *Glouceſter*, *viz.* the 24 *th.* of *December*, 1660. her loſs being very much bewailed, eſpecially by any who had Relation to her ſervice, as being a Princeſſe of univerſal goodneſs, Charity and Bounty. His ſecond Daughter *Elizaleth*, was born the 28 *th.* of *December*, 1635. She dyed at *Carisbrook* in the *Iſle* of *Wight*, *September* the 8 *th.* 1650. for meer Grief (as it is not without reaſon believ'd) of her Fa-

1648. thers unfortunate Death: And his third Daughter *Anne*, was born the seventeenth of *March*, 1636. who also dyed very young: His fourth and last Daughter, was born *June* the 16*th*. 1644. at *Exeter*, from whence she was brought up to St. *James's*, but afterwards conveyed into *France* by her Governesse the Lady *Dalkeith*; She was married to the Duke of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewis* the fourteenth, the present King of *France*; a Princess she is of incomparable Beauty, and Gallantry of Spirit.

Of his Death and Burial.

HIs death was strange and unparallell'd, we read of many Kngs who came to violent ends, but never any that was so formally and solemnly murdered, by a publick Tryal and Execution, which was done in the manner following.

The Trial of his Majesty. Bradshaw President of the High Court of Justice.

On Saturday, *January* the 20*th*. 1648. The wicked High Court of Justice sate in *Westminster Hall*, whereof *John Bradshaw* of *Grayes-Inne* was President, he had a Mace and Sword carried before him, and twenty habited like Gentlemen for his Guard, under the Command of one Colonel *Fox* (formerly a Brasier or Tinker) when the pretended Court was sate, and *O yes* made, and silence commanded; The Act of the Commons for erecting the said Court was read, in these words.

The Commons Act for erecting the High Court of Justice for Tryal of the King.

"Whereas it is notorious, That *Charles Stewart* the now King of *England*, not content with "the many incroachments which his Predecessors "had made upon the People in their Rights and "Freedom, hath had a wicked design to subvert "the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation, and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, "and that besides all evil ways to bring his design "to pass, he hath prosecuted it with fire and "Sword, and levied and maintained a Civil War "in the Land against the Parliament and Kingdom, whereby this Countrey hath been miserably wasted, the publike Treasure exhausted, "Trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, "and infinite of other mischiefs committed, for "all which high offences the said *Charles Stewart* "might long since have been brought to exemplary & condign punishment: Whereas also the "Parliament well hoping that the restraint and "imprisonment of his person, after it had pleased "God to deliver him into their hands, would "have quieted the distempers of the Kingdom, "did forbear to proceed judicially against him, "but found by sad experience that such remissness served only to encourage him and his complices in the continuance of their evil practises, "and raising new commotions, Rebellions, and "Invasions: for prevention of the like and "greater inconveniences, and to the end no chief "Officer or Magistrate may hereafter presume "Traiterously and malitiously to imagine or contrive the enslaving or destroying of the English "Nation, and to expect impunity; Be it enacted and ordained by the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, That † *J. B. O. C. M. G. I.* &c.

† Here the Commissioners names were inserted.

"shall be, and are hereby appointed Commissioners and Judges, for the Hearing, Trying, and "Judging of the said *Charles Stuart*, and the "said Commissioners, or any twenty or more of "them shall be, and are hereby Authorized and "constituted an High Court of Justice, to meet "at such convenient times and places as by "the said Commissioners, or the major part, or "twenty or more of them under their hands and "Seals shall be appointed and notified by publike "Proclamation in the great Hall, or Palace-Yard "of *Westminster*, and adjourn from time to time, "and from place to place, as the said High "Court, or the major part thereof, meeting shall "hold fit, and to take order for the charging of "him the said *Charles Stuart* with the Crimes a-"bove-mentioned, and for the receiving his per-"sonal Answer thereunto, and for examination of "Witnesses upon Oath (if need be) concerning the same; and thereupon, or default of such "Answer to proceed to final Sentence, according to Justice, and the merit of the Cause, to "be executed speedily and impartially. And the "said Court is hereby Authorized and required "to chuse and appoint all such Officers, Attendants, and other circumstances, as they, or the "major part of them shall in any sort judge necessary or useful for the orderly and good ma-"naging of the premisses, and *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax* the General, with all Officers of Justice, "and other well-affected persons are hereby Authorized and required to be aiding and assisting "unto the said Commissioners in the due execution of the Trust hereby committed unto them, "provided that this Act, and the Authority here-"by granted, do continue for the space of one "moneth from the date of the making hereof, "and no longer.

After the reading of the Act, the Court was called, and the Commissioners, whose names are here inserted, appeared and answered to their names; there were many more nominated in the Act, but because they acted not in this infamous Court, we shall forbear to record their names to posterity.

The Commissioners and Judges of the Court

Oliver Cromwel, *Lieutenant General of the Army.*
Henry Ireton, *Commissary General.*
Sir Hardress Waller, *Colonel.*
Valentine Walton.
Col. Tho Harrison.
Col. Edward Whalley.
Col. Thomas Pride.
Col. Isaack Ewer.
Col. Richard Ingoldsby.
† Sir Henry Mildmay.
Thomas *Lord* Grey, *Col.*
† William *Lord* Mounson.
Sir John Danvers.
Sir Thomas Maleverer.
Sir John Bouchier.
† Sir James Harrington.
† Robert Wallop, *Esq*;
William Henningam, *Esq*;
Isaack Pennington, *Alderman of London.*

Henry

1648.

Henry Martin, *Esq*;
Col. William Purefoy.
Col. John Berkſted.
John Blackſtone, *Esq*;
Gilbert Millington, *Esq*;
Sir Willliam Conſtable, *Knight.*
Col. Edward Ludlow.
Col. John Hutchinſon.
Sir Michael Liveſey.
Robert Tichborne, *Alderman of London.*
Col. Owen Roe, *of London.*
Col. Rob. Lilburne.
Col. Adrian Scroope.
Col. Richard Dean.
Col. John Okey.
Col. John Hewſon.
Col. William Goff.
Cornelius Holland, *Gent.*
John Carew, *Esq*;
John Jones, *Esq*;
Miles Corbet, *Esq*;
Francis Allen, *Goldſmith.*
Peregrin Pelham, *Esq*;
Thomas Challoner, *Esq*;
Col. John *Moore.*
William Say, *Esq*;
John Allured, *Esq*;
† *Col.* Francis Laſſels.
Henry Smith, *Esq*;
† James Challoner, *Esq*;
Humphrey Edwards, *Esq*;
Gregory Clement, *Esq*;
John Fry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton.
Serjeant John Bradſhaw.
Col. Edm. Harvey.
Col. John Venne, *of London.*
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Adams, *Alderman of London.*
William Cawley, *Esq*;
Col. Anthony Stapely.
John Downs, *Esq*;
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Thomas Hammond.
John Liſle, *Esq*;
Nicholas Love, *Esq*;
Vincent Potter.
Auguſtine Garland, *Esq*;
John Dixwel, *Esq*;
Col. George Fleetwood, *Com. Buck.*
Simon Main, *Esq*;
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrave, *Esq*;
Col. Thomas Wayte.

Of theſe Commiſſioners John Bradſhaw *was choſen Preſident of the Court, as was before mentioned. And there were ſeveral Officers which appeared.*

Counſellors to draw up and proſecute the Charge.

Doriſlaus, *Doctor of the Civil Law.*

Ask, John Cook — *Two Councellors at Law, whereof* Cook *was made the States Sollicitor General for this imployment.*

Serjeant Dandy, *the Younger, Serjeant at Arms.*

Daniel Broughton, John Phelps — *Two Clerks attending.*

Wallford, Radly, Paine, Powel, Hull — *Meſſengers and Door-keepers.*

Mr. King, *Crier of the Crown.*

The Court being thus ſate and called over, the the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker* with Halberdeers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to his Chair within the Bar where he ſat, and then the Preſident *Bradſhaw* ſaid to the King.

Charles Stuart *King of England, The Commons of* England *aſſembled in Parliament being ſenſible of the great calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent blood ſhed (which are referred to you as the Author of it) according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and themſelves, and according to that power and fundamental truſt repoſed in them by the People, have conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.*

Solicitor Cook. My Lord, in behalf of the Commons of *England*, and of all the people thereof, I do accuſe *Charles Stuart* here preſent of High Treaſon, and Miſdemeanors, and I do in the name of the Commons of *England* deſire the Charge may be read unto him.

The King. *Hold a little.*

Preſident. Sir the Court commands the Charge to be read, afterward you may be heard.

The Charge was read as followeth.

The Charge read.

That the ſaid Charles Stuart, *being admitted King of* England, *and therein truſted with a limited Power to Govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwiſe, and by his Truſt, Oath, and Office, being obliged to uſe the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preſervation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheleſs out of a wicked deſign to erect and uphold in himſelf an unlimited and Tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the Rights and Liberties of the people; and to take away, and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redreſs and remedy of miſ-Government, which by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of this Kingdom were reſerved on the peoples behalf, in the right and power of frequent and ſucceſſive Parliaments or National-Meetings in Councel, He, the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *for accompliſhment of ſuch his deſigns, and for the protecting of himſelf and his adherents, in his and their wicked practiſes, to the ſame end hath Traiterouſly and malitionſly levied War againſt the preſent Parliament, and the people therein Repreſented.*

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, *in the year of our Lord One thouſand ſix hundred forty and two, at* Beverly *in the County of* York; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* July, *in the year aforeſaid, in the County of the City*

of

1648. of York; *and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of* August *in the same year, at the County of the Town of* Nottingam, (*when, and where he set up his Standard of War;*) *and also on, or about the twenty third day of* October, *in the same year, at* Edgehil, *and* Keinton-field, *in the County of* Warwick; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November *in the same year, at* Brainford *in the County of* Middlesex; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* August, *in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and three, at* Cavesham-Bridge *near* Redding *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* October *in the year last mentioned, at, or near the City of* Glocester: *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year last mentioned at* Newberry *in the County of* Berks; *and upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of* July, *in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and four, at* Cropredy-Bridge, *in the County of* Oxon: *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* September, *in the year last mentioned, at* Bodmin, *and other places near adjacent, in the County of* Cornwal; *and upon, or about the thirtieth day of* November, *in the year last mentioned, at* Newberry *aforesaid; and upon, or about the eighth day of* June, *in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of* Leicester; *and also upon the fourteenth day of the same moneth, at* Naseby-field *in the County of* Northampton. *At which several times and places, or most of them; and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years afore-mentioned: And in the year of our Lord One thousand six hunared forty and six, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath caused and procured many thousands of the Free-people of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Insurrections within this Land by Invasions from Forein parts, endeavoured and procured by him, and by many other evil ways, and means; He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath not only maintained and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned, but also hath renewed, or caused to be renewed, the said War against the Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in this present year, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of* Kent, Essex, Surrey, Sussex, Middlesex, *and many other Counties and places in* England *& Wales, & also by Sea; and particularly, He, the said* Charles Stuart, *hath for that purpose given Commissions to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby besides multitudes of other persons, many such, as were by the Parliament intrusted and imployed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or his Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their trust, and revolting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commission, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility, against the said Parliament and people, as aforesaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars by Him, the said* Charles Stuart, *levied, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood of the Free-people of this Nation hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publike Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast expence and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them even to desolation.*

And for further prosecution of his said evil designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, *doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreiners, and to the Earl of* Ormond, *and to the* Irish *Rebels and Revolters, associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatned, upon the procurement and on the behalf of the said* Charles Stuart.

All which wicked designs of Wars, and evil practises of him the said Charles Stuart *have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the personal Interest of will and power, and pretended Prerogative to himself, and his Family, against the publike Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice, and peace of the people of this Nation, by, and for whom He was entrusted, as aforesaid.*

By all which it appeareth, That He, the said Charles Stuart *hath been, and is the Occasioner, Author, and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of all the Treasons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Desolations, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, acted or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby. And the said* John Cook, *by protestation (saving to himself on the behalf of the people of* England, *the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said* Charles Stuart, *and also of replying to the Answers which the said* Charles Stuart *shall make to the premisses, or any of them, or any other charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of the said people of* England, *Impeach the said* Charles Stuart, *as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth of* England: *and pray, That the said* Charles Stuart, *King of* England, *may be put to Answer all and every the premisses, that such proceedings, Examinations, Tryals, Sentence, and Judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.*

The King smiled often during the reading of the Charge, especially at these words: *Tyrant, Traytor, Murderer, and publick Enemy of the Common-Wealth.*

President. Sir, You have now heard your Charge, You find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the Court in behalf of the Commons of *England*, that you answer to your Charge, which the Court expects.

King. *I would know by what power I am called hither; I was not long ago in the* Isle *of* Wight, *how I came there, is a longer story than I think fit at this time for me to speak: But there I entred into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much faith as is possible to be had of any people in the World: I Treated there with a number of Honourable Lords and Gentlemen, and Treated honestly and uprightly; I cannot say, but that they did very nobly with Me, We were upon a conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know by what lawful Authority* (there are many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the Highway) *I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place,* (*and I know not what*) *and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer.*

Remember

1648. *Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what ſins you bring upon your own heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land, think well upon it, think well upon it I ſay, before you go on from one ſin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to Anſwer. In the mean time, I ſhall not betray my Truſt: I have a truſt committed to me by God, by old and lawful deſcent; I will not betray it to Anſwer to a new unlawful Authority.*

Bradſhaw Preſ. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you in the name of the people of *England*, of whom you are Elected King, to anſwer them.

King. *I deny that.*

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they muſt proceed.

King. *I do tell them ſo,* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for neer theſe thouſand years: Therefore let me know, by what lawfull Authority I am called hither, I do ſtand more for the Liberty of my People than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority, and I will anſwer, otherwiſe I will not Anſwer.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, How really you have managed your truſt, is known; your way of anſwer is to interrogate the Court, which beſeems not you in this Condition, you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. *Here is Lieutenant Colonel* Cobbet, *ask him, if he did not bring me from the* Iſle *of* Wight *by force: I do not come here as ſubmitting to the Court; I will ſtand as much for the priviledge of the Houſe of Commons rightly underſtood, as any man here whatſoever; I ſee no Houſe of Lords here that may conſtitute a Parliament, and (the King too) ſhould have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the publick Faith? Let me ſee a lawful Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the conſtitutions of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Truſt, nor the Liberties of the People; I am ſworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the laſt breath in my Body. As it is a ſin to withſtand lawful Authority, ſo it is to ſubmit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwiſe unlawful Authority.*

Bradſhaw. The Court expects your final Anſwer, and will adjourn till Monday next: We are ſatisfied with our Authority that are your Judges, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms; and that peace you ſpeak of, will be kept in doing Juſtice, and that's our preſent work. So the Court adjourned, and the King was conducted back; They had ſo contrived it, that divers ſchiſmatical Souldiers and fellows were placed round about the Court, to cry *Juſtice, Juſtice*, when the King was remanded, thinking all the reſt of people would have bleated to the ſame tune, but they (almoſt all) cryed God bleſs him, and were (ſome of them) well cudgelled by the Souldiers for not reviling and exclaiming after the mode of the Army; yet the Court took no notice hereof: 1648. ſo far was his Majeſty already fore-judged and condemned to ſufferings.

Monday, *January* the 22 *th.* The King was brought again to his Tryal.

The ſecond daies Tryal of his Majeſty.

Sollicitor *Cook. May it pleaſe your Lordſhip, I did at the laſt Court, in behalf of the Commons of* England, *exhibite, and give into this Court a Charge of High Treaſon, and other high Crimes againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuſe him in the name of the people of* England, *and the Charge was read unto him, and his Anſwer required: My Lord, He was not then pleaſed to give an Anſwer, but inſtead of Anſwering, did diſpute the Authority of this High Court: My humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the Kingdom of* England *is, That the Priſoner may be directed to make a poſitive Anſwer, either by way of Confeſſion, or Negation, which, if he ſhall refuſe to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken* pro confeſſo, *and the Court may proceed according to Juſtice.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, You may remember, at the laſt Court you were told the occaſion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read againſt you, &c. You heard likewiſe what was prayed in behalf of the people, That you ſhould give an Anſwer to that Charge: You were then pleaſed to make ſome ſcruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and ſaid, you knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Queſtions, and were as often Anſwered, That it was by Authority of the Commons of *England* Aſſembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for thoſe High and Capital Miſdemeanors, wherewith you were then Charged. Since that the Court hath taken into conſideration what you then ſaid, they are fully ſatisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you ſhould ſtand ſatisfied therewith too; And they do require that you do give a poſitive and particular Anſwer to this Charge exhibited againſt you: they expect you ſhould either confeſs or deny; if you do deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good againſt you; Their Authority they do avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to reſt ſatisfied therein, and you are to reſt ſatisfied in it; and therefore you are to give a poſitive Anſwer.

King. "When I was here laſt, it's true, I made "that Queſtion, and truly, if it were only my "own particular caſe, I would have ſatisfied "my ſelf with the Proteſtation I made here the "laſt time, againſt the Legality of this Court, and "that a King cannot be tryed by any Superior Ju-"riſdiction upon earth: but it is not my caſe a-"lone, it is the freedome and the liberties of the "people of *England*, and (do you pretend what "you will) I ſtand more for their Liberties than "you; for if power without Law may make Laws, "and may alter the fundamental Laws of the "Kingdome, I do not know what ſubject he is in "*England* that can be ſure of his life, or any thing "that he calls his own; Therefore, when I came "hither, I did expect particular Reaſons to know "by what Law, what Authority, you proceed a-"gainſt me here, and therefore I am a little to

ſeek

1648. "seek what to say to you in this particular, be-
"cause the Affirmative is to be proved, the Ne-
"gative (often) is very hard to do; I shall tell
"you my Reasons as short as I can: All proceed-
"ings against any man whatsoever. ——

Here the King was by Bradshaw interrupted.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you, what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice: You are about to enter into argument and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as a High Delinquent; you may not dispute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit to it, &c.

King. *Under favor, I do plead for the liberty of the people of* England *more than you do; and therefore if I should impose a belief upon any man without Reasons given, it were unreasonable.*

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: you may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, and there is both against you: Sir, the Vote of the Commons of *England* Assembled in Parliament, is the reason of the Kingdom, and they are those that have given you that Law, according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned: Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by all Laws that ever I heard, all men may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings, as illegal: and I do demand that, if you deny that, you deny Reason.*

Bradshaw. Sir, Neither you, nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded; You may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, and all your Predecessors and You, are responsible to them.

King. *I deny that, shew me one President.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you; if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. *I say Sir, by your favour, That the Commons of* England *were never a Court of Judicature, I would know how they came to be so.*

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth.

Charles Stuart, King of *England*, you have been accused in the behalf of the people of *England* of High Treason, and other high Crimes, the Court hath determined that you ought to answer the same.

King. *I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

Bradshaw. If this be all you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give my Reasons why I did not answer, and give me time for that.* 1648.

Bradshaw. Sir, It is not for Prisoners to require.

King. *Prisoners. Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.*

Bradshaw. The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction, if you will not answer, we shall give Order to record your fault.

King. *You never heard my Reasons yet.*

Bradshaw, Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. *Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.*

Bradshaw. Sir, we shew you it here, the Commons of *England*, and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasures of the Court, and it may be their final determination.

King. *Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradshaw. Serjeant, take away the Prisoner.

King. *Well Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered to give in his Reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his Subjects.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have liberty to use this Language, how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all *England*, and the world judge.

King. Sir, *Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took, I defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the people, but for the Laws.*

Bradshaw. The command of the Court must be obeyed, no Answer will be given to the Charge, so the King was guarded forth to Sir *Robert Cottons*, and the Court adjourned to the Painted-Chamber, Tuesday twelve a Clock.

Tuesday, January 23 th. The Court sat again, seventy three Commissioners of those before named were present. The third daies tryal of his Majesty.

The King brought into the Court, sits down.

Solicitor Cook. "May it please your Lordship,
"my Lord President, This is now the third time
"that by the great grace and favour of the Court,
"the Prisoner hath been brought to the Barr, be-
"fore any Issue joyned in this cause. My Lord, I
"did at the first Court exhibite a charge against
"him, containing the highest Treason that ever
"was wrought on the Theater of *England*, That
"the King of *England* trusted to keep the Law,
"that had taken an Oath so to do, that had Tri-
"bute paid him for that end, should be guilty of
"a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws,
"and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Go-
"vernment, and in defiance of the Parliament
"and their Authority, set up his Standard for
"War against the Parliament and People: And
"I did humbly pray in behalf of the people of
"*England*, That he may speedily be required to
"make an Answer to the charge; But, my Lord,
"instead of making any answer, he did then dis-
"pute the Authority of this High Court, your
"Lordship was pleased to give him a further day
"to put in his Answer, which day being yester-
"day, I did humbly move, That he might be re-
"quired to give a direct and positive Answer ei-
ther

1648. "ther by denying, or confeſſing of it; But, my "Lord, he was pleaſed to demur to the Juriſdi- "ction of the Court, which the Court did then "over-rule, and command him to give a direct "and poſitive Anſwer: My Lord, beſides this "great delay of Juſtice, I ſhall now humbly "move your Lordſhip for ſpeedy Judgment a- "gainſt him: I might preſs your Lordſhip upon "the whole, That according to the known rules "of the Laws of the Land, if a Priſoner ſhall "ſtand contumacious in contempt, and ſhall not "put in an iſſuable Plea, guilty or not guilty of "the charge given againſt him, whereby he may "come to a fair Tryal, that by an implicit con- "feſſion it may be taken *pro confeſſo*, as it hath "been done to thoſe who have deſerved more fa- "vour than the Priſoner at the Barr hath done. "But beſides, my Lord, I ſhall humbly preſs your "Lordſhip upon the whole fact, That the Houſe "of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Ju- "riſdiction of the Kingdom, they have declared, "That it is notorious, that the matter of the "charge is true, as it is in truth, my Lord, as "clear as chryſtal, and as the Sun that ſhines at "Noon-day, which if your Lordſhip and the "Court be not ſatisfied in, I have notwithſtand- "ing in the peoples behalf, ſeveral Witneſſes to "produce, and therefore I do humbly pray, "(and yet I confeſs, it is not ſo much I, as "the innocent Blood as hath been ſhed: (the "cry whereof is very great) for Juſtice and "Judgment) and therefore I do humbly pray, "that ſpeedy Judgment be pronounced againſt "the Priſoner at the Barr.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom againſt you, you were told over and over again, That it was not for you, or any other man to diſpute the Juriſdiction of the Supreme and Higheſt Authority of *England*, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there muſt be no diſpute: yet you did perſiſt in ſuch carriage, as ſhews you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledg any Authority in them, nor the high Court that conſtituted this High Court of Juſtice: Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court, that they are very ſenſible of theſe delays of yours, and that they ought not (being thus Authorized by the Supreme Court of *England*) to be thus trifled withal, and that they might in Juſtice, and according to the Rules of juſtice, take advantage by theſe delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment againſt you, yet nevertheleſs they are pleaſed to give direction, and on their behalf, I do require you, that you make a poſitive Anſwer unto this charge that is againſt you, in plain terms, (for Juſtice knows no reſpect of perſons) you are to give your poſitive and final Anſwer in plain Engliſh, whether you be guilty or not guilty of theſe Treaſons laid to your charge.

King. *When I was here yeſterday, I did deſire to ſpeak for the Liberties of the people of* England, *I was interrupted, I deſire to know yet, whether I may ſpeak freely or not.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, you have had the reſolution of the Court upon the like Queſtion the laſt day, and you were told, that having ſuch a charge of ſo high a nature againſt you, your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to anſwer to your charge, when you have once anſwered, you ſhall be heard at large, make the beſt defence you can: But Sir, I muſt let you know from the Court (as their commands) That you are not to be permitted to iſſue out into any other diſcourſes, till ſuch time as you have given a poſitive anſwer concerning the matter charged upon you.

King. *For the Charge I value it not a ruſh, it is the Liberty of the people of* England *that I ſtand for, for me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your KING, that ſhould be an example to all the people of* England, *to uphold Juſtice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed, I do not know how to do it: you ſpoke well the firſt day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberties of my people, the ſame Obligation you ſpake of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the antient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may knew that this is not againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in no particular Anſwer, if you will give me time, I will ſhew you my Reaſons, and this* ——

Here the King was interrupted.

Here being interrupted, The King ſaid again, *By your favour, you ought not to interrupt me; How I came here, I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Priſoner; I was in a Treaty upon the publike Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the two Houſes of Parliament, that was the Repreſentative of the Kingdom, and I had almoſt made an end of the Treaty when I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore* ——

And here again.

Bradſhaw. Sir, you muſt know the pleaſure of the Court.

King. *By your favour, Sir.*

Bradſhaw. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into thoſe Diſcourſes; You appear as a Delinquent, You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your poſitive Anſwer, *Clerk*, do your Duty.

King. *Duty Sir!*

The Clerk then reads.

"*Charles Stuart*, King of *England*, you are "accuſed in behalf of the Commons of *England*, "of divers high crimes and Treaſons, which "charge hath been read unto you; The Court "now requires you to give your poſitive and fi- "nal Anſwer, by way of confeſſion or denial of "the charge.

King. *Sir, I ſay again to you, ſo that I may give ſatisfaction to the people of* England *of the clearneſs of my proceedings, not by way of anſwer, not in this way, but to ſatisfie them that I have done nothing againſt that Truſt that hath been committed to me, I would do it, but to acknowledge a new Court againſt their Priviledges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you muſt excuſe me.*

Bradſhaw. Sir, This is the third time that you have publikely diſavowed this Court, and put an affront upon it, how far you have preſerved the Priviledges of the people, your actions have ſpoken; but truly Sir, mens intentions ought to be

1648. known by their actions, you have written your meaning in Bloody characters throughout the whole Kingdom: But Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court: *Clerk*, Record the default, and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourned to the Painted-Chamber, the Cryer (as at other times) crying, *God bless the Kingdom of* England.

The fourth and last days Trial of his Majesty.

Saturday, 27 th. *January* 1648. the Court sat again in *Westminster*-Hall, the President was in his Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answered to their Names; the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Souldiers and seditious persons were placed about the Court to cry for *Justice*, *Judgment*, and *Execution*; the people not daring to cry, *God bless Him*, for fear of being again beaten by the Souldiers.

Bradshaw. *Gentlemen, It is well known to all or most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented and brought before this Court to make answer to a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against him, in the name of the People of* England, *to which Charge being required to Answer, He hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him Reasoning, and debated unto the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them to Try and Judg Him; but being over-ruled in that, and required to make His Answer, He still continued contumacious, and refused to submit to answer. Hereupon the Court (that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the trust reposed in them, nor that any mans willfulness prevent Justice) they have considered of the Charge and of the contumacie, and of that confession which in Law doth arise on that contumacie; they have likewise considered the notoriety of the Fact, charged upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against him, but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the sentence be read, and pronounced, the Court hath resolved to hear Him: Yet Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand (which you have been minded of at other Courts) that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the Jurisdiction, You are not to be heard in it, you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of* England, *which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that Act upon Authority derived from them. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the matter charged, the Court hath given me in Commands to hear you.*

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confess I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall wave it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that that I call dearer to me than my life, which is my Conscience and mine Honour: And if I had a respect of my life, more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, 1648. certainly I should have made a particular defence for my life, for by that, at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will will pass upon me; therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledg of the world (if that true zeal to my Countrey had not overborn the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once passed may sooner be repented of, than recalled; and truly, the self same desire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted-Chamber before the the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say be no reason, those that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have to say. If it be reason, and really, for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject of the Subject, I am sure it's very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it's real) the Liberty of the Subject, and peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence passed; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that your fair shews of Liberty and Peace are pure shews, and that you will not hear your King.

The President said, *This was a declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay*: yet the Court withdrew for half an hour, advised upon it, and sat again.

Bradshaw said to the King, *That the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority.*

The return from the Court, said he, *is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the Highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgment, that is their unanimous resolution.*

The King pressed again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted-Chamber, with great earnestness, and was as often denied by *Bradshaw*: at last, the King desired that this motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, much aggravating the Kings offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose. When *Bradshaw* had done speaking, *Broughton* the Clerk read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this effect.

The Sentence against his Majesty.

"That whereas the Commons of *England* in "Parliament had appointed them an High Court "of Justice for the Tryal of *Charles Stuart* King "of *England*, before whom he had been three "times convented, and at the first time a Charge "of High Treason and other high Crimes and

Mis-

1648. "Misdemeanors was read in behalf of the King-
"dome of *England*, &c. which Charge being
"read unto him as aforesaid; He the said *Charles*
"*Stuart* was required to give his Answer, but he
"refused so to do, and so expressed the several
"passages at his Tryal in refusing to Answer;
"for all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court
"doth adjudge, That he the said *Charles Stuart*
"as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and publick
"Enemie, shall be put to death, by severing of
"his Head from his Body.

After the sentence read, the President said, *This Sentence now read and published, it is the Act, Sentence, Judgement and Resolution of the whole Court*: Here the whole Court stood up, as assenting to what the President said?

King. *Will you hear me a word, Sir.*

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. *No Sir?*

Bradshaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

King. *I am not suffered to speak, expect what Justice other people will have.*

The King not being admitted to reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir *Robert Cottons* house, and the Court rose; as he passed down the stairs the Souldiers scoffed at him, and cast the smoak of their Tobacco (a thing very distastful to him) in his face, and strewed the pipes in his way, and one more insolent than the rest, spit in his face, which he in great patience took no further notice of, than to wipe the spittle away; and as he passed further, hearing some of them, by the instigation of their Officers cry out *Justice, Justice, and Execution*, he said, *Alas poor Souls, for a piece of money, they would do so for their Commanders.*

A Committee is appointed to consider the time and place for the Kings execution.

The Court after the Judgment given, went into the Painted-Chamber, and appointed Sir *Harres Waller, Ireton, Harrison, Dean*, and *Okey* to be a Committee to consider of the time and place for the execution: The King hearing thereof, requested an Officer of the Army to go to them, to desire that he might see his Children before his death, and that Doctor *Juxon* the Bishop of *London* might be admitted to assist him in his private Devotion, and receiving the Sacrament; both which were granted to him upon a motion to the Parliament.

The King at his Tryal (as you have read) pressed earnestly to have his Reasons heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was often denyed, but that the weight of them may not be suppresst for a further manifestation of the impiety of his unjust Judges, we shall here insert them, faithfully transcribed out of the Original Copy under the Kings own hand.

The reasons the King intended to have given at his Tryal against the proceedings of the Court.

Having already made my Protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your King) in Question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion more than to refer my self to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned: But the Duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for, how can any Free-born Subject of *England* call life, or any thing he possesseth his own, if Power without right daily maketh new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land, which I now take to be the present case; Wherfore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavored to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judg me, nor indeed the meanest man in *England*, for I will not (like you) without shewing a Reason, seek to impose a Belief upon my Subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Countrey where he lives. Now, I am most confident, that this dayes proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law, for on the contrary, the Authority of obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and strictly commanded both in the Old and New Testament, which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove, and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, *That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who can say unto him, what doest thou*, Eccles. 8. 4. Then for the Laws of the Land, I am no less confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can lie against the King, they all going in his Name: and one of their Maxims is, *That the King can do no wrong.* Besides the Law, upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, shew it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when; but how the House of Commons can erect a Court of Judicature, which was never one it self (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords House, to any that have heard speak of the Laws of *England.*

And admitting, but not granting, that the People of *Englands* Commission could grant your pretented power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the Kingdome, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plow-man, if you demand not his free consent, nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended Commission, without the consent at least of the major part of every man in *England*, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure, you never went about to seek, so far are you from having it. Thus you see, that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all my Subjects, which consists, not in sharing the power of Government, but living under such Laws, and such Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives and propriety of their Goods. Nor in this must, or do I forget the Priviledges of both Houses of Parliament, which this daies proceedings doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith (I believe) that ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses, for all the pre-

1648. tended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at *Newport*, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surprised, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the antient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just right; But for any thing I can see, the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court.

Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdome is not the least in my thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without rule of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdome hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless, unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of *England* will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the King my Father and my Self, untill the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt, that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdome, against those who have supposed my power hath totally changed the antient Government.

Thus, having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the trust which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people. I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my Judgement, shewing me that I am in an error, (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

The report from the persons before named to consider of the time and place of the executing the sentence against the King, was on Monday the 29*th.* of *January* delivered in the Painted Chamber to the Commissioners then present, in these words, *That it is the opinion of the Committee, That the open Street before* White-Hall *is a fit place, and that the King be there executed to morrow.*

The Court approved of this Report, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which was presently ingrossed, and Sign'd and Seal'd by all the Commissioners present, in these words, (*viz.*)

The title of the Warrant for executing the King.

At the High Court of Justice for Trying and Judging *Charles Stuart* King of *England*, *January* the 29*th.* 1648.

Whereas *Charles Stuart* King of *England* is and standeth Convicted, Attainted, and Condemned of High Treason, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court to be put to death by severing his head from his body; of which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done. These are therefore to will and require you, to see the said Sentence executed in the open Street before *White-Hall*, upon the morrow being the 30*th.* day of this instant moneth of *January*, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five of the afternoon of the same day, with full effect, and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant. And these are to require all Officers and Souldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of *England* to be assisting unto you in this service: Given under our Hands and Seals, *&c.* 1648.

To Colonel Francis Hacker,
Col. Huncks, and Lieutenant *Col.* Phayer. *John Bradshaw, &c.*

This was signed and seald by all the Commissioners whose names are before expressed, except such of them who are mark'd with this note, (†)

But of those that signed and seal'd the Warrant, it must be remembred, That *Colonel Richard Ingoldsby*'s hand and seal was against his consent put to it by *Oliver Cromwell*, but his early disclaiming of the fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the restauration of King *Charles* the Second to his Crown and Kingdoms, not only obtained his pardon, but the Kings favour with it, and the Dignity of Knight of the *Bath*, which was confer'd on him at the ensuing Coronation.

Colonel *John Hutchinson* also for his conjunction with General *Monck* to reduce this Kingdome to its antient Government, and his hearty repentance for what he had done in consenting to and acting in this impious sentence, obtained his pardon for it.

The same day that the Warrant was signed and sealed, the Duke of *Glocester* and the Lady *Elizabeth* were brought to the King, whom he most joyfully received, and giving his blessing to the Princesse, *He bid her remember to tell her Brother* James *when ever she should see him, That he should look no more upon* Charles *as his elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Soveraign: And that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies*; And then said unto her, Sweetheart, you will forget this, No, said she, I shall never forget it while I live, and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of *Glocester* upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, *Now they will cut off thy Fathers head*, (upon which words the Child looked very wishfully on him;) mark Child what I say, *They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King, so long as your Brothers* Charles *and* James *do live; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads* (when they can catch them) *and cut thy Head off too at last, and therefore, I charge you, do not be made a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, I will be torn in pieces first,*--- which falling so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeths *own Hand.*

What the King said to me the 29*th.* of *January* last,

1648. laſt, being the laſt time I had the happineſs to ſee him. "He told me he was glad I was come, and "although he had not time to ſay much, yet "ſomewhat he had to ſay to me, which he had "not to another, or leave in writing; becauſe "he feared their Cruelty was ſuch, as that they "would not have permitted him to write to me; "He wiſhed me not to grieve and torment my "ſelf for him, for that would be a glorious death "that he ſhould dye, it being for the Laws and "Liberties of the Land: He bid me read Biſhop "*Andrews* Sermons, *Hookers* Eccleſiaſtical Po-"licy, and Biſhop *Land*'s Book againſt *Fiſher*, "which would ground me againſt Popery. He "told me, he had forgiven all his Enemies, and "hoped God would forgive them alſo, and com-"manded us, *&c.* to forgive them: He bid me "tell my Mother, that his thoughts had never "ſtrayed from her, and that his love would be the "ſame to his laſt; withal, He commanded me and "my Brother to be obedient to her; and bid me "ſend his bleſſing to the reſt of my Brothers and "Siſters, with commendation to all his Friends: So after he had given me his bleſſing, I took my leave.

"Further, He commanded us all to forgive "thoſe people, but never to truſt them; for they "had been moſt falſe to him, and to thoſe that "gave them power, and he feared alſo, to their "own ſouls. And deſired me not to grieve for "him, for he ſhould dye a Martyr, and that he "doubted not but that the Lord would ſettle his "Throne upon his Son, and that we ſhould all be "happier than we could have expected to have "been, if he had lived. With many other things which at preſent I cannot remember.

On Tueſday the 30 *th.* of *January*, which was the fatal day on which the King was put to death, The Biſhop of *London* did in the morning read Divine Service in his preſence; to which duty the 27 *th.* Chapter of St. *Matthew* being the Hiſtory of our Saviours paſſion, was appointed by the Church Calendar for the ſecond Leſſon: but he ſuppoſing it to have been ſelected on purpoſe, thanked him afterwards for his ſeaſonable choice. But the Biſhop modeſtly declining thoſe undue thanks, told him that it came by courſe to be read on that day, which very much comforted his Majeſty, who proceeded to the remaining duties of receiving from the Biſhop the Holy Sacrament, and the other preparations for his approaching paſſion.

His Devotions being ended, about ten a clock he was brought from St. *James*'s to *Whitehal* by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, and Drums beating (through the Park) part marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Partiſans about him, the Biſhop on the one hand, and Colonel *Tomlinſon* (who had the charge of him) on the other bare-headed. The Guards marching a ſlow pace, as on a ſolemn and ſad occaſion to their ill-tuned Drums, He bid them go faſter, (as his uſual manner of walking was,) ſaying, *That he now went before them to ſtrive for an Heavenly Crown, with leſs ſollicitude than he had often encouraged his Souldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.*

Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the long-Gallery in *White-Hall*, where he uſed formerly to lodge. There finding an un-expected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had begun but that morning, He paſt the moſt of that time (having received a Letter from the Prince in the interim by Mr. *Seymor*) in Prayer. 1648.

About 12 a Clock, his Majeſty (refuſing to Dine) eat only a bit of Bread, and drank a glaſs of Claret, and about an hour after, Colonel *Hacker* with other Officers and Souldiers, brought him with the Biſhop and Colonel *Tomlinſon* through the Banquetting-Houſe to the Scaffold, whereto the paſſage was made through a Window. A ſtrong Guard of ſeveral Regiments of Horſe and Foot were placed on all ſides, which hindred the near approach of his miſerable and diſtracted Subjects, (who for manifeſting their ſorrow, were moſt barbarouſly uſed) and the King from ſpeaking what he had deſigned for their ears: Whereupon finding himſelf diſappointed, he omitted much of his intended matter, but having viewed the Scaffold (which had Irons driven in it to force him down to that Block by Ropes, if that he ſhould have reſiſted) and the Axe (of whoſe edge he was very careful, having minded (one preſent) of touching it with his Cloak.)

Being upon the Scaffold, he looked very earneſtly upon the Block, and asked Colonel *Hacker* if it could be no higher: and then ſpoke thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to the Biſhop and Colonel *Thomlinſon.*)

The Kings ſpeech upon the Scaffold.

I ſhall be very little heard of any body elſe, I ſhall therefore ſpeak a word to you here. Indeed I could have held my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace, would make ſome men think, that I did ſubmit to the Guilt, as well as to the puniſhment. But I think it is my duty to God firſt, and then to my Countrey, to clear my ſelf both as an honeſt man, a good King, and a good Chriſtian. I ſhall begin firſt with my Innocencie, and in troth, I think it not very needful for me to inſiſt long upon this; For all the world knows that I did never begin a War with the two Houſes of Parliament, and I call God to witneſs, unto whom I muſt ſhortly make an account, that I did never intend to incroach upon their Priviledges: They began upon me, it is the Militia they began upon: they confeſſed the Militia was mine, but they thought it fit to have it from me. And to be ſhort, if any body will look to the Dates of Commiſſions, of their Commiſſions and mine, and likewiſe to the Declaration, he will ſee clearly that they began theſe unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of theſe enormous Crimes that are laid againſt me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I ſhould lay it upon the two Houſes of Parliament, there is no neceſſity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt, but I believe that ill Inſtruments between them and me, have been the cauſe of all this Blood-ſhed: ſo that as I find my ſelf clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too, yet for all this, God forbid I ſhould be ſo ill a Chriſtian, as not to ſay Gods judgments are juſt upon me: Many times he doth pay Juſtice by an unjuſt Sentence, that is ordinary: I will ſay this, That unjuſt Sentence that

I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me: so far I have said, to shew you that I am an innocent man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is † *a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causers of my death, who they are God knows, I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go further, I wish that they may repent, for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular, I pray God with* St. Stephen, *that this be not laid to their charge; and withal, that they may take the way to the peace of the Kingdom, for my charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp, the peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish wish with all my Soul: (* I see there are some here that will carry it further) that they endeavour the peace of the Kingdom, Sirs, I must shew you, both how you are out of the way, and put you in the way. First, you are out of the way, for certainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could find by any thing, is in the way of Conquest, certainly this is an ill way, for Conquest, in my opinion is never just, except there be a good and just cause, either for matter of wrong, or a just Title, and then if ye go beyond the first Quarrel that makes that unjust at the end, that was just at first: for if there be only matter of Conquest, then it is a great Robbery, as a Pirate said to* Alexander, That he was a great Robber, himself was but a petty Robber: *And so, Sirs, I think, for the way that you are in, you are much out of the way. Now Sirs, to put you in the way, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, untill you give God his due, the King his due (that is, my Successor) and the people their due; I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God his due, by regulating rightly his Church, according to Scripture, (which is now out of order.) And to set you in a way particularly, now I cannot but only this, a National Synod freely called, freely debating among themselves, must settle this, when every opinion is freely heard. For the King, indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly instruct you for that, therefore because it concerns my own particular, I only give you a touch of it. For the people, truly I desire their Liberty and Freedom as much as any body whomsoever; But I must tell you that their Liberty and Freedom consist in having Government under those Laws, by which their lives and theirs may be most their own; it is not in having a share in the Government, that is nothing pertaining to them: A Subject and a Sovereign are clear different things; and therefore until you do that, I mean, that you put the people into that Liberty, as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.*

† Pointing to the Bishop.

† Observing one to write.

Sirs, *It was for this that now I am come hither, for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary way, for to have all Laws changed according to the power of the Sword, I need not have come here, and therefore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People. In troth Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will only say this to you, that I could have desired some little time longer, because I would have a little better disgested this that I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me, I have delivered my Conscience, I pray God you take those courses, that are the best for the good of the Kingdom, and your salvation.* 1648.

Bishop. (Though your Majesties affections may be very well known to Religion) yet it may be expected that you should say somewhat thereof for the worlds satisfaction.

King. *I thank you very heartily, my Lord, for that I had almost forgotten it, In troth Sirs, My Conscience in Religion I think is very well known to all the world, and therefore I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father, and this honest man I think will witness it.*

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands —— let that be your sign.

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, does my Hair trouble you; who desired him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the King turning to the Bishop said, *I have a good Cause and a gratious God on my side.*

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from Earth to Heaven: and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. *I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.*

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporary to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, *Is my Hair well,* and took of his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.*

Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Waist-Coat, he put his Cloak on again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *You must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put my hands out this way,* stretching them out then. —— Do your work.

After that, having said two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately stooping down, he laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King (thinking he had been going to strike) said, *Stay for the sign.*

Executioner, Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty: And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body; The Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shewed it to the people, which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at *White-Hall*; and from thence it was carried to his House at Saint *Jameses*, where his Body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people: And on Wednesday seven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffin'd in Lead, was delivered chiefly to the Care of four of his Servants, *viz.* Master *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, his Sewers, Captain *Preston*, and

John

1648. *John Joyner*, formerly Cook to his Majesty, who (with others) clothed in mourning Suits and Cloaks, accompanied the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and placed it in that which was formerly the Kings Bed-Chamber, next day it was removed into the Deans Hall, which Room was hanged with black, and made dark, with Lights burning round the Herse, in which it remained till three in the afternoon, about which time came the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquess of *Hertford*, the Marquess of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lyndsey*, having obtained an Order from the Parliament, for the decent interment of the King their Royal Master, provided the expence thereof exceeded not five hundred pounds: At their coming into the Castle, they shewed their Order of Parliament to Colonel *Whitchcot* Governour of the Castle, desiring the Interment might be in St. *Georges* Chappel, and by the form in the Common-Prayer-Book; but this last was denied by the Governor: They then went to seek a convenient place for the Burial of the Corps; and after some search they discovered a Vault in the middle of the Quire, wherein as it is probably conjectured, lyeth the body of King *Henry* the Eighth, and his beloved Wife, the Lady *Jane Seymour*, both in Coffins of Lead; In this Vault (there being room for one more) they interred the body of the King with only this Inscription on the Coffin;

CHARLES KING OF *ENGLAND*,
MDCXLVIII.

Princeps, ne prisco natus ab Inacho; nil interest, an pauper, & infima de gente: sub dio jacebit, victima nil miserentis Orci.

Of His Personage and Conditions.

His Character.

HE was of a comely Stature, streight, and well timbred, and very active and indefatigable in all Exercises; His hair was of a darkish brown; one imperfection he had, (*viz.*) a little hæsitation in his utterance, which he so ordered by custome, that whereas the like in others substracted from their eloquence, it was a kind of Grace and Ornament to his speech. He was a Prince of great Wisdome, and all Princely Vertues, but so modest in the exercise of them, that they appeared not in their full splendour, till his afflictions made them almost useless to any but himself; his religion was in a degree even to perfection, both in the theory and practise of it: In the first, (especially in those points in controversie concerning the doctrine and discipline of our Church,) few of his Clergie (though the most Learned in *Europe*) were more knowing, and in the practise and exercise of holy life, he was both an example and precept to them and all others in his Court and Kingdoms; Temperance, Sobriety, and all other moral Vertues were almost inimitable in him, nor was his Courage less conspicuous, which sufficiently appeared in all actions where he was present, and had more, if the great care of his safety in those about him, had not thereby given him less occasion to shew it.

His sufferings were such, as nothing but their story at large can in any measure expresse; such was his fortitude, that in the greatest of his prosperity and misery, he retained an equal temper of mind; And although his indulgence to his people induc'd him to condescend to devest himself of some part of his Prerogative for his own time, to satisfie the causeless jealousies of his Enemies, yet he would not consent to diminish the Regal power of his Successor, and in what concern'd Religion, where he believ'd his conscience unsatisfied, no humane consideration could alter him; His clemency was very transcendent, for although no King ever received more reproaches and indignities from seditious Subjects, he never was heard to revile any of them, but rather to pray for the conversion of the most, and commiserate such others whom the malitious arts of his Enemies had perverted. 1648.

In several Battails in our unnatural War, where the success was to his party, he alwaies lamented his Victory, and never had any signal Conquest, but he used it rather to invite his Enemies to receive his mercy and pardon by offering treaties of accommodation, than by improving those advantages to their ruine, which lenity was imputed by many to him, as one of the main causes of his misfortunes.

In Councel he was quick and discerning, but somewhat too deliberate in Execution, and though none of his Counsellors equall'd him in parts, yet was he so diffident of his own judgement, that he frequently declined that to follow the advice of others (most commonly to the worse) as was in two things remarkably observ'd; In being perswaded to assent to the Act for perpetuating his last Parliament, and to the Earl of *Strafford*'s death; of the first indeed he never openly complain'd, because he did it to shew his confidence in his people, (though ungratefully deceived in it) but of the later he often repented.

To his Domesticks he was more like a familiar Friend than a Master, but did so temper his affability with a Majesty of Port, that it begot in most of them a Reverence and Love; yet such was the ingratitude even of some of these, that they mingled and joyned in the *Crucifige* with the most virulent of his Enemies. To conclude, Though his death was horrid and ignominious, and acted in the most immense degree of annoyance, by a wicked, mean, and inconsiderable part of his people; never died Prince more lamented by the generality of them.

Of Men of Note in His Time.

THE first fifteen years of his Reign (following the many years of Peace that went before in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*,) gave small encouragement to Martial Men, yet many of the Kings Subjects of Spirits addicted thereunto, listed themselves in the Service of forein Princes and States, and gave signal proofs of their Courage; amongst which, Those of most remark that have come to our knowledge, we shall mention in this place: In this number, Sir *Charles Morgan* bred in the Wars of the States of the *United Netherlands* against the Spaniards, deserves a famous Memory, who

1648. who being imployed in *Germany* with six thousand English, more disquieted *Count Tilly* the Emperors General, than the King of *Denmark* could do with a far greater Army: Sir *John Burroughs* also at *Cadiz* and the *Isle* of *Rhe*, perform'd Services never to be forgotten, and was a great Captain, and Sir *Simon Harcourt* also in *Ireland*, as before in many other parts, gave such proof of his excellency in Arms, as made his * loss much lamented by all good men. In the Wars of *Germany*, The names of *Ruthin*, *Lesly*, *Fleetwood*, *Douglas and Hamilton*, are recorded to Posterity. *Lesly* arrived to great Honours in the Emperors Court, and was made a Count of the Empire; But of all the others, *Ruthin* only served in our unhappy Wars, and deservedly had the Title of Earl of *Brainford* and *Forth* conferred on him: Many others, Brave and Expert Commanders there were, whose Eminences appeared not, till the Kings Service called them to the defence of his Crown and Dignity; of all which, If we should here make mention, they would fill a Volume. Those of most Note were, The Marquess of *Montross*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Rochester* and *Carnarvan*; the Lords, *Jacob Ashley*, *Arthur Capel*, *George Goring*, and *Ralph Hopton*; Sir *Henry Gage*, Sir *Richard Greenvile*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, and Major General *Harrey*, each of which were able for Skill, Courage, and Conduct, to Command Armies. We may name amongst these, The Earl of *Strafford*, from the little time of whose imployment in War, great signs appeared of rising glory, and more had been, if an untimely and immerited death had not crop'd his springing Lawrels. 1648.

* He was killed at the taking a Castle from the Irish.

The most famous men of Learning in his Time were of the Clergie, whereof *Davenport* Bishop of *Salisbury*, *Andrews* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Morton* Bishop of *Durham*, *Laud* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Hall* Bishop of *Norwich*, *Prideaux*, Bishop of *Worcester*, *Usher* Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, and his Successor *Bramhall*; *Sanders* Bishop of *Lincoln*, Mr. *Chilingworth* of *Trinity* Colledge in *Oxford*, and Dr. *Hammond*, one of the Canons of *Christs-Church* in the same University; and Mr. *Mead* of *Christs* Colledge in *Cambridge*, and Mr. *Hales* of *Eaton*, are most celebrated: But others there were of great Learning, as *Lucius* Lord *Faukland* Secretary of State, a great Master of all sorts of Learning; Sir *Edward Cook* likewise that famous Common Lawyer, and Mr. *John Selden* of the same Profession, a most Renowned Antiquary, and *Thomas Hobs* of *Malmsbury*, that Excellent Mathematician and Philosopher, all flourished in his Reign. Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excell'd or equall'd all that went before and shall come after; such as were Mr. *Benjamin Johnson*, Mr. *Edmond Waller*, Mr. *Tho. Carew*, Sr. *John Suckling*, Mr. *Tho. Randolph*, Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Mr. *Abraham Cowley*, and Sir *William Davenant*; The first whereof by his profound Learning and Judgement, shewed a Poet was to be as well made as born: And the later, though he wanted Learning, made as high and noble flights as fancy could advance without it.

THE

THE FIRST THIRTEEN YEARS OF THE REIGN OF King Charles the II.

1648. KIng *Charles* the Firſt being deprived of Life on the thirtieth of *January* One thouſand ſix hundred forty and eight, in the manner before mentioned, his Eldeſt Son Prince *Charles*, by unqueſtionable Right ſucceeded to the Crowns of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in the Eighteenth year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation the uſual Ceremonies attending Royal Succeſſion could not now have their due courſe, nor are they in this Kingdom neceſſary circumſtances of our Monarchy, for by our Law (which admits of no *Interregnum*,) the Succeſſor to the Crown has all the Rights thereof from the firſt moment after the death of his Predeceſſor. The Ruling part of the Houſe of Commons who uſurped the Government with violence on the Perſon of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be ſecure if they reſted there; ſo that immediately thereupon they publiſhed an Act even againſt Kingly Government it ſelf, expreſſing therein:

An Act againſt proclaiming the King.

That whereas ſeveral pretences might be made to this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office ſet on foot, to the apparent hazard of the publike Peace. Be it enacted and ordained by this preſent Parliament, and by the Authority of the ſame, that no perſon whatſoever do preſume to Proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways to promote Charles Stuart *(Son of the late King* Charles*) commonly called the Prince of* Wales, *or any other Perſon to be King, or Chief Magiſtrate of* England *or* Ireland, *or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succeſſion, Election, or any other claim whatſoever, without the free conſent of the People in Parliament, firſt had and ſignified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpoſe, any Law, Statute, Uſage, or Cuſtome to the contrary notwithſtanding, and whoſoever ſhall contrary to this Act Proclaim, &c. the ſaid* Charles Stuart, *ſhall be deemed and adjudged a Traytor and ſuffer accordingly.* 1648.

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the ſecond of *February* this year, the following Proclamation was printed and ſcattered about the ſtreets of *London.*

A Proclamation proclaiming Pr. Charles to be King of England.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and other Freemen of England, *do according to our Allegeance and Covenant by theſe preſents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly acknowledg and Proclaim the Illuſtrious* Charles *Prince of* Wales, *next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King* Charles (*whoſe late wicked and Trayterous Murther we do from our Souls abominate, and all parties and conſenters thereunto*) *to be by Hereditary Birthright, and lawful Succeſſion, rightful, and undoubted King of Great* Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and that we will faithfully, conſtantly, and ſincerely in our ſeveral places and callings defend and maintain his Royal Perſon, Crown and Dignity with our Eſtates, Lives, and laſt drop of our Bloods, againſt all oppoſers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traytors and Enemies to his Majeſty and his Kingdoms. In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed theſe to be publiſhed and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the firſt day of* February, *in the firſt year of his Majeſties Reign.*

God ſave King Charles the Second.

Coronation which is the next Solemnity, the excluſion of the King by the malice of his Enemies made impoſſible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled ſuta-

1648. ble to these designs of changing the Monarchy of *England* and *Ireland* to a Commonwealth (for neither this alteration, nor the death of the late King could have been effected without a Military assistance) which was first discovered when Colonel *Pride* secluded or terrified from sitting near two hundred of the Members of the Commons-House of Parliament, being those who had on the fifth of *December* before by Vote approved of the late Kings concessions for a Peace at the Isle of *Wight*, and those that remained after this violation complied so far with the Army herein, that after a first seeming dislike of their proceedings, they resolved and decreed, never to readmit them; and such others who had given their Negatives to the said concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, till they had entred their dissent to them.

The House of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commissions of the Judges were determined by the Kings death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference about that, and other matters relating to the settling of the Government, but they without returning an answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and burthensom, and that the Lords House was dangerous and useless, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the House of Commons, of which afterward three of them only accepted, namely the Earls of *Pembroke*, and *Salisbury*, and the Lord *Howard* of *Estrich*, but the Peers in general very much resented these indignities put upon them by a small part of the House of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm.

Monarchy and the House of Lords declared useless by the Commons.

The Protestation of the House of Lords against the proceedings of the Commons.

"They asserted their own Priviledges, and "the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and dis-"claimed and protested against all Acts, Votes, "Orders, or Ordinances of the said Members of "the Commons-House, for erecting of new "Courts of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, "or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for al-"tering the Government, Laws, great Seal, An-"tient forms of Writs, or legal Process, raising "new Forces, and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, "granting Commissions, or making Officers, as "likewise against the Traiterous Murthering of "the late King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son "the Prince of *Wales*, and particularly against "that insolent and Frantick Vote (as they called "it) of *February* the sixth, concerning their a-"bolishing the House of Peers as useless and "dangerous, all which Acts, Votes, and Orders, "they declared to be not only illegal and there-"fore void, but likewise detestable and destru-"ctive to the Rights and Beings of Parliaments, "the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the "Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Peo-"ple.

This made little impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the assembling of the Lords, the Army by their appointment or connivance set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed *An Act for the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Common-wealth*; which they ordered to be published and Proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdom. 1648.

An Act for the abolishing of Kingly Government.

Alderman *Reinoldson* the then Lord Mayor of *London*, a person of great integrity and Loyalty, refused to publish this Act in *London*, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with three of the Aldermen that were of his judgment committed prisoners to the Tower of *London*, and one *Andrews* was by a Common-Hall chosen in his place, who with *Pennington*, *Atkins*, *Wollaston*, *Foulk*, *Edmonds*, & *Pack* then Aldermen of *Lond.* and some others Proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amused the generality of the people, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, which was endeavored by a Declaration, to shew the Reasons of their proceedings; wherein many plausible pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof imported, *A Promise of deliverance from the Bondage introduced by the* Norman *Conquests, and of maintaining the Ancient Laws* (which they extolled for their excellencie and equality) adding, *That they might well consist with the present Government of a Republique upon some easie alterations of Form only, leaving the substance intire, and reforming the abuses thereof*: They promised likewise, *The establishment of a firm and safe Peace, the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministery: the setling of Treaties and Alliances with Forein Princes and States, the encouragement of Manufactures, for the increase and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all places of the Land.*

Alderman Reynoldson the then Lord Mayor committed to the Tower.

Andrews chosen in his place.

A Declaration for justifying their proceedings.

About the time of publishing this Declaration to compleat the model of their Government, they abolished all the antient Forms of Sovereignty, in the Style and *Teste* of Writs, Commissions, and other publique Instruments, and ordered for the future, all of them to be issued, *In the names of the Keepers of the Liberties of* England *by Authority of Parliament*; and likewise they caused the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one side a Red Cross and Harp, as the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inscription [*The Great seal of England,*] and on the other the Picture of the House of Commons, with these words, *viz.* [*In the first year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored,* 1648.] and as another Ensign of their Dominion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coined, should in stead of the Kings Impression, bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto [*God with us.*] Those Clauses in the first of Queen *Elizabeth*, and the third of King *James*, which enjoyned the taking the Oaths of Supremacie and Allegeance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a new Oath was framed to be tendred to all that were to be put into place of publike Trust, or made Free-men of Corporations; the antient Judicial, & Legislative Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, they assumed to themselves; but the Executive part of Government

The Style of publike writings, the Great Seal, and the Stamp of Coin alter-ed.

1648. ment, they committed to a Councel of State erected by Act of Parliament, which consisted of 40 persons of the chiefs of the Army, and others of desperate Fortunes of the most active in these alterations.

A Councel of State erected.

The Parliament of *Scotland* did by their Commissioners protest against these actings in *England*, and particularly they disclaimed the proceedings against the late King, but the new English States resolutely answer'd,

That they of Scotland *were at liberty to act in their own affairs, but were not to limit or impose upon others,* with many extravagant expressions to to justifie their actings, but in the close they invited them to a resemblance with themselves, saying, *That if* Scotland *thought fit to vindicate their own freedome and liberty, they should be ready to afford them all neighbourly assistance.*

Before this answer could arrive in *Scotland*, the Scots had taken other resolutions; for on the third of *February* in this year, the King was proclaimed at the Cross at *Edenburgh*; The Chancellor of *Scotland* dictating to *Lyon* King at Arms, the words of the Proclamation, as followeth.

The Proclamation for proclaiming the King in Scotland.

The Estates of Parliament presently convented in this second Session of this second Triennial Parliament, by Vertue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had power and authority from the last Parliament, for convening the Parliament; considering, that forasmuch as the Kings Majesty, who lately Reigned, is contrary to the dissent and Protestation of this Kingdome, removed by a violent death; and that by the Lords Blessing, there is left unto us a righteous Heir and lawful Successor, Charles *Prince of* Scotland *and* Wales, *now King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland; *We the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *do therefore most unanimously and cheerfully in recognition and acknowledgement of his just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms, hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince* Charles, *is by the providence of God, and by the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland, *whom all the subjects of this Kingdome are bound humbly & faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant betwixt the Kingdoms, with their Lives and Goods, against all deadly Enemies, as their only righteous Soveraign Lord and King. And because his Majesty is bound by the Law of God and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to Rule in Righteousness and Equity, to the honour of God, the good of Religion, and the Wealth of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exercise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this Kingdom in those things that concern the security of Religion, the Unity betwixt the Kingdoms, and the Good and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant; for which end we are resolved with all possible expedition, to make our humble & earnest addresses to his Majesty; for the Testification of all which, We the Parliament of the Kingdom of* Scotland, *publish this our Acknowledgment of his just Right, Title, and Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms at the* Market-Cross *at* Edenburgh, *with all usual solemnities in like cases, and ordain his Royal Name, Portraict and Seal to be used in the publick Writings and Judicatories of this Kingdome, and in the Mint-house, as was usually done to his Royal Predecessors; and command this Act to be proclaimed at all the Market-Crosses of the Royal Burghs, and to be Printed, that none may pretend Ignorance.*

1648.

The Scotch Commissioners here, were about this time call'd home, but just at their departure, they sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in mind of *all their Vows, Oaths, and Protestations for the maintenance of the Kings Person and just Rights*; and upbraided to them *their shameful abjuration and infringement of them by what they had lately acted.*

The Scots Commissioners send the Parliament an Expostulatory declaration.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they imprisoned the Messenger that brought it, and voted the Paper scandalous and seditious, and all such persons Traitors as should joyn with or adhere to the subscribers; They also sent after the Commissioners, and secured them till a Copy of the Paper was sent into *Scotland*, to know if the Parliament & Estates there would own the same, upon which a Messenger was sent from *Scotland* to our States, to justifie what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of the imprisonment of them, as a thing contrary to the law of Nations, and thereupon the Commissioners were released and returned home; but these proceedings on either side increased the distrust and jealousies of each other.

They are stop'd in their journey home, and secur'd. They are justified by a Message sent from from the Estates of Scotland.

They are released.

In the summer of this year, several Loyal Persons insuccessfully in many places attempted by arms to free the last King from great oppression and eminent danger, under which he then lay, as was shewed in the History of that time; of which number the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* were about the later end of *February*, or the beginning of *March* following, tryed and condemned by a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the destruction of the late King) of which the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Holland*, and the Lord *Capel* were executed the 9th. of *March*; but the Earl of *Norwich* and Sir *John Owen* were pardoned: The Earl of *Norwich* upon an equal division of the House of Parliament in a Vote for his life, was saved by the casting Voice of *Lenthall* the Speaker; but Sir *John Owen* had on his behalf the suffrage of many more voices than those against him, which was reported to be done at that time in a kind of popular generosity; for that the Noble-men had all great intercession made for them by those of their Allies (in favour with some Grandees in power;) but Sir *John Owen* a Commoner coming from a remote part, had none that interceded on his behalf.

Duke Hamilton, Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, &c. tryed by a High Court of Justice.

The Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen Pardoned.

1648. Duke *Hamilton* who first came upon the Scaffold, in his Speech declared *His affection to this Kingdom, and the Reason of his coming into* England *with an Army, that is to say, his being commanded thereunto by the peremptory Command of the Parliament of his own Country, which if he had disobeyed he had suffered the same penalty he was to suffer here for obeying. He said many things in vindication of himself from the imputation of having been inconstant in his Religion, or false and unfaithful in his actions toward the King his Master, he seemed also to intimate a readiness to serve them in what they so much desired of him, namely, the discovery of those who were the Inviters of him in, so that his life might have been spared*; with other things which concerned his condition as a dying man.

The substance of Duke Hamiltons Speech before his Execution.

Of the Earl of Holland.

The next that came after him was the Earl of *Holland*, *Who touched upon the Honour of his Family, and the Nobleness of his Education, professed his sincere and constant adherence to the true Protestant Religion, justified himself as to the matter for which he was condemned, alleadging his defection from the Parliament, not to have been ont of any ill design against the State or Kingdom, or any abjuration of his first Principles, which led him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose service he should not have deserted, had not the changes and alterations among them carried them beyond what was reasonable, or what perhaps they themselves at first intended. He prayed God to bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the Antient way of Government by the King, Lords, and Commons, and wisht the present change might not bring confusion upon it, he wisht that the Kings Posterity might be lookt upon, and owned by the People, and re-established in their Native Rights without Bloodshed, that his Blood might be the last that might be spilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellour of* Cambridge, *with his Prayers to God for a blessing upon that University.*

The substance of the Lord Capels Speech.

The last of the three that suffered, was the Lord *Capel*, who having made a very able and substantial defence for himself, both from the antient Laws and Priviledges of the Nation, and from their own Acts and Consults, (though all in vain) behaved himself at his death, like what he had shewed himself all along to be, in his resolute acting for the Kings service, a person of a high Spirit, and Heroick fortitude, and delivered what he had to say with a fearless and undaunted Deportment, wherein *after an ample Account of his Religion, professing his hearty zeal and devotion to the true Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of* England, *he took the liberty to urge the unjustness of his Execution, as contrary to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the word given him at his rendring of himself, against the Justice of the known Laws of the Land, and for no other cause, than his maintaining the fifth Commandment: He expresst much trouble and repentance, for having been one of those that gave their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of* Strafford, *and manifested to the world the high opinion, and venerable Remembrance he had of the late Kings transcendent Vertue, Nobleness of Mind, and ability of Parts: Next he prayed heartily for the King that now is, for his happy Restauration, long life, and continued prosperity, recommending to the People the hopes they were to entertain in him of a most accomplisht person, and most excellent Prince, from the several years experience he had of the greatness of his Apprehension and Understanding, the Honor of his Nature, and the Generosity of his Inclinations. And so shut up all with what they all three generally consented in,* viz. *a chearful readiness to forgive his Enemies, and those that had been the occasion of bringing him to that place.* 1648.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate those that caused the effusion of it, for some others were cut off about the same time for the like offences, though not by the same manner of Trial, as Lieutenant Colonel *Morrice* and Colonel *Blackbourn*, who was hanged and quartered at *York* by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* for the surprizing of *Pontfract*; one *Beaumont* a Minister was hanged at *Pontfract*, by Sentence of a Court-Marshal; and Major *Monday* was shot to death at *Lancaster* by the like Sentence; Colonel *Laughorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel*, three worthy endeavourers in the Kings Service in *Wales*, were also by a Court-Marshal Sentenced to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on *Poyer* he was shot to death in *Covent-Garden*.

Several others tried and executed.

Sir *John Stowel*, and Mr. *David Jenkins* (a Judge formerly in *Wales*) had better fortune, for being both arraigned at the Kings-Bench-Barr as Traytors against the Government, for their Loyalty to the King, though they never owned the Jurisdiction of the Court, the Judges would not give Sentence against them, nevertheless their estates were seized, and the later of the two was long imprisoned.

Judge Jenkins and Sir John Stowel tried at the Kings Bench Barr.

The Parliament of *Scotland* had sent two Gentlemen, to acquaint the King being then at the *Hague* in *Holland*, with their proceedings on his behalf, who after being long at Sea were beaten back by contrary winds, so that he had no publique notification of what was done there, though he wanted not private advertisement of it: they resolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were in preparation of Propositions to be sent to him in order thereunto, but they were so much diverted by several disorders in the Country, that the progress in them was very slow.

The Messengers sent from the Scots to the King at the Hague, are driven back by storm.

Middleton and *Monroe*, two Major Generals, together with the Lord *Rea*, the *Gordons* and those of the *Clan* of *Makenzey* being jealous that the Covenanters (for so they called the *Scotch* Parliament) would impose so much upon the King, that he could not with Honour and safety yeeld to them, drew many Forces together in the North of *Scotland*, and seized on the Town of *Innernes* in the Kings name, expecting many others to come in to them, intending so to moderate the Counsels of the Estates at *Edenburgh*, that the King might be admitted to his Government without any previous conditions. This rising in the North was not so privately managed, but the *Scots* Parliament had advice of it some time before it was put in Execution, and they thereupon made Levies of about six thousand Horse and Foot, upon other pretences, so that upon the first Alarm, they dispatched a good Party towards them un-

A rising for the King in the North of Scotland.

der

1648. der the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, who marched with so much expedition, that they prevented any considerable conjunction of Forces, and dispersed those that they had got together.

They are suppresst by Ker and Straughan.

This breach in *Scotland*, and the suppression of it, made the Governours at *Westminster* believe it not unseasonable to make some overtures to the Estates at *Edenburgh*, to tempt them to a breach with the King, with an offer of their utmost assistance against him and all his adherents, but they could not prevail.

The Reigning faction in England tempt the Scots to a breach with the King.

1649. The King being now at the *Hague*, had intelligence from time to time of the Counsels of *Scotland*, and resolved to go into *France*, that from thence he might more easily pass to some part of his own Dominions to receive their Commissioners: in prosecution of which intentions he left *Holland*, and came to St. *Germans* near *Paris*, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way as he passed both through the Cities of the United-Provinces, and the Spanish *Netherlands*, he was very splendidly entertained. The Duke of *Lorrain* met him on the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Compeigne* the King of *France* received him and accompanied him to *Paris*, and from thence to St. *Germanes*, where he staid a few moneths together with the Duke of *York*, who repaired to him out of *Holland*.

The King removes from Holland into France.

In the midst of this prosperous fortune of the established new Common-wealth, there was so great a disturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been suppressed, all their Building had been tumbled down. For the better understanding whereof we shall shew how this name came to be applied to them, & then briefly set down the disorders that hapned.

They were formed out of those Agitators mentioned in the Reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle which they espoused, to endeavour to obtain such an equal righteous distribution of Justice in Government to all degrees of people, that it should not be in the power of the highest to oppress their inferiors; nor should the meanest of the people be out of capacity to arrive at the greatest Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleasing to the Inferiour Officers of the Army and Soldiers, but those that influenced them were a more considerd sort of persons, who to gain power and Authority to themselves, found out means by heightning this distemper, to arraign and disgrace the Administration of others, and to be pleased with nothing that was done by the Parliament or the Chiefs of the Army, and now the infection was spred among some of the Superior Rank of Officers, who in a jealousie of the aspiring greatness of *Cromwel* and *Ireton* (though they appeared not openly themselves) spirited the private Souldiers to begin a defection in the Army upon these Levelling principles.

The Original of the Levellers dispersion and dewith their feature.

These to countenance their proceedings insinuated, that there appeared a general self-seeking in the Magistrates and Chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not throughly pursued as it ought, either in Spirituals or Civils. *Cromwel* endeavoured to suppress this in the beginning, and caused Orders to be issued to forbid their private Meetings; but not succeeding herein, several of the Souldiers were seized on, and tried and condemned at a Court Martial, and one *Lockier* a busie Actor in the business was shot to death, and eleven Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be sent into *Ireland*. But this did rather incense than allay the heat; for many of the Souldiers were so practised with, as to be much discontented with their being allotted to the *Irish* Service; alleadging, *It was a contrivance to divide them, That they were not Mercenaries, but persons that took Arms upon righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they saw such a settlement established as might answer the ends of their first Engagements, they would not divide.* And hereupon many Regiments Revolted from their Officers, and if some Great Ones that seemed to approve their actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliaments Authority then, and the following Greatness of *Cromwel* had been subverted and prevented. 1649.

At *Burford* five thousand Horse and Foot of these Dissenters were drawn together, and staid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of *Cromwels* word, that no part of the Army should draw nearer to them than the distance of ten miles, whereby they were less vigilant; and in this their security, Colonel *Reynolds* (one accused by them to have discovered their Counsels) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking nine hundred Horse and four hundred Foot prisoners, whereof one *Thompson* and two or three principal Leaders were immediately shot to death, and the rest by *Cromwels* freeness or mediation pardoned; And after this great preparations were made to be sent into *Ireland*.

But these Commotions gave the Marquess of *Ormond*, and those that acted for the King under his Lieutenancy in that Kingdom, a fair opportunity of reducing it to the obedience of the Crown, wherein he was so prosperous, that the King had some thoughts of going thither, and a peace was made with the most considerable of the Confederate *Irish*; but contrary to their faith and promise, the Popes Nuntio by the interpositions of some of the Popish Clergy prevailed with the *Ulster-Irish* under *Owen Roe Oneal* to refuse to come under the Kings Authority.

The Marquess of Ormonds diligent acting for the Kings service in Ireland.

Nevertheless, the Lord Lieutenant with the conjunction of the several Forces under the Marquess of *Clanrickard* President of *Connaught*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, the Lord *Inchiquin* President of *Munster*, the Lord *Mosr*, Colonel *Mark Trevor*, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, the Lord *Taaf* and General *Preston* had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduc'd to the Kings Authority all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*; and *Londonderry* was besieged by Sir *Robert Steward*, and Colonel *Audly Mervin* with a good Brigade, and *Owen Roe* likewise was by Colonel *Trevor* with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord Lieutenant being thus strengthened, determined with the whole or a greatest part of his Army to march before *Dublin*, and came about the middle of *June* to a Village called *Finglas*, about

two

1649. two miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Dublin beseiged by the Marquess of Ormond.

Colonel *Michael Jones* was Governor of the City of *Dublin*, a man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a person of great Capacity, (by the experience he had gain'd in the active Wars of *Ireland*) he acquired a very good knowledge and conduct in matters of War. The Lord Lieutenant in vain attempted by all fair means he could to gain him to a compliance with the Kings affairs, yet those within were in so great fear at the approach of the Army, that if a fierce assault had been made the first day, in all probability the City had been taken; but it is said the Lieutenant was unwilling to it, out of a tenderness to the English Protestants therein. After a day or two, skirmishes were very frequent betwixt the *Dublin* Horse and those of the Army; in which those of the City alwaies prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those skirmishes Sir *Walter Dungar* a valiant Commander of the Army was taken, whilst they lay at *Finglass*: But the Lord Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a place called *Ramines*, and whilst he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War to raise some fortifications at a place called *Baggetrath*, neer the Colledge of *Dublin* (where there was an old Castle moted) thereby to prevent any relief to the besieged by Sea. This design much alarm'd those in the City, and the Governor was resolved to do what he could to hinder the fortification, and for that purpose he resolved to give orders for some Companies to sally out to beat them from the place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse under Colonel *Reignolds*, and two Regiments of Foot under the Colonels *Venables* & *Hunks*, and many other parties of Horse and Foot from the Garisons that surrendred in several parts of the Realm, which additional Force were to the number in all of three thousand or thereabouts, besides that, with these from *England*, good store of provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Souldiers were in good heart; the Governor was very private in his design of the sally, which was in this manner perform'd.

The night before he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were imployed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the number of 5000.) to be drawn together very early in the morning in the Colledge Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Colours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened till the Forces were all at the Rendezvouz, and Centinels were set all along the line to prevent the going over of any to give intelligence. After all things were thus set in order, about eight in the morning, the Forlorne-hope march'd out to *Baggetrath*, consisting of an hundred Fire-locks, and after these a party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel *Theophilus Jones* (the Governors Brother;) and Major *Meredeth* and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after as fast as they could march with order and convenience. There was a ditch made cross the highway betwixt the Town and the Castle to interrupt the passage to it, which was guarded by a party of Souldiers, but these were presently dispersed by the forlorne-hope of fire-locks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by storm, putting all that were in it to the sword: Encouraged by this success and some more force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which and the Castle at *Bagatrath*, they were met by Sir *William Vaughan* with a party of Horse, who made some considerable resistance (and indeed all that was made;) but he was slain, and all his party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much confusion, that they made no resistance, but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from *Dublin* march'd only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make a stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and march'd off; some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of *Ramines*, made conditions for their lives, and had quarter.

1649.

The siege raised by Jones, with the utter defeat of the Marquesses Army.

This easie Victory was much admired, but the occasion thereof was said to proceed from the great animosities amongst the English and Irish in the Lieutenants Army, whereby ensued a manifest carelesness and indifferency amongst many of them. Moreover, *Inchiquin* march'd from them a fortnight after they came before the place with a great body of the English to secure the Province of *Munster*, where *Cromwell*, lately made Lieutenant of *Ireland* by the Parliament, was designed to land with his Army consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

Cromwel Lieutenant of Ireland for the Parliament, sent thither with an Army.

About the time that this hapned, or shortly after, and in the like manner, Sir *Robert Steward* and Colonel *Mervin* were beaten from the siege of *Londonderry* by a resolute sally out of the Town made by Sir *Charles Coot* the Governor thereof for the Parliament. Upon the news of this good fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell* with his Son in Law *Ireton*, (next to him in chief Command of the Irish Army,) altered their purpose of landing in *Munster*, and with all imaginable haste transported their Forces to *Dublin*, neer to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed, and after a little stay to refresh the Souldiers, *Cromwell* marched the Army to the Town of *Drogedah*, which a little after the defeat neer *Dublin*, had been strengthened with an addition of five and twenty hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, with many stout and resolute Officers. Sir *Arthur Aston* heretofore Governor of *Reading* and *Oxford* for the late King, was Governor of the place, a person in whose Courage and Conduct great confidence was plac'd. As soon as *Cromwell* came in sight of the Town, he sent a summons, which being refused, he immediately began his approaches, and was very active at the siege, making many furious onsets on the Town, with great loss to his Army; but at last he carried it by storm, and to strike a terror in the other Towns and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in arms were put to the sword; amongst which the Governor himself,

The siege of Londonderry raised by Sir Charles Coot sallying out of the Town.

Cromwel takes Drogedah by storm, and all in it to the Sword.

and

1649. and Sir *Edmond Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren*, *Tempest*, and *Fingласs*, with many other Commanders of note were slain, and though the orders of *Cromwell* were limited to such as were in Arms, yet the rage of the Souldiers was so great, that many of the Inhabitants were slain in the heat of the fight, without respect to either age, sex or condition.

Ireland subdued to the Parliament.

After the taking of *Drogedah*, in less than a year, most of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, and that whole Kingdome in a manner subdued to the power of the Common-wealth of *England*, and the Marquess of *Ormond* and all those that opposed their authority, were withdrawn.

The King removes from France to the Isle of Jersey.

The King with the Duke of *York* about the beginning of *September* repaired to the *Isle* of *Jersey*, where in a few daies they safely landed with about 300 persons in their retinue. Upon his first arrival he was very solemnly proclaimed King, and after he had setled the affairs of that *Island*, he had an eye upon reducing the *Island* of *Guernsey*, which was then under the Parliaments power; but *Castle Cornet* the chiefest Fort thereof, was under his authority.

A very gratious Declaration after several insinuations was sent into the Island, but it proved ineffectual; for *Russel* the Governour for the English Commonwealth, had got five hundred fresh men into it; and with as bad success Sir *John Berkly*, Colonel *Slingsby*, and some others attempted to raise Forces for the King in the Western parts, from whence intelligence came to *Jersey* that *Dartmouth* and several other places would be put into their hands, and a part of the Army joyn with them; but the watchfulness of their Adversaries prevented all these designs, and Sir *John* and the Col. as they lay privately in Sir *Charles Trevannions* house in *Cornwal* were by a Countrey-fellow discovered to the Committees of that County, and by their Command apprehended, and sent prisoners to *Truro*.

Sir John Berkly and Colonel Slingsby apprehended in Cornwal.

During these transactions, the Committee of Estates of *Scotland* had been convened at St. *Johnstons*, and sate some time, where they resolved upon a Message to be sent to *Jersey* to the King in preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*, for they were unwilling (in regard of the distance and hazard of the way) to treat in that Island; Mr. *George Windram* of *Libberton* was on the 25 *th.* of *September* dispatched with an express to him on this errand; but so long was he on his journey, and the King not advised of his coming, that he became very doubtful of their Counsels in *Scotland*, and had given the Marquess of *Montross* Commission to make some Levies of men to land in that Kingdom, with Orders to draw together his friends, hoping thereby the Committee of Estates would be induced the sooner, and with more moderation to a Treaty with him.

Ma. Windram sent with a message to the King at Jersy from the Estates of Scotland.

Windram landed not at *Jersey* in many weeks after his departure from *Scotland*, but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The substance of his Message was:

The substance of Windrams Message to the King.

That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, which being obtained, they offered to Treat of the means to re-establish peace and obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom. 1649.

This overture admitted of great Debate in the Kings Councel, for as yet the desperate condition of his affairs in *Ireland*, and other parts was not known to him; some that had no good opinion of the *Scots*, from their experience of their dealing with the late King, expected very small fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather advised to rely upon the endeavours of *Montross*, and the other Confederates; but others reasoned, That these in *Scotland* now in power being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the conjunction of the Kirk (by which the people of *Scotland* are always much influenced) were more likely to assist him in the obtaining the Crown of *England* (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose designs were full of hazard and uncertainty.

The result was, that Mr. *Windram* was returned into *Scotland* with a Letter to the Committees of Estates, in the words following:

CHARLES R.

The Kings Letter to Committee of Estates in Scotland.

We have received your Letters lately presented unto us by Mr. Windram *of* Libertoun, *and We accept gratiously all the expressions of affection and fidelity therein contained towards us, with your tender resentment of our present conditition, and the just indignation which you professe to have against the execrable Murther of our Father; and we believe that your intentions are as full of candor towards us, as we are and always really have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our Subjects of our ancient Kingdom of* Scotland, *which may be an assured foundation of their happiness and peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of animosities and divisions, caused by these late Troubles, and also to re-unite the hearts and affections of our Subjects one to another, and of them all to us their King, and lawful Sovereign; to the end that by their obedience to our Royal and just Authority, we may be put into a condition to maintain them in peace, and prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty, as it appertains to us, according to our Charge and Office of a King. And as we have always resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by us to obtain these good effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our Subjects in this Kingdom, We have now thought fit upon the return of* Mr. Windram, *to Command and desire you, to send unto us Commissioners sufficiently Authorized, to Treat and agree with us, both in relation to the interest and just satisfaction of our Subjects there; as also concerning the aid and assistance, which in reason we may expect from them, to bring and reduce the Murtherers of our late most dear Father of happy Memory to condign punishment, and to recover our just Rights in all our Kingdoms. And we will that they attend us on the fifteenth day of the moneth of* March, *at the Town of* Breda, *where we intend to be in order thereunto. And in confidence of a Treaty, as also to make known to you, and to all the world, that we desire to be agreed; We have resolved to address these unto you, under*

the

1649. *the Name and Title of a Committee of Estates of our Kingdom of* Scotland ; *and will and expect that you use this Grace no otherwise for any advantage to the prejudice of us, or our affairs, beyond what we have given this Qualification and Title for, namely, only for the Treaty, and in Order to it ; although we have considerations sufficient, and very important to dissuade, and oblige us , to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also we hope the confidence which we declare to have in your clear and candid intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong Arguments to form in your selves a mutual confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent moderation, and by that greatest desire that we have to oblige all our Subjects of that Kingdom , and by the means of the Treaty which we attend and hope for, may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an assured security to this Nation for the time to come, which we assure you is wished of us with passion, and we shall endeavour by all means in our power to effect.*

To the same effect also was a Letter to the Committee of the Kirk.

Montrosse follicites forein Princes to send the King aid.

Montrosse in the mean time was very busie soliciting the King of *Denmark*, the Queen of *Sweden*, and other Princes for money , arms, and men to be imployed in the Kings service, but yet he was so generous, as to write to the King *To make an agreement with the Estates of* Scotland, *so that he might be honorably and with safety restored to his Rights and Dignities , and rather than break off with them, to give consent to have him banished the Kingdom , that so he might receive no prejudice for his consideration.*

But the King would by no means yeeld to his requests herein, declaring that he had found him so faithful all along , and to have performed such eminent services , both to his Father and to himself, that he could not in Justice or in honour leave him ; and by a letter which he sent to him on the 30 *th.* of *January* , he gave him a full account of the address to him from *Scotland*, and the progress made towards the Treaty according to the tenour of his Letters by *Windram* , wherein he informed him, *That he licensed the Authority of the Committee of Estates for this Treaty only , and that both for their own proper satisfaction, and to make known to all the world, that he desired to bring back his Subjects to their duty rather by ways of sweetness and amity, than by the rigour of Arms (if their obstinacie and the injustice of their demands should constrain him to recover it by force) adding nevertheless , that he gave him full power to proceed very vigorously in his enterprizes , not doubting but all his Loyal Subjects of* Scotland *would joyn themselves with him, and by that means those that were otherwise disposed would submit themselves to reason in the Treaty which he now accepted, or should be forced to it by Arms.*

The King informs Montrosse of what had passed between him and the Estates in order to a Treaty.

The Parliament forces the King to leave Jersey and go into France.

The Parliament of *England*, not willing to let the King be in quiet in *Jersey*, sent a considerable part of the English Fleet to *Portsmouth*, with store of provision in order to the attacquing of that Island, which put the King upon a speedy remove from thence to *France*; where he resided till the time appointed for the Treaty at *Breda* drew near , and then he repaired thither.

1649.

Sir *John Windram* made all the haste he could to *Scotland* , and assoon as the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk , who sate apart, were met, he delivered his Message and Letters to them from the King.

The Committee of Estates upon perusing the Letter , chose out of themselves a sub-Committee of nine Lords and Burgesses to consider what was most expedient to be done therein , and to present their opinions thereupon to the Committee of Estates , which was done ; and thereupon they prepared a state of the matter, and reported it to the Parliament at their first meeting , which was in a while after ; and the Parliament upon that Report chose a Committee of the Estates to meet with a Committee of the Kirk to consider of all matters in order to the Treaty , and to nominate Commissioners for it , where after some consultations a report was agreed on to be made by one part to the Committee of Estates , and by the other to the Assembly of the Kirk ; and immediately the Commissioners were chosen. Those for the Estates were the Earls of *Cassels* and *Lothian*, and the Laird *Burly*, and Sir *John Windram* of *Liberton* ; and those from the Kirk , Mr. *John Levistion*, Mr. *James Wood*, and Mr. *Broady*, who were with all convenient haste dispatched to *Breda*, where they arrived a day before the King, and the next day thereafter they went to meet him at *Bergben op Zoom* , and they came thence together to *Breda* on the 16 *th.* of *March*, where the Commissioners after two or three days of rest to compose themselves , and receive their visits from their friends , were conducted to their first audience in the Presence-Chamber by my Lord *Wentworth* , Captain of the Kings Guards , who was sent with the Kings Coach to receive them. The Earl of *Cassels* addressed himself to the King in the name of the Commissioners of Parliament in a short Speech to this effect.

The Commissioners to treat with the King at Breda.

The Earl of Cassels speech to the King in behalf of the Commissioners of Parliament.

" That the Kingdom of *Scotland* upon his late " Message, together with the consideration of all " former overtures with him , have now again sent " to him these Propositions , which they humbly " tender to his Majesty ; not that they have " thought to force him to a compliance , through " his necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by " importunities ; but by making their Loyal ad- " dresses to him, by this their humble submission, " in which their desires , they hope , will appear " so reasonable and just, that he will soon conde- " scend unto them, which they humbly beg at his " hands. Assuring him , that by that means he " will be most powerful in the advancing and e- " stablishing his Throne ; it being the nature of " his Loyal Subjects , and all truly noble minds to be soonest overcome with such allurements. " That in these their humble addresses , they did " manifest to the world their Loyalty and Con- " stancie to him , neither was it their purpose to " flatter , but to be faithful and free ; that if he " would please to condescend to what was pro- " pounded by the Kingdom of *Scotland*, it would " make him happy , and give them some hopes to " live at peace , under the shadow of the wings " of his Government.

And

1649. And as soon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk having presented themselves to him, Mr. *John Leviston* made a Speech, wherein, *He prest his Majesty to hearken to the joynt desires of the Estates and Kirk of* Scotland, *that so he might enjoy the blessing of God, and be received by his people in comfort and peace to promote the work of the Lord, and make them happy.*

Mr. Levistons Speech for those of the Kirk.

After these speeches, they produced their Commissions, and delivered their letters, together with the propositions from the Estates and Kirk of *Scotland.*

The Propositions were immediately read, which were as followeth;

Propositions from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland to the King.

1. "That all those who have been and continue excommunicate by the Kirk of *Scotland*, "may be removed from having access to the "Court.

2. "That he would be pleased to declare, that he "would by solemn Oath under his hand and seal, "allow the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and "the solemn League and Covenant of *Scotland*, "*England* and *Ireland*, and that he would pro- "secute the ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratifie and approve all Acts "of Parliaments, enjoyning the solemn League "and Covenant, and establishing Presbyterian "Government, the Directory of Worship, the "Confession of Faith and Catechisme in the "Kingdome of *Scotland*, as they are already ap- "proved by the general Assembly of the Kirk, "and by the Parliament of that Kingdome. And "that he would give his Royal Assent to the Acts "of Parliament, enjoyning the same in the rest "of his Dominions; and that he would observe "the same in his own practise and Family, and "never make opposition therein, or endeavour "any change thereof.

4. "That he would consent and agree, That "all matters civil might be determined by the "present and subsequent Parliaments of the "Kingdome of *Scotland*, and all matters Eccle- "siastical, by the ensuing general Assemblies of "the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and a- "greed to by his late Father. After the King had "heard them, he demanded whether these papers "they had delivered to him contained all parti- "culars which they had to propound or desire; "whether they had power to recede from any par- "ticular proposed or to be proposed, also if they "had any thing to offer for the carrying on of his "service against *England*.

To which they answered, *That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their power and instructions.*

A few daies after; The Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had excommunicated from access to the Court, would deprive him of the service and attendance of the Earl of *Montrosse*, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for that, not doubting when he should have obtained the Kingdome he might by degrees make them sensible of their mistaken zeal in their actings towards such persons, and win them to a relaxation of their rigour of that injunction; But that which most prest him, was the cause of Religion expressed in the severity of those propositions which required him by solemn Oath under his hand and seal to allow the Covenant, and to establish the Presbyterian Government, wherein they insisted so much as to deny him the use of the Liturgie to his own person; The King urged, *that there was no reason why he should relinquish the Religion for which his Father had died a Martyr, and that whilst he was willing to permit to his subjects liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their so earnestly pretended desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same priviledge which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them tendred, is the subjects Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to swear to himself, so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in* Scotland; *provided, that he himself might have alwaies three Chaplains with him of his own Election.* 1649.

The Earl of Canworth and Mr. Murray arrive at Breda, with further instructions to the Scots Commissioners.

During this Treaty, the Earl of *Canworth* and Mr. *Murray* arrived at *Breda* with new instructions to the Commissioners concerning the Militia, which put a further demur to the conclusion of it; and indeed it was said, The King was willing to admit of a little delay in expectation of what he might obtain from the endeavours of the Marquess of *Montrosse*, who was after many discouragements (of which some mention shall be hereafter made) about this time embarqued for *Scotland*, and about the midst of *April* landed in the *Isles* of *Orkney*, accompanied with the Lord *Trendraught*, the Master of *Pitsfodder*, Sir *John Urry*, *Henry Graham* (his natural Brother,) Colonel *Johnson*, *George Drummond* of *Ballach*, and other persons his friends and confederates, with two Ships and a small Frigot of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 German Souldiers; Colonel *King* had promised to come up to him with some Horse from *Sweden*, but did not do it; Colonel *Ogleby*, and Colonel *Cockrain*, who were trusted with certain sums of money for the raising of men and arms, (the one in *Amsterdam*, and the other in *Poland*) fail'd in their duty, and converted the money to their own use; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about 200 German Souldiers, and many implements of War) were cast away upon the rocks a little before his landing; but these disasters which might have shaken a great resolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity. 1650.

Montrosse lands with Forces in Scotland.

The Estates of *Scotland* had no Forces in any of these Islands, whereby he had a good opportunity to raise men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main: the people were raw and undisciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage for which the antient Inhabitants of these Isles have been fam'd; but nevertheless, he was forc'd to make as good a shift as he could with them; and whilst he was busied here in his levies, the Laird of *Pluscardy* endeavoured to raise two thousand men for his assistance in the Earl of *Seaforths* Territories.

1649. And now, having got together as many Souldiers as he desired of this sort, he left Colonel *Johnson* and *Henry Graham* to keep *Kirkwall* in *Pomona*, the chief Isle of the *Orcades*, and transplanted all the rest of his men to *Cathnes*, which is the utmost point of Land in the *Northwest* part of *Scotland*; here he hoped to meet *Pluscardy* with the 2000 men he promised to raise, but they came not; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so vigilant, that they sent into most places where they thought he had any correspondence to prevent the getting men together for him; and very suddenly after, the news of his arrival was known, an Army of 7000 Foot, and 30 Troops of Horse was sent to oppose him. The Horse were commanded by *David Lesly*, and the Foot by Major General *Holborn*, of these they sent 300 in the Van under the command of Colonel *Straughan* consisting of his own Troop, and three Troops more commanded by Colonel *Montgomery*, Colonel *Ker*, & Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket*, and indeed there needed no other Army, for all that *Montross* was able to do at that time towards the strengthening of himself, was little or nothing more than the taking of *Dunbeth-House*, which was soon surrendred to Colonel *Urry* upon demand, the Lord thereof being fled to *Edenburgh*: The Earl of *Sunderland* was a sore *Remora* in his way; for though he had not force enough to encounter the Marquess, yet the power and sway he bore all those adjacent parts about where *Montross* had to do, both kept back the Countrey from coming in to him, and hindred several of the Gentry from appearing, who otherwise were inclinable enough to have given their assistance; so that *Straughan* surprising the Montrossians with the speed and unexpectedness of his appearance, and finding them much disordered and tir'd with seeking to recover a certain pass, (which they fail'd of obtaining,) improved his advantage, and after some repulse at first, redoubled with such fury upon them, that the unseason'd *Orkney* men immediately yielded themselves, and in a short time (though not without much resolution shewn in their resistance) the Germans also. Thus was *Montross* his vigorous and loyal undertaking for his Soveraigns service, the labour of much time, and carried on with incredible pains, difficulty and danger, dissipated in a moment by a Party far inferior in number, and doubtless no whit superior in skilful and valiant Leaders (not to mention *Montross*, who was accounted, and worthily, the greatest Captain of his age:) such was the misfortune of this at least bravely attempted enterprise; occasioned chiefly from the great disadvantage wherein *Montross* his men were set upon; and their necessities and despair of succors and supplies in a Countrey surrounded with Enemies, or perhaps from a kind of surprisal or pannick fear among the generality of the Common Souldiers, upon an apprehension that *Lesly*'s great Army had been come up against them: However it were, so great was the defeat, that of the whole body of the Montrossians who engaged in this Battle, there escaped not above an hundred from being either taken or slain: Among the Prisoners were Sir *John Urry*, Major General of *Montross* his Army, the Lord *Fendraught*, Sir *Francis Hay* of *Dalgetie*, Colonel *Hay* of *Noughton*, Colonel *Grey*, Lieutenant Colonel *Stuart*, with other considerable Officers: *Montross* himself made a shift to escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, together with his Belt and his Coat with the Star, and shifting himself into an ordinary Highlanders Apparel. In this Fight the Royal Standard was taken, upon which was portraicted the head of the late King lying a bleeding, and severed from the body, and this following Motto, *Judge and revenge my Cause, O Lord.* And the Lord *Pitsfodder*'s Son who was Standard-bearer, was slain, Colonel *Straughan* received a shot upon his belly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his Belt and Buff-coat, he had no harm thereby. 1649.

Montross defeated by Straughan.

So welcome was the news of this Victory to the State and Kirk of *Scotland*, that they bestowed as a reward upon *Straughan* a thousand pounds sterling, and a Chain of Gold: upon Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a thousand Mark sterling. But that which Crowned this Victory to them with the highest joy and satisfaction, was the getting of *Montross* his person into their power: as indeed it was impossible for him to make his escape, so narrowly was he way-laid all the Country round, and so strict a search and enquiry was ordered to be sent after him, besides a large reward promised to whomsoever should be his apprehender; yet for the space of three or four days he kept himself undiscovered, by wandring up and down in the open fields with one Associate only in his misery, till being very near famished with hunger, it was his fortune in the end to fall into the hands of the Laird of *Aston*, a Person who had formerly adhered to the Marquess, and had been befriended by him, and of whom upon that consideration, he doubtless hoped for the favour of not being discovered by him, if not of assistance towards his concealment: But *Aston*, for fear of what he must have suffered if he had been known to have concealed him, or for want of opportunity in regard of his followers that attended him, or setting his thoughts upon the proposed reward (as the regard of gain, for the most part outballances that of friendship) was not to be perswaded or induced by any respect of old friendship or relation to suffer him to escape; so that being seized and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in vain supplicated for death by the hands of those that took him) he was presently sent and delivered up to the custody of *David Lesley*, and by him hurried away with all speed to *Edenburgh*, much insulted over in the several places he came through, only the people of *Dundee* (though none more endamaged by his Souldiers in the former War) were very civil to him, furnisht him with all things necessary, and were so far from insulting, that they very much commiserate his condition: the chief favour he obtained in his journey, was the permission to call in, as he came along, at the house of his father-in-law, the Earl of *Southesk*, to see two Children of his that were there. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edenburgh* in a kind of fatal pomp; & as it were to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge; he had the reproachful honour, while the rest of the Prisoners went by him on foot, to be mounted on a Cart-horse (for the better advantage of exposing him to the gazing and scorn of the people: till

He is taken Prisoner.

Brought to Edenburgh.

1650. till he came to the end of the Canon-Gate-ſtreet, where the Executioner in his Livery-Coat, and ſeveral other Officers, attended with a Cart, having a high Chair placed in it like a *ſella Curulis*, wherein (though he himſelf the Captive faſt bound and bare-headed, while the Executioner had his Bonnet on) he rode as in a Triumphal Chariot, the diſgrace which his enemies intended him, turning to his honour, by repreſenting the Heroick Magnanimity of his Nature, which could not choſe but triumph in the midſt of Captivity. In this manner reproached of many, (as it is uſual when men are in adverſity) pitied of others, even ſome who were of the engaged in the general enmity againſt his deſigns, whom yet the Majeſty of his preſence, and the undiſturbed patience and conſtancie wherewith he demeaned himſelf, melted into a ſenſibility of the miſery of his condition; he was conveyed to the *Talbooth* the place of his Impriſonment, where the next day being Sunday the 19 *th.* of *May*, he received new matter tor the trial of his patience, by the troubleſome viſits of divers of the Miniſtry and Parliament, who while they began to perſecute him with their pretended exhortations, which ſerved but to aggravate the ſenſe of his affliction, he told them, that whereas they thought they had affronted him the day before by carrying him in a Cart, he eſteemed it the moſt honorable and joyful Cavalcade that ever he made; God having all the while moſt comfortably manifeſted his preſence to him, and furniſhed him with reſolution to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him for whoſe cauſe he ſuffered. The next day being ſummoned to appear before the Lords, Barons, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in Parliament, he came into the Houſe apparrelled in a very rich ſuit, thick overlaid with coſtly Lace, and over it a Scarlet Rocket, and on his Head a Bever Hat with a very rich Hat-band upon it, with Carnation Silk-ſtockings, Garters and Roſes, with other Habiliments ſutable, all which he had cauſed to be made for him immediately upon his coming to *Edenburgh*, as if he had been going rather about ſome feſtival than tragical Affair: Aſſoon as he was brought to the Bar of the Houſe, the Lord Chancellor (who according to the cuſtome of that Kingdom is always Speaker) told him firſt, *That he muſt kneel at the Barr.* Whereunto he anſwered, *My Lord, I ſhall with all my heart obſerve any poſture you ſhall appoint me to appear before you in, whereby I may manifeſt to you, that I freely ſubmit to the Authority of Parliament, and to this preſent Parliament in a more eſpecial manner, becauſe you have concluded ſo near a conjunction with his preſent Majeſty my Maſter in the late Treaty.* Then the Chancellor made a Speech to him, the ſubſtance whereof was this:

Montroſs is brought to his Tryal in Parliament.

The Lord Chancellors Speech to him.

SIR,

I am commanded to mind you of the laſt judgment of God befallen you for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might juſtly provoke God thus to divert your Councels and affairs, for having been ſo eminent an Author and Actor of miſchief againſt this Nation; you abandoned the Covenant, and deſpiſed the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Countrey, and with moſt inhumane and barbarous cruelty did burn and waſte di- 1650. *vers parts thereof, and have ſpilt much blood of his Majeſties good Subjects, taking advantage of that time, when the prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employed elſewhere. For theſe Crimes you were excommunicated by the Church, and forefaulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet ſtill continued in the higheſt contempt againſt God, under that fearful Sentence of Excommunication: and to this day have you remained without the ſmalleſt ſhew of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now juſtly brought you hither to receive the Sentence of your condemnation.*

Hereupon *Montroſs* humbly deſiring to know of his Lordſhip whether it were the Parliaments pleaſure that he might be permitted to ſpeak what he had to ſay for himſelf, and humbly craving that Liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellour, that the Eſtates in Parliament did give him free liberty to ſpeak what he could ſay for himſelf. Then *Montroſs*,

My Lord, *ſaid he*,

His anſwer.

"I am glad that I may have liberty to anſwer "for my ſelf, though I am here your Priſoner, yet "my cauſe is good; nor is there any breach of "the Covenant on my part, in which I ſwore to "be true to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors. "Concerning what I have acted in relation to the "Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not "only a general Commiſſion, but particular Or-"ders for what I have done from his Majeſty, "which I was engaged to obey by the ſaid Co-"venant. And concerning my coming over now, "I was aſcertained that you had profeſſed to com-"ply with his Majeſty in the preſent Affairs, in "which he hath imployed me; and upon that ac-"count it was that I have acted. I deſire to refer "my ſelf, and do ſubmit unto this preſent "Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my "Judges in this caſe, whom I own as a true Par-"liament by Authority from his Majeſty, and I "ſhall be content, however it ſhall pleaſe God "to deal with me. As for my life, if you take it "away by this Authority, it is well known unto all "the world, that I regard it not: death is a debt "which all owe, and muſt once be paid by every "one: And I ſhall be willing and much rejoyce "to go the ſame way which my Maſter paſſed be-"fore me, and it is the joy of my heart not only "to do, but alſo to ſuffer for him.

Moreover, he added to this effect, "That he "appeared before them with ſo much the greater "reſpect and reverence, by reaſon of the agree-"ment he heard they had made with his Majeſty, "that he never was engaged in the League and "Covenant, and therefore was not juſtly to be "condemned for oppoſing it, ſince he was ſenſi-"ble of how ſad conſequence it had proved to "theſe diſtreſſed Kingdoms, and the welfare of "his late Majeſty, againſt whom thoſe that roſe "up in Arms in *England* were plainly aſſiſted "and upheld by a faction of this Kingdom: that "as he had never been the occaſion of ſhedding "blood but in Battel, and by the neceſſity of "War, ſo he had been ever careful to prevent all "diſorders as much as could be, and to ſave as "many lives as poſſibly lay in his power. That

1650. "what ever he had acted formerly againſt them "to make a diverſion of thoſe Forces that were "going from thence againſt his late Majeſty, was "meerly in obedience and zeal to his Majeſties "ſervice, at whoſe Command he as readily ſub- "mitted to lay down his Arms and retreat, as he "had before chearfully taken them up in his Ma- "jeſties defence. That as for his coming in at "that time, it was in order to the accelerating of "the Treaty betwixt his preſent Majeſty and "them, to the end that his Majeſty being not dri- "ven to rely wholly upon their aſſiſtance might "be inabled to make the better conditions with "them. That ſince he had done nothing but what "became a good Chriſtian, a good Subject, and a "good Neighbour, he deſired them not to be "rath or partial in their Judgment, but to judge "him according to the Laws of God, of Nature, "of Nations, and of the Land, as they would "anſwer the contrary to the righteous Judge of "the World.

After he had been thus examined and tried, he was commanded to withdraw; the Parliament were not very long debating the matter, ere they unanimouſly reſolved to proceed to Sentence of Condemnation; which, (he being called in again,) was denounced againſt him in this Form.

The Sentence pronounced againſt him by the Parliament.

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came, & from thence you are to morrow, being the one and twentieth of May 1650. *to be carried to* Edenburgh-Croſs, *and there to be hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot high, for the ſpace of three hours, and then to be taken down, and your head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged on* Edenburgh-Talbooth, *and your Legs and Arms to be hanged up in other publik Towns in this Kingdom, and your Body to be buried at the place where you ſhall be Executed, except the Kirk ſhall take off your Excommunication, then your Body ſhall be buried at the common place of Burial.*

After the denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his countenance, or ſeemed in the leaſt manner to be moved, he was again guarded back to priſon, where being again haunted and importuned by the Miniſters, he expreſſed how much he was beholding to the Parliament for the honor they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater honor to have his head ſtand upon the Priſon-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the Kings Bed-Chamber; and leſt his Loyalty ſhould be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in deſigning laſting Monuments to four of the chiefeſt Cities to bear up his Memorial to all Poſterity, wiſhing he had had fleſh enough to have ſent a piece to every City in Chriſtendome to witneſs his Loyalty to his King and Country.

He is brought to Execution and hanged upon a Gallows 30 foot high.

The next day being the one and twentieth day of *May*, the day appointed for his Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time, ſo winning was his deportment, and his Speeches ſo powerful, that they made a very great impreſſion upon the Spirits of the people, in ſo much as ſome who obſerved the paſſages of his death, were of opinion, That he had drawn away more from the Kirk-party by his manner of dying, than he could have vanquiſht in the field by force of Arms. 1650.

Upon the Scaffold he delivered his mind to the people in this following Speech:

His Speech. "I am ſorry if this manner of my death be "ſcandalous to any good Chriſtian. Doth it not "often happen to the righteous according to the "waies of the wicked, and to the wicked ac- "cording to the waies of the righteous; doth not "ſometimes a juſt man periſh in his righteouſ- "neſs, and a wicked man proſper in his malice; "they who know me, ſhould not diſeſteem me "for this, many greater than I have been dealt "with in this kind, yet I muſt not ſay, but that all "Gods Judgements are juſt; for my private ſins, "I acknowledge this to be juſt with God, I ſub- "mit my ſelf to him; but in regard of man, I "may ſay they are but Inſtruments: God forgive "them, I forgive them; they have oppreſſed the "Poor, and violently perverted Judgement and "Juſtice; but he that is higher than they, will "reward them: What I did in this Kingdome, "was in obedience to the moſt juſt commands of "my Soveraign, for his defence in the day of his "diſtreſs againſt thoſe that roſe up againſt him. "I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and ho- "nour the King, according to the Commandments "of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations; "and I have not ſinned againſt Man, but againſt "God, and with him there is mercy, which is "the ground of my drawing neer to him. It is "objected againſt me by many, even good peo- "ple, that I am under the cenſure of the Church, "this is not my fault, ſince it is only for doing "my duty, by obeying my Princes moſt juſt com- "mands, for Religion, his Perſon and Authority: "yet am I ſorry they did excommunicate me, "and in that which is according to Gods Laws, "without wronging my conſcience or allegiance, "I deſire to be relaxed; if they will not, I ap- "peal to God, who is the righteous Judge of the "World, and who muſt and will, I hope, be my "Judge and Saviour. It is ſpoken of me, that I "ſhould blame the King, God forbid; for the "late King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr; "I pray God I may ſo end as he did: if ever I "ſhould wiſh my ſoul in another mans ſtead, it "ſhould be in his. For his Majeſty now living, "never people, I believe, might be more happy "in a King; his commands to me were moſt juſt, "in nothing that he promiſeth will he fail, he "dealeth juſtly with all men, I pray God he be ſo "dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under truſt "as his Father was. I deſire not to be miſtaken, "as if my carriage to you at this time, in relation "to your waies, were ſtubborn; I do but follow "the light of my own Conſcience, which is ſe- "conded by the working of the good ſpirit of "God that is within me. I thank him, I go to "Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me a- "gainſt the fear of death, and furniſh me with "courage and confidence to embrace it, even in "its moſt ugly ſhape, let God be glorified in my "end, though it were in my condemnation; yet "I ſay not this out of any fear or diſtruſt, but out "of my duty to God, and love to his people. I "have no more to ſay, but that I deſire your cha-

rity

1650. "rity and prayers. I shall pray for you all, I leave "my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my "good will to my Friends, and my name and cha- "rity to you all. And thus briefly I have exone- "rated my Conscience.

Having concluded his speech, and afterwards with closed eyes and lifted up hands spent a good while in private, *in pouring forth his soul to God, and recommending his spirit into his hands, who was pleased* (as he said) *to give him a full assurance of his mercy in Jesus Christ.* He received from the Executioner a certain Cord, by which hung his Declaration and History, to hang about his neck; affirming, *that he thought not himself more honoured by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had been pleased to confer upon him, then by that Cord and Book, which he would embrace about his Neck with as much joy and content as ever he did the Garter, or a Chain of Gold,* adding, *that if they had any more dishonour* (as they conceived it) *to put upon him, he was ready to accept it.* And then presently with a cheerful resignation, submitted himself to the execution of the sentence.

Thus was this famous, but unfortunate man, sacrificed to the revenge of his Enemies, after a most shameful and despightful manner, even at that very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew full well to have a very great regard and affection for him. Together with *Montross*, though not in so disgraceful a way, were executed Sir *John Urry*, and Colonel *Spotswood* Laird of *Darcy*, (who had both the Favour to be beheaded) with some others of Note that came with the Marquesse into *Scotland*.

The Treaty was now neer a conclusion; for whatever the Kings just resentments were, his Counsel perswaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his present condition: and as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the hands of the Estates for five years: but whilst matters were in this neerness of composure, news was brought of the defeat and execution of *Montross*, which much surprised the King, considering the time of doing it; and though he omitted not in an expresse by Mr. *Murray* to manifest his great dislike of the action, (for he was much afflicted at it) yet he was prevail'd on with much regret not to urge it so far as to a rupture; He told them in his Letter,

The Kings Letter to the Scots about their severe proceedings against Montross and others.

"That he was very sorrowful and grieved to "hear a report which came to him by credible "persons, that notwithstanding those hopeful "overtures lately made between him and them, "tending to their Peace: Yet that there hath "been some blood shed of his good Subjects of "the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and that the manner "and result thereof according to the report he had "heard of it, did very much trouble him; but "that he might know the particulars more cer- "tainly, he desired to understand the business "fully from themselves, of whom he required an "account.

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the satisfaction of the Estates, They sent a solemn Message to invite him to *Scotland*, and in answer to what he writ about *Montross*, they besought him *not to stumble at it, assuring him that there was nothing in what they did, but to accomplish his ends, and to serve his interests to the best Advantage.* They likewise requested him, *to make all possible speed in coming to them, protesting they would with their lives and fortunes assist to establish him in the Throne of his Kingdoms.*

1650. The Treaty at Breda concluded.

A Message of the Scots to invite the King with their answer to the Kings Letter.

The rigorous prosecution of *Montross* in that violent manner, was chiefly from the instigation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did so much influence the people, that it was almost impossible to appease the storm they raised against him. He had been excommunicated long before, and in that Church excommunication is so terrible, that few will have any manner of conversation with a person excommunicated; and the generality of the people, when they see a man whom their Ministers declare to be excluded from Heaven, are easily induced to think him unworthy to live on earth. Many, if not the greater part of those that pursued his life, were earnest for the admission of the King, but so much did their zeal exceed their discretion, and so strongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and seduced by the inventors and assertors of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in safety whilst he liv'd.

The King upon the Message sent to him, prepared for his journey to *Scotland*, and about the beginning of *June* took Shipping at *Scheveling* in *Holland*, and after a happy evasion of double danger that threatned him in his Voyage, (one from a sudden storm which arose and cast him upon certain Danish Islands, (yet without any loss or shipwrack, but on the other side much respect and civil usage from the Inhabitants;) the other from a fleet of Parliament Vessels, which were sent out under *Popham* to intercept his passage) he landed safe at a place called the *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*. The Estates and Parliament of *Scotland* in the mean time imployed their consultations about the forming of an Army for the service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was published for the rating of every fourth man through the Kingdome, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of *Leven* was made General of the Foot, and *Holborn* Major General, *David Lesley* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Mountgomery* Major General, the supreme command of the whole Army being reserved for the King himself, whom at his first Arrival they entertained with high Complements, and much Acclamation, and seemed to congratulate his coming with great demonstrations of joy and affection: and on the fifteenth of *July* they again solemnly proclaim'd him King at *Edenburgh Cross*, and had design'd (had not certain obstacles come in the way) to have crowned him the following Moneth: but he had not been long among them, e're they began to discover their native Rigour, imperiously to take upon them according to their usual manner of Kirk Authority and Discipline, and to obtrude upon the King such curbing conditions, as but very ill suited with Regal Dignity.

The King lands at the Spey in the North of Scotland.

He is proclaimed King at Edenburgh Cross.

And

1650. And not long after when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with five hundred pounds sterling, the Committee of Estates seemed displeased thereat; and least other Cities and Towns should in the like manner testifie their duties to him, they declared, *That what Money or Plate any had a purpose to bestow on the King, should be brought into the publike Treasury*; and in conformity to this dealing towards him, they proceeded to reform (as they called it) his retinue, interdicting all whom they stiled Malignants (which were most of his faithfullest Servants) from all imployment both about his person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of *England* had sufficient intelligence from the beginning of all these occurrences, and of the Engagement of the Scots to establish the King in the Thrones of all his Dominions, and that they might not be surprized by them, they drew many Troops and Regiments together, and formed an Army which they sent to the Borders of *Scotland*.

The Commonwealth of England send an Army against Scotland.

Fairfax, who was to Command this Army, refused to accept the Charge, notwithstanding that they offered him a Commission with larger power than that by which he had formerly commanded their Armies, excusing his refusal by reason of great indisposition of health occasioned by his wounds and other incommodities of the late War. Upon this, *Cromwel*, who was newly returned from *Ireland* (where he had been very Victorious) had the Chief Command of the Army conferred upon him, which he (after some little formal shew of denial) accepted of, and about the later end of *June* he marched towards *Berwick* in order to his advance into *Scotland*. The Scots whilst this preparation was making, sent many expostulatory Letters to Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* then at *Newcastle*, urging the breach of Covenant and the Union between the two Nations, which availed nothing; yet they did not neglect the raising an Army for their defence, for matters were at this time grown to a greater height than to be decided by the Pen.

Cromwel is made General of the Parliaments forces in stead of Fairfax.

The Scots raise an Army.

Cromwel upon repair to the Borders, published a Declaration in the name of the Parliament of *England* to justifie their proceedings in this manner towards the *Scots*, and to reproach a perverted part of them for that breach of the union betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to the English, (for they would not lay the blame of their imputations on the whole Nation) but so great was the affection of the generality of the people of *Scotland* towards the King, that this Declaration made little impression on them, though some privately kept intelligence with *Cromwel*, to the ruine of themselves and their Countrey.

About the end of *July* the English Army to the number of sixteen thousande effective, Officers and Souldiers, marched into *Scotland*, and came after little resistance (in the defence of some Passes) to *Mordington*; most of the *Scots* who inhabited the Borders had left their habitations, which put the Army into more streights for subsistance than they expected, but a fleet of English Ships waited on their motions on the coasts of *Scotland*, yet *Cromwel* pretending to commiserate the condition of the Scotch people, set forth a Declaration, promising Protection of their persons and goods to all that would return to their dwellings, with a strict prohibition on pain of death to any of the Souldiers to molest or do them any harm, or take from them any Victuals or other necessaries without full recompense in money for the same. 1650.

From *Mordington* the English Army marched to *Haddington*, and the Scotch Army lay encamped betwixt *Edenburgh* and *Leith*, consisting of six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen thousand Foot. *Cromwel* marched from *Haddington*, and came in view of the Scotch Army, where he observed them to be too strongly entrenched to be forced, and after he had fac'd them a day and a night without being able to draw them from their Intrenchments, he marched away towards *Musleburgh*; The *Scots* upon this retreat drew out all their Horse, and fell into the Rear of the English Army, which was commanded by *Lambert*, and made so brisk a Charge, that *Lambert* himself was wounded, and like to have been taken prisoner, but *Cromwel* came to his relief, and drove them back to their Camp, not without some loss. The next day betwixt three and four in the morning fifteen Coronets of the Scotch Horse commanded by Major General *Montgomery* and Colonel *Straughan* came out of their Line with design to beat up a Quarter of the English about *Musleburgh*, they surprized the out-Guards and routed the first Regiment that appeared to oppose them, and advanced to another Body, which was drawn together to succour the others; but there they met with so great resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, and the whole party put to great disorder and confusion, and pursued to their Army, and the Camp had been in danger of surprizal, had not the King himself (appearing unexpectedly amongst them) opposed the hazard of his person, and the Authority of his name against their precipitated flight. Of the Scots in this Engagement seventy four were taken prisoners and many slain, and *Straughan* himself was once taken but got off again.

The Scots routed at Musleburgh.

The pretended Parliament at *Westminster* were no less active there than *Cromwel* was in *Scotland* to carry on the designs and interest of the Republique, proceeding with all imaginable rigour against all persons that they could discover in any manner acting against their tyrannous Usurpation: and about this time one Doctor *Levens*, a Doctor of the Civil Law being apprehended with some Commissions of the Kings, which he had intention to disperse for his service, was therefore arraigned before a Court Marshal and condemned and executed by hanging by the neck till he died, on the 13 *th.* of *July*, over against the Royal Exchange in *London*.

Dr. Levens hanged over against the Royal Exchange for his Loyalty.

But in further manifestation of their impiety, they were not contented to have inhumanely murdered the King, and seized on, and disposed of all his goods and Revenues, but they insulted over those Statues which his Vertues had caused to be set up in the Royal Exchange, and the West end of St. *Pauls* Church; the first of these they ridiculously (in imitation of their barbarous cruelty) decollated, and Ordered it to be taken out of the Nich, and under the Basis thereof these words

The Kings Statues destroyed by order of Parliament.

1650. words were written, *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, Annoque Domini* 1648. which remained many years a testimony of their guilt, and a memorial to strangers of their bold-faced Treason, which gave not only Truth, but even Time it self the lye, for never was there such a thing as the first year of the peoples Liberty under their Anarchical Usurpation. The other Statue of the King being thrown from the place where it stood, fell upon its feet, which was then taken by many as a presage that his glorious Memory, Fame, and Posterity should recover and continue maugre all the designs and contrivements of his and their implacable Enemies.

In *Ireland* the Kings affairs prospered very ill, insomuch that in five or six weeks time the Parliamentarians had taken *Waterford*, *Duncannon*, *Caterloe* and *Charlemont*, and had great hopes of a plenary Conquest of that Countrey.

The Battel at Dunbar.

The Scotch and English Armies lying near one another without Engagement (because of the advantageous posture in which the Scots Troops were placed, having a great Hill for their security on one side, and a River and the City of *Edenburgh* on the other (*Cromwels* Army began to be distressed by scarcity of provisions, which made him retreat to *Pencland* Hills, and thence with some difficulty (by reason of bad weather) to *Musselburgh* to be near the Sea to have supply of Victuals from the English Fleet that attended him; and after a few days stay there, he marched to *Dunbar* on Sunday the first of *September* with intending to ship his Foot much wearied by sicknesses and long marches, and march away with his Horse into *England*; but the Scotch having intelligence thereof, pressed so hard upon him with their Army, that he could not effect his purpose; and the same day at night that he arrived at *Dunbar*, the Scots being close at his Heels drew up their whole Army (consisting of between twenty and four and twenty thousand men) upon a high Hill, within a mile of the Town; the English exceeding not the number of twelve thousand, drew out in Battalia in a Corn-field near adjoynjoyning, having a neck of Land to encamp on, whose breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next morning being the second of *September* early in the morning *David Lesly* Lieutenant General of the Scotch Army drew down his men to the foot of the Hill, and about four in the afternoon his Train of Artillery followed to the side of a great Ditch, which divided the two Armies. The English that evening ranged themselves close to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces in the most useful manner they could, to be ready to secure their Regiments, and annoy the Enemy if they should assail them in the night, and finding the Pass at *Copperspeth* between *Dunbar* and *Bernick* very necessary to them both for the security of their march homeward, and their more easie advance to the Scotch. On *Tuesday* at four in the morning they attempted with three Regiments of Horse and two of Foot to possess themselves thereof; this gave the Scots an hot Alarm, and a fierce dispute hapned, so that both Armies became engaged. The English word was *The Lord of Hosts*; Theirs, *The Covenant*.

The Scotch Right Wing of Horse which were most of them Launcers, made a very bold charge and put the English Horse to a little confusion, but they immediately rallied, and were so seconded by their foot, that by six in the morning the Right Wing of the Scotch Horse was routed, and the Left without striking a stroke ran away, and the Foot seeing this rout and flight of their horse, and not able in any order by reason thereof to engage (without any resistance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the English the full pursuit of them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The Scots were so presumptuous the day before as to send to *Edenburgh* to assure their friends of a certain Victory over the English, and it was reported that some of the Ministers declared it in their Sermons as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their hands; but in the midst of this confidence they found themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing and despised Enemy a Conqueror. The number of the Scotch slain in this Battel were reckoned to be four thousand, and nine thousand were taken prisoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thousand Arms. The Officers and Prisoners of most note were Sir *James Lumsdale*, next Commander in Quality to *David Lesly*, the Laird of *Liberton*, Adjutant General *Bickerton*, Scout-Master General *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglass*, and Colonel *Gourdon*, twelve Lieutenant Colonels, six Majors, forty two Captains, seventy five Lieutenants, seventeen Cornets, two Quartermasters, an hundred and ten Ensign-bearers, and two hundred Horse and Foot Colours, with seven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the loss of not above three hundred English Souldiers, and one Officer (Major *Rookesby*) who survived the Battel, but died afterwards of his wounds. 1650.

The Scots Army defeated by Cromwel.

The Scots after this days loss quitted *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, whereof the next day *Cromwel* took possession, and the King retired to St. *Johnstons*, where the Committee of Estates were assembled. The defeat of the Scotch Army produced not those effects as the King expected upon the Ruling part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for instead of enlarging their interest, by taking into their conjunction those whose help they had before rejected for their affection to their King. They ascribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into *Scotland* before he had given full satisfaction to the Kirk in what they required of him; and in prosecution of these Counsels, they began very much to impose upon him, and remove from his person the most faithful and Loyal of his Servants.

The King could not brook this insolent carriage toward him, and therefore resolved at any hazard to free himself from the trouble of it, and by advice of some few of his best and most trusty friends, he took horse one morning, with three of them in his company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking, and rode directly to the Lord *Dedaps* house near *Dundee*, where he was received by some of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept intelligence, and from hence he intended to have gone further North, where he heard the Marquess of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Athol* and *Seaforth*, and the Lord *Ogleby* and *Newburgh*

The King departs secretly from St. Johnstons in discontent.

1650. *Newburgh*, and Major General *Middleton*, with the *Gordons* and the men of *Atholl*, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible force, but he ſtaid till by an expreſs ſent to them he ſhould be inform'd of the certainty of their condition. 1650.

This ſecret and ſudden departure of the King did much perplex the Committee of Eſtates, who were very apprehenſive of the conſequence of his joyning with the *Gordons* and the *Atholl* men, and hearing he was gone to the Lord *Dedups* Houſe, they reſolved to ſend Major General *Mountgomery* with a party of Horſe to perſwade his return to them (many of the chiefs of the Noblemen and Miniſters being by this time ſenſible that theſe breaches and diviſions would but give the Engliſh (then in the bowels of their Countrey) greater advantage againſt them, and that nothing could ſave the whole from ruine, but a general uniting of all parties under the King againſt the common Enemie.) *Mountgomery* arriving at the houſe, ſent in to the King to acquaint him that he came thither by order of the Committee of Eſtates, humbly to entreat him to come back to St. *Johnſtons*, and being admitted to his preſence, he fell at his feet, beſeeching him to forget what ever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority, aſſuring him that he ſhould hereafter be obſerved with all imaginable duty and reſpect. The King having heard this Meſſage, conſidered with his friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not eaſily forget the impoſitions and reſtraints he had ſo lately endured, being perſwaded by their advice, that his return might be a means to unite all intereſts to him; and being aſſured by *Mountgomery* of the reality of thoſe at St. *Johnſtons* to his ſervice, he condeſcended to return with him thither, to the general joy of the moderate of all parties as well Covenanters as Royallists; yet he wanted not at the ſame time an aſſurance from the *Gordons* and the reſt in the North to ſecure him againſt the Kirk and all their adherents that ſhould oppoſe his Authority.

The Eſtates at St. Johnſtons ſend Major General Montgomery to fetch the King back.

The King returns back with Mountgomery to St. Johnſtons.

The Committee of Eſtates were much more compliant with the King at his return than before, and having ſummoned a general meeting to be held at St. *Johnſtons* conſiſting of the King, Lords, Barons and Burgeſſes to conſult for the good of the Kirk, King and Kingdome; together with the Commiſſioners of the Kirk then at *Sterling* to adjourn their ſitting thither; They applied themſelves to compoſe all differences amongſt diſſenters, of which the moſt formidable were, *Huntly*, *Middleton*, and thoſe in the North; but after a while, by the prudence of this aſſembly, and the good advice of the moderate Clergie, all was concluded; and the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Marqueſſe of *Huntly*, and the Earls of *Lythgow*, *Lauderdale*, *Calendar*, and *Craford*, *Lyndſey*, and the Lords *Buchein*, *Dedup*, and *Middleton* of the Scots, with many others were received into favour and promiſe of imployment in the Army; and of the Engliſh, The Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and ſome few other Royallists were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Maſſey*, *Graves* and *Titus*, were permitted neer his Perſon.

A grand Conventi-on held at St. Johnſtons.

Divers of the Royal Nobility received into the favour of this Aſſembly.

Whilſt theſe matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Eſtates at St. *Johnſtons*, *Cromwell* was not idle, he had begun to fortifie *Leith*, and laid a cloſe ſiege to *Edenburgh Caſtle*, and on the fourteenth of *September* he marched to *Lithgowe*, and from thence to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterling*, (neer which place the main of the Kings Army lay) and ſent a ſummons to the Town, but was reſolutely denied by the Governor, and he returned back to *Lithgowe*, where General *Deane* came to him from *England* with recruits of men and ſupplies of all ſorts of proviſions: But ſince he could not effect any thing againſt *Sterlin*, he reſolved to try what might be done in the Weſt of *Scotland*, and in *October* he marched to *Glaſcow* upon intelligence that Major General *Mountgomery* was ordered by the King to march into thoſe parts, to ſecure that County which was then wavering in their allegiance. In this expedition he hoped to prevail very much either by ſubduing *Ker* and *Straughan* (who lay in thoſe parts) to his power, or gaining them to his party; which was a deſign he had long before projected, and ſo far by his inſinuations proceeded in it, that Mr. *John Guthery*, Mr. *Patrick Gelasby*, and Mr. *Rutherford* Miniſters, with many others of that order withdrew from the Aſſembly at St. *Johnſtons*, and in print remonſtrated in the name of themſelves and the Weſtern Churches *againſt the preſent proceedings, and the admiſſion of Malignants* (ſuch they call'd the Kings beſt Subjects) *to power and imployment*; And with theſe *Ker*, *Straughan*, the Laird of *Warreſton*, Sir *John Chieſly*, and Sir *James Stuart* and others confederated.

The diſſatisfied Miniſters remonſtrate againſt the proceedings of the Eſtates at St. Johnſtons.

The Eſtates and Commiſſioners of the Kirk at St. *Johnſtons* reſented much this Remonſtrance and the defection of the Miniſters, but no means they could then uſe was of force to reconcile them; inſomuch, that the diviſion of publick Reſolutioners and Remonſtrators (for by thoſe names they were diſtinguiſhed) continued in that Kingdome with much animoſity till the year 1660. that the King was reſtored to the full exerciſe of his Authority, though the cauſe thereof (which was the joyning all intereſts to oppoſe the invaſion of a forein Army) had long ceaſed, but by that occaſion *Cromwells* Conqueſt was made very eaſie, and his fomenting that rent in their Church, made their ſubjection to his authority more laſting than otherwiſe it would have been.

The King was deſirous to compoſe this diſorder, or at leſt to prevent the dividing ſo great a force as was under *Ker* and *Straughan* from his ſervice; and to that end, the Earl of *Caſſells* and the Lord *Broody*, and Mr. *Robert Douglas* the Miniſter were ſent to treat with them; but they were ſomewhat averſe to a compoſure, yet they declared againſt any conjunction with *Cromwell*, profeſſing equally againſt Malignants and Sectaries: nevertheleſs, *Ker* upon information that *Straughan* held intelligence with *Cromwell*, was at length ſo far induced to comply, that he took

him

1650. him Prisoner, and sent him to *Dunbarton Castle*, from whence he was afterwards removed to *Cathnes*; but after a while by the negligence or connivance of his Keepers he escaped to *Edenburgh* to the English.

Cromwell, whilst he was at *Glascow*, had intelligence that the Kings Army intended to relieve *Edenburgh Castle*, which made him return thither, and leave Major General *Lambert* with a good Brigade to make inpression in the Western parts. He after some inquiry discovered a ford over *Hamilton* River, over which on the last of *November* he marched his Souldiers; *Ker* had intelligence of this, and at a Town of that name, he resolutely fell into *Lamberts* quarters, but the English Horse had so soon the alarm, that they drew together, and so well received his Charge, that a hundred of the Scots were kill'd, and the rest routed and pursued as far as *Ayr*, and *Ker* himself (having his right hand almost cut off) was taken prisoner.

Col. Ker defeated, and taken Prisoner by Major General Lambert,

Lambert left Colonel *Whally* with some Troops at *Ayr* to command in those Western parts, and return'd himself to the gross of the Army.

In *England* some attempts were made for the Kings service, but without success, and particularly in *Norfolk*, many Gentlemen & others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surprised and suppressed by two Troops from *Lyn*, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joyned with them, and twenty of them being afterward found guilty by an illegal High Court of Justice, were sentenced to death, and executed thereupon.

The rising in Norfolk for the King, supprest,

Edenburgh Castle had been besieged some moneths with little loss on either side, and *Derbyshire* Miners were brought out of *England* to undermine it, who carried on the work sixty foot, but the rock was so hard they could work no further.

The Governour was one *Dundasse*, a Son in Law of old *Leven*, who was so practis'd on by *Cromwell*, that he surrendred the Castle on the 24*th*. of of *December* upon the ensuing conditions.

Edenburgh Castle surrendred to Cromwell.

1. *The Castle to be surrendred to* Cromwell *with all the Ordnance, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War.*

2. *The Governour and all the Officers and Souldiers to march out with Colours displayed, Drum beating, Match lighted, and Bullet in mouth, and to be conveyed to what place they should desire, and every Souldier to have what Baggage he could carry.*

3. *The Publick moveables, Records, Writs and Evidences, to be removed to* Sterlin, *or to* Fife.

4. *Proclamation to be made, that all that had Goods in the Castle, to come or send to own and receive them.*

5. *All sick or wounded Officers and Souldiers to have liberty to stay in* Edenburgh.

6. *Horses and Waggons or other Carriage to be by the English provided for the Governor and the Officers for their convenience of Travel.* 1650.

7. *Hostages to be given mutually for the performance of the Conditions.*

The King and the Committee of Estates were much troubled at the news of this loss, and the the more, because thereby they perceived, that what the force of their Enemies could not gain from them, their own divisions, and the perfidious treachery of false friends would deprive them of. There were found in the Castle five French Cannon, nine Dutch demi-Cannon, two Culverins, two demi-Culverins, two Minions, two Faulcons, eight and twenty brass Drakes, two Petards, eight thousand Arms, neer eighty Barrels of Powder, and a proportionable store of Cannon-shot, with good store of Oatemeal, Butter, fresh Water, and Beef and Pork.

The Master-gunner reported, that when the Guns were drawing to the Batteries, he had so planted his Pieces, that those of the Enemie could not have been planted but with great loss of men in the action; but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden so to do by the Governor, on pain of death.

Abernethy his confident went often out of the Castle, on pretence to get intelligence, but the business was to make a bargain with *Cromwell* for the Castle, and when it was surrendred, he staid at *Edenburgh*, and was ever after a promoter of the designs of the English for the Conquest and enslaving of his native Countrey.

After the loss of *Edenburgh Castle*, all the Forts on this side of *Sterlin* were taken by the English, so that those of the Scots that were loyal to the King, applied themselves with all diligence to raise what Forces they could to compleat an Army; and that his authority might have the greater strength and reverence of the people, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation; which was on the first of *January* solemniz'd at *Scoone* a few miles distant from St. *Johnstons* (the accustomed place of Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*) the King being the forty eighth Monarch of that Kingdome there crowned.

The King solemnly Crown'd at Scoon.

It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonefires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much pomp and ceremony as the present state of things would permit: The Nobility, Barons and Burgesses, went from St. *Johnstons* to *Scoon* in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; (the whole Scotch Army, which stood all the way as a Guard between those two places, making a Lane for them as they went along.) In the Presence Chamber, (where the Lord of *Angus* attended as Lord Chamberlain for that day,) was plac'd a Chair of State, where the King sate with all his Lords and Attendants about him: after a low obeysance made to him by all the Company, the Marquess of *Argile* made a Speech;

1650. *Wherein he declared the affections of the Parliament, Assembly and People to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them happy, in bringing* England *and all their Enemies in subjection to him and them:* Moreover he added, *That the Parliament of* Scotland *were come to present his Majesty with the Crown, Sword and Scepter.*

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in order before him to the Kirk of *Scoon*, where, in the midst of a large Stage of 24 foot square, a plat-form was erected with an ascent of two steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for the King to sit on; the Canopy of Crimson Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords *Drummond*, *Carnegie*, *Ramsey*, *Johnston*, *Brechin* and *Yester*; his Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lord *Ereskin*, *Mountgomery*, *Newbottle*, *Machlene*; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the sons of Noblemen: On the Kings right hand went the Lord Great Constable, on his left, the Lord Great Marshal; the Honours were carried before him by the chiefest of the Nobility, in this order; Immediately before him went the Earl of *Argaile* carrying the Crown, next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of *Craford Lindsey*, the Sword by the Earl of *Rothes*, the Spurs by the Earl of *Eglington*: As soon as they were entred into the Kirk, and the King seated in his Throne, he took the usual Oath which his Predecessors the Kings of *Scotland* were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the three Estates of *Scotland*, namely, the Marquess of *Argaile* (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Burgess holding the Crown among them; then they delivered it to three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament to present it unto him. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this form;

SIR,

I do present unto You, King Charles, *the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.*

Then turning his face towards the People, he said,

Are you willing to have Him for your King, and to become subject to Him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the people cried out with a loud Voice, *God save King Charles the* Second. Then after he had been anointed by the three Ministers with the Regal Unction, the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquess of *Argaile*, the Scepter was also given into his hand by the Earl of *Lindsey*, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of *Rothes*. As soon as the Crown was put upon his head, he made this short Speech to the people,

I do esteem the affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by Gods assistance, to bestow my life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom to flourish in all Happiness. 1650.

Adding many other expressions of his Love and Affection to the people, and afterwards Mr. *Robert Douglass* made an hortatory Oration or Sermon to his Majesty.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful entertainment prepared, the King sate at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Caresses and Testimonies of joy all Dinner time between them; after which they all returned to St. *Johnstons*, in the same order and pomp they came from thence to *Scoon*.

After the Coronation, the King intended to march Northwards to hasten the Levies there made, by his presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the *Highlands*, promising to compleat their numbers with all expedition, He went no further than *Aberdeen*; in the mean time, that those Scots that opposed his Authority might be less able to seduce others, *Straughan*, *Swinton*, Colonel *Dundasse* (the late Governour of *Edenburgh*) Major *Abernethy*, Captain *Giffan*, and *Andrews*, were on the 14 *th.* of *January* excommunicated for complying with the English.

The King having visited *Aberdeen*, *Dundee*, and several other good Towns, return'd to St. *Johnstons* to be present at the assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the second of *March*, and the Duke of *Hamilton* and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the Kirk, were admitted to their seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable care for the raising of Souldiers, and proscribed and sequestred the Persons and Estates of all that held correspondence with the English, and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the 17 *th.* of *April*, and sent *Middleton* into the North to raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other parts to imploy their interests to draw Souldiers together; and till they should again be convened, a Counsel of State and Committee of War were appointed of select persons out of each of the three Estates.

1651. Great care was taken for the fortifying of the Town of *Sterlin*, the King himself going often to view the Works, and incourage the expediting thereof. In the mean time on the 15 *th.* of *April* in a misse, the Lord *Mountgomery* Son to the Earl of *Eglington*, and the Lord *Cranston*, with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, march'd from *Sterlin*, and resolutely fell into *Lithgow*, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in haste meet with, they retreated; yet before they could get to *Sterlin*, Major *Sydenham* the Governour of *Lithgow* with a good party pursued, overtook and charged them, but were so well received by the Scots, that Sixty of the English were slain, and *Sydenham* himself so wounded, that he died shortly after. This good fortune of the Scotch did not long continue, for a while after the Earl of *Eglington* the Father of this Lord Lord *Mountgomery* with one of his Brothers, were taken at *Dunlarton* by one Captain *Crook* of Colonel *Berrys*

Major Sydenham worsted by the Lord Mountgomery.

The Earl of Eglinton taken by Captain Crook.

1651. *Cromwel* being at *Edenburgh*, having notice how the Kings Army lay encamped at *Sterlin*, and that abundance of Provisions was brought in dayly in order to an intended march into *England*; and that he might be in readiness to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together and encamped near *Edenburgh*.

The Parliament of *Scotland* were about this time again assembled at St. *Johnstons*, and very busie in consultation about their Militia, and providing for the peace and security of the Kingdom. *Middletons* Northern Levies amounted to near eight thousand, and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or joyn with the Southern Army; but at last a conjunction of all was agreed; but because there was some emulation betwixt *Lesly* and *Middleton* about chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it to himself to prevent all discontents therein.

The 29*th.* of *May*, being the Kings Birthday, was celebrated in *Scotland* with great solemnity and feasting, and there was a Muster of all the Troops and Companies, and at night all the streets blazed with Bon-fires, and the Cannons were shot off from *Sterlin*, *Brunt-Island*, and the rest of the Scotch Garrisons; but not any place shewed their affection to the King in so particular a manner as the Town of *Dundee*, from which a large contribution of money was collected towards his assistance, and the Citizens presented to him a rich and stately Tent, and six pieces of Ordnance, and raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge.

The Kings Birth-day celebrated by the Scots.

About the beginning of *June* the Parliament of *Scotland* ended, having before their dissolution given large Commissions and instructions for the pressing of men in all parts of the Kingdom beyond *Fife*, and in the Western parts for a new Army, which was to consist of fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse and Dragoons.

An Act of Oblivion in Scotland.

They concluded in a very calm and admirable temper, having passed an Act of Oblivion for all things done thitherto, inviting thereby all parties to joyn in carrying on the service of the King, and a new Ingagement with the Sacrament was taken by all the Nobility and Officers and Souldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all faction and division seemed in a great measure to be obliterated, and *Warreston* and those with him, that were treacherous or dissenters not before summon'd, were on the penalty of Excommunication to appear at the Assembly at *Sterlin* by a limited time.

Cromwel was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any opportunity to draw the Scotch Army to Engagement, and for that purpose he marched to *Newbridge*, and from thence to *Lithgow*, where from the Battlements of the Castle he discerned the Tents of the Scotch Army encamped in *Torwood* about four miles on this side *Sterlin*, having cast up a regular and well fortified Line with Bulworks and Guns mounted for their defence, and having a River behind them, over which they might at pleasure pass.

The King did not think the force he should raise in *Scotland* able to fight *Cromwel* and invade *England*, without some preparations there for his assistance, to divide the English Forces at home, to which end he kept intelligence with several of his friends in *London*, *Lancashire* and other parts. And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Major General *Massey* should with a Body of Horse march into *England* to joyn with a Party in *Lancashire*, who were were by a prefixt time to be in Arms: but in the midst of these endeavours all their hopes were blasted by the taking of a Ship at *Ayr* in *Scotland*, which had been bound to the Earl of *Derby* in the Isle of *Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Berkenhead* an Agent in the business, by whose Letters all was detected, and thereupon were apprehended, Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays*-Inn, Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, and Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary, together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and Doctor *Drake* and several other Presbyterian Ministers, who were brought before a High Court of Justice, and tried for their lives, and about the later end of *July*, *Gibbons*, *Potter*, and *Love* were sentenced to death, and a while after *Gibbons* and *Love* were executed; for at this time the English Parliament thought it necessary to shew some severity to the Presbyterian Party, to deter them from joyning with the Scots upon their coming with the King into *England*, which was dayly expected.

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The intended rising in Lancashire unfortunately disappointed.

Mr. Love & others tried for their lives.

Love and Gibbons executed.

Cromwel finding his Provision begin to be scarce, marched on the 3 of *July* close to the Scotch Trenches, and drew up his Army in Battalia, to provoke them to Battel; whereupon they in the night planted most of their Cannon on the brow of the Hill, and the next morning saluted the English with fifty great shot, which made *Cromwel* draw back, and give over a resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect any thing here, he made it his next work to land some of his Forces on *Fife*-side; and for that service Col. *Overton* was sent with 1600 foot, and four Troops of Horse, who at *Queensferry* without much difficulty forced his landing & *Cromwel* at the same time marched up with his whole Army close to the Scots, with an intent to have fallen upon their Rear, in case they should have moved that way to disturb the enterenterprize. Yet to drive the English out of *Fife* 4000 Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them, under the Command of Sir *John Brown*, which was not done so privately, but *Cromwel* had notice of it, and he sent Major General *Lambert* and Colonel *Okey* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, who were transported over the water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir *John Brown*, and gave him an overthrow, and took himself and Colonel *Buchanan* and fourteen hundred more prisoners, and slew about two thousand; by which Victory the English gained so firm a footing in *Fife*, that they were not easily to be repelled: and soon after *Brunt-Island*, and a strong Castle upon the River called *Inchgarvy* were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that course which long since had been designed, to march directly for *England*. *Cromwel* that he might make himself master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, resolved first to set upon St. *Johnstons*, which after one days Siege was gained. And the King

The English land forces on Fife side.

Sir John Brown defeated by Maj. Gen. Lambert.

Brunt Island and Inchgarvy Castle taken by the English.

1651. as soon as he had knowledge of this loss, marched with his Army with all haste Southwards: this departure of the King, altered *Cromwels* designs upon *Sterlin*, and he drew his Forces back again over the *Frith*, making what expedition he could to overtake his Majesty; but the Scots were many days march before him. Major General *Harrison* with about 3000 Horse and Dragoons that lay neerest *England*, had Orders to march to attend the Kings motions, and Major General *Lambert* with about as many more was appointed by advice of a Councel of War, to speed after them, & endeavour to fall upon their Rear; and *Cromwel* himself began his March from *Leith* with a thousand Horse and Foot, the very same day the Royal Army entred upon English ground by the way of *Carlisle*, which was on the 6 th. of *August*. Upon the expectation of the Kings coming into *England*, a party in North-*Wales* began to rise, intending to have joyned with the Earl of *Derby*, who was to come from the Isle of *Man*; but this design undertaken, as it was, precipitately, and managed without order, soon vanisht to nothing.

St Johnstons taken by Cromwels forces.

The King enters England with his Army.

By that time the King was come with his Army as far as *Lancashire*, he was somewhat hard beset both by the Forces that followed him out of *Scotland*, and those that in a short time were raised in *England* against him: he had in his Rear General *Cromwel*, (who had left General *Monk* Commander in Chief in his absence with a small dis-joynted force to carry on the work in *Scotland*:) in his Van were the two Major Generals *Lambert* and *Harrison*, who by long Marches got before him, unto whom there came up two thousand of the Countrey Militia out of *Staffordshire*, and four thousand under the Command of Colonel *Birch* out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts; and to flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* in *Yorkshire* appeared in the field with many Troopes: Moreover, the City of *London* poured out a good part of its Militia, and the adjacent Counties, were by strict Order of the Parliament enjoyn'd to set out men and Horses at their own charges: nor (which was the worst presage) did the Scotch Army it self keep entire, being curtailed of about five thousand men, which dropt away by degrees, there remaining not compleat, as was generally supposed, by that time they came to *Worcester* thirteen thousand men. The Kings hopes also failed him of the general coming in of the Country; for the most considerable supply that came to him, was only one Troop of Horse commanded by Capt. *Cicil Howard*, Son of the L. *Howard* of *Estrich*: nor is it much wondr'd at, since the Parliaments Forces had so powerfully overspread the Countrey, that none could well have the opportunity to stir in behalf of the King; so that before the deciding blow was given, they appeared to be in a very lost and hopeless posture: but the condition of the Scotch Army at this time is best discovered in some intercepted Letters of the Earl of *Lauderdale* and others: In one of the Earls, he writes thus:

The great opposition that he meets with,

The Earl of Lauderdales intercepted Letters.

Never men (saith he in one of them) *were more hearty, for all their toyl, and seriously you would not know this Army; a natural purge is whol-*

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some, (speaking of those that withdrew themselves) *and I hope ours is so, since the ill humors are gone. The Country is kind, & we might have men enough. His Majesty received the Lord* Howards *Son gratiously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his duty.*

And in another he hath to this effect:

His Majesty is advanced into England *as far as* Perith *with a very good Army, able by the blessing of God to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of those with which the* * *King of* Sweden *entred* Germany: *never was any Army so regular as we have been since we came into* England; *I dare say, we have not taken the worth of six pence; and what you hear of our misfortune in* Fife, *or what ever our Enemies print or write, trust none; this is the best* Scots *Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this cause with their King, have upon a specious pretence most of them left us. This is a natural purge, and will do us much good.*

* 6000 Men were all with which the King of Sweden first entred Germany.

The Lord Wentworths Letter to the L. Crofts

And the Lord *Wentworth* in a Letter to my Lord *Crofts*, writes thus, *By Gods Grace we are come as far as* Perith *in* Cumberland, *with a good Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Command, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the Command of his Father.*

But in one of Duke *Hamiltons* to the same Lord, things appear not so well as those Relations describe, his Letter says thus;

Duke Hamiltons to the same.

We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of our present state: We have quit Scotland *being scarce able to maintain it, and yet we grasp at all, and nothing but all will satisfie us, or to lose all. I confess, I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest; but we have one stout Argument, Despair, for we must now either stoutly fight, or die: all the Rogues have left us, I shall not say, whether for fear or disloyalty; but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.*

The King proclaimed at the head of his Army in England.

The King at his first entrance upon English ground was proclaimed King of Great *Britain* at the Head of the Army with great acclamations and shooting off the Cannon, he being then at *Perith* in *Cumberland*, and so afterwards at every Market-Town through which he marcht. He met no considerable resistance till he came to *Warrington*-Bridge, where *Lambert* endeavoured to impede his passage, but the King made his way through with loss to his opposer; and the Parliament at *London* began to apprehend the prosperity of his fortune; but his wearied forces could not it seems hold out a march of that length, so that he came on the 22 *th.* of *August* to *Worcester*, where after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entred, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only not opposed, but also helpt to beat the Parliaments Souldiers out of the Town. Advice came to the King of the distracted condition of those in *London*, which occasioned a debate in Councel there-

The King comes to Worcester.

1651. thereupon for his repair thither, but upon the result it was resolved on as a thing most agreeable to their present condition to stay where they were, and to make good all the Passes that were thereabouts for their better security. On the 27*th.* of *August* they kept a solemn Fast, and the next day had a general Rendezvouze, at which the Countrey came in far more considerably than at any time before, since their arrival in *England*. The King as he was in his march to *Worcester*, dispatched away Messages and invitations unto several Governours of Towns and Castles, to deliver up unto his use those places which they had of his in their possession, and principally to Sir *Thomas Middleton* Governour of *Chirk*-Castle in *Shropshire*, and to Colonel *Mackworth* Governour of *Shrewsbury*: To the first the Earl of *Derby* also writ, and the Letters were sent by one *Simkins*, whom Sir *Thomas* caused to be seized and sent to *Wrexham*: To the Governour of *Shrewsbury* both a Letter and a Summons were sent by a Trumpetter, which we think remarkable enough to be here inserted, together with his Answer, to shew the temper of those then in Authority.

The King's Letter and Summons to Col. Mackworth Governor of Shrewsbury.

Colonel Mackworth:

Having sent you herewith a Summons to render into my hands my Town, with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *I cannot but perswade my self you will do it, when I consider you a Gentleman of an ancient house, and of very different Principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment ranks you at present. If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon you what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons, and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent & seasonable a Testimony of your Loyalty with future trust and favour, and do leave it to your self to propose the Particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve my self*

Your friend

C. R.

The Summons was in these words:

Colonel Mackworth:

Being desirous to attempt all fair ways for recovering our own, before we proceed to force and extremity, and (where the Controversie is with subjects) accounting that a double Victory, which is obtained without effusion of Blood, whereby the hearts, that of right belong to us, are gained as well as their strengths: We do hereby summon you to surrender unto us our Town with the Castle of Shrewsbury, *as in duty and Allegeance by the Laws of God and the Land you are bound to do, thereby not only preventing the mischiefs which you may otherwise draw upon your self and that place, but also opening the first door to peace and quietness and the enjoyment of every one both King and People, of that which appertains to them, under certain and known Laws, the end for which we are come. Given at Our Camp at* Tong-Norton, *this* 20 th. *of* August.

Unto this Letter and Summons the Governour returned this answer.

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Col. Mackworths answer.

For the Commander in Chief of the Scotish Army.

SIR,

By your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Propesition, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, *the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my Trust; to the violation whereof neither allurements can perswade me, nor threatning of force, especially when but Paper ones, compel me. What Principles I am judged to be of, I know not, but I hope they are such as shall ever declare me honest, and no way differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same imployment with me, who, should they desert that cause they are embarqued in; I resolve to be found, as I am immoveable, the faithful servant of the Commonwealth of* England.

H. Mackworth.

About two or three days before the Kings arrival at *Worcester*, the Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Weymater* in *Lancashire*, came to him with two hundred and fifty Foot and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the Isle of *Man*, and immediately returning back into *Lancashire* to raise a more considerable force, he soon gathered about 1200 men, and so much was he beloved in those parts: that a little more time had made him formidable: with these he was marching upon a design to fall upon *Cromwels* own Regiment then quartered at *Lancaster* in their march towards him; but news came to him of Colonel *Lilburnes* approach towards him with ten Troops of Horse (which were ordered out of *Yorkshire* on purpose to hinder his Levies) and two Regiments of *Cheshire* Foot: The Earl nothing dismayed at this Force, resolved to engage *Lilburn* and his party, before the other Troops could come to him, and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an impression so far into their Body, that they began to be disordred, till the accession of fresh Reserves both of Horse and foot so overpowred his numbers, that they were totally vanquished: most of the Kings party were Horse, and the fight was in Lanes, where they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musquettiers. There were taken prisoners of Quality, the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tiderlsley*, Colonel *Matthew Boynton*, Sir *Francis Gamul*, Major *Trollop*, Sir *William Throgmorton*, Colonel *Richard Legg*, Colonel *Ratcliff*, *Gerard*, and some others whose names we know not, and many of these named died of their wounds. The Earl of *Derby* (having lost his George and Garter) fled with about thirty Horse towards *Worcester*, having sheltred himself one night in his way in a house called *Boscobel*, which Heaven by this means had prepared for the Kings retreat and preservation.

The Earl of Derby comes with forces to the King.

The Earl of Derby routed by Col. Lilburn.

By this time *Cromwel* had surrounded *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields: The first Pass endeavoured to be taken

Cromwel surrounds Worcester.

1651. ken was *Upton*-Bridge on *Fleetwoods* side, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, and after a brisk dispute wrested from Colonel *Massey*, who in defence thereof received a wound in his hand.

The pass at Upton taken by Lambert.

The Scots having thus abandoned the place where they were, it was presently possest by a strong party of Horse and foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The Kings Army were drawn up very near to *Worcester*, and made many excursions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River *Team* betwixt the Enemy and them, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage; but *September* the 3 *d.* that ominous day being arrived, *Cromwel* resolved to venture the event upon its former *Auspicia*, and to that purpose having his Boats in readiness, he passed over his men in the afternoon of that day, and drew them all into a fighting posture, and having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on, the fight was begun in this manner.

The Worcester Fight.

Cromwel himself in person (about four of the Clock with his Life-Guard and Colonels *Hackers* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the intire Regiments of Colonel *Ingoldsby* and Colonel *Fairfax*, marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* advanced with Colonel *Goffs* and Major General *Deans* Regiments; the Kings forces encountring them at the hedges betwixt the City and them, and disputing every field with them, in such order and with such gallantry, that those already engaged (lest they should be wholly discouraged with the hotness of the service) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress was yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent fire-men, and coming to the but-end of Musquet, till wearied with continual action, and their Ammunition spent, the King (being then upon the place) commanded them in some haste into the City, and hastened himself to the other side, where Colonel *Hayns* his Regiment with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick*-Bridge, and were entertained with no less man-hood and slaughter, than those on the other side; and though one Colonel *Matthews* was the Reserve to these two Regiments, yet did the Scotch foot fairly drive them from their ground, till at last being harrassed out, and no seconds or supplies to be expected, in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, as did another Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray*, and Colonel *Gibbons* joyned with two others on an other part. The Kings Army was drawn very close together, and sent out several Bodies, who charged very briskly on the Generals side, where the fight was hottest, (He having brought on the Militia forces to relieve his other Troops.) In the head of one of these Bodies the King himself charged with marvellous gallantry and conduct, and press'd so hard upon *Cromwels* Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much disordered, and the Captain very dangerously wounded; and in another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, (who behaved himself with undaunted courage and resolution) received a shot on his thigh, whereof presently after he died.

Duke Hamilton slain at this fight.

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The Militia Regiments of *Essex*, *Surry*, and *Cheshire* were much annoyed by the Scots, and many of their men slain, but *Cromwel* drew on fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, which were in reserve, of the Veterane bands, by which the Royallists were so overpowred, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with such order, but many of the *Cromwellians* got in with them; *Lesley* with 2000 Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve his party, when the enemy entred. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and about 7 at night the Enemy gained the Fort Royal; at which time his Majesty left the City, passing out at St. *Martins* Gate, accompanied with about sixty Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, (though many more pressed to bear him company) and it was reported that *Cobbet* very narrowly mist of him as he left his lodging.

The King defeated at Worcester, but made his escape.

The Enemies foot was now got into the Town, and according to their order fell a plundering the Inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any that they found in the streets: and through this their greediness of spoil, they kept the Gates shut, and the Horse out, lest they should have shared the better part; and thereby favoured (as God would have it) the Kings escape: some Scots who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained Quarter for life; by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester*, friend or foe, left worth a shilling of what they had in the Town; but the Royal Inhabitants lost least by the ravage (being supplied with fresh Wares to their desires by the honest Citizens of *London* without any scruple of credit or payment, and their debts were forborn till such time as God should enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market for all necessaries and upon all occasions. The Mayor (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to prison, and the wife of one *Guyes* (whose husband for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with 200 *lib. per annum*, and 200 *lib.* in money.

Worcester miserably plundered.

There were slain in the field, in the Town, and in pursuit some 2000. and about 8000 were taken prisoners in several places; most of the English Common-men escaping by their *Shibboleth*; But at *Newport* in the pursuit there were taken, the Earl of *Lauderdale*, Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, the now Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham*, Colonel *Graves*, Master *Richard Fanshaw*, Secretary to the King, many also whose names we have not, (*viz.*) 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, 8 Lieutenant Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter-Masters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken also some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quartermasters, 80 of the Kings Servants, with the

Kings

1651. Kings Standard, which he had ſet up when he ſummoned the Countrey, the Kings Coach and Horſes, and Collar of SS, but the Kings Perſon they had no power to touch, which recompenſed all the other loſs.

He (as was ſaid before) departed in the dusk, leaving Colonel *Careleſs* in his Rear, to keep the Enemie in diſpute, while he was ſomething forward on his way, & the approaching night might favour his eſcape. To which end, all perſons about him were commanded to ſpeak French, and a preſent Conſultation was held which courſe they ſhould ſteer, and it was reſolved by my Lord of *Derby*, that they ſhould make what ſpeed they could, and recover a place called *Whiteladies* before morning, which was ſome 25 miles from *Worceſter*; and thereupon one Maſter *Giffard* then in the company, was called for his guidance thither; and one *Walker* (that had been formerly a Scout-maſter in the Kings Army) was his aſſiſtant, yet the way was miſtaken as they paſſed a Heath, but by good providence ſoon recovered.

The King deliberates whither to flye.

Betwixt three and four a clock the King reached this place, and Maſter *Giffard* (after ſome knocking at the door,) called up one *George Penderill*, a Servant in the Houſe, who hearing and knowing his voice, ran down in his ſhirt and opened the door, and the King and his Retinue entred; where after a little debate about the ſecurity of his perſon, the ſaid Earl having called thither *William Penderill* the Houſe-keeper of *Boſcobell*, and diſpatch'd another towards *Tong* to ſee if the Coaſt was yet clear; His Majeſty in the mean while had his hair cut off, and his Buff-doublet and Linnen-breeches buried, and he was diſguiſed in Countrey habit, with adjuration of the fidelity of the *Pendrills* (who were now with their Brother in Law *George Yates* in number five) committed & entruſted by the E. of *Derby* to their fidelity, which they moſt ſolemnly and dutifully promiſed. Then the Earl and the reſt of the Lords, *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham* and that Train, with tears took their leave (*Derby* would have ſtaid, but there was no probability of ſecrecie for two) and my Lord *Wilmot* with *John Pendrill* withdrew himſelf from that company to another retreat; the reſt (except the Duke who lay concealed in other friends houſes about that Countrey) were taken as aforeſaid at *Newport* by *Lilburns* Horſe, the ſame who had defeated the Earl of *Derby*, who now rendred himſelf a Priſoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancaſhire*, on promiſe of quarter for life.

The Lords leave him at Whiteladies

As ſoon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand, he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice neer adjoyning, taking the name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work, and was accordingly inſtructed in his Tongue and Behaviour: That day proved very wet, ſo that *Yates* his Wife brought him a blanket to cover him, and a diſh of Milk and Apples for his refreſhment; and at night againſt his coming home (where the Mother of the *Pendrills* at her Son *Richard*'s houſe, moſt joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Countrey Supper, which ended; the

The King perſonates a Wood-cutter.

King with *Richard* his guide reſolved for *Wales*, and went to one Maſter *Wolfes* of *Madely*, where for fear of ſearch, he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Maſter *Wolfe* and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majeſty underſtood that the paſſes over the Water, and the River *Wy*, were ſo guarded, that it was unſeaſonable for him to adventure into *Wales*, ſo that on Friday night he retreated in his woollen accoutrements about his legs (in which he had lain in that hard lodging in great pain and ſoreneſs) to *Boſcobell*, where he found Colonel *Careles* (who had alſo betaken himſelf thither for ſhelter; and by his direction, that Saturday the King went into the Wood, (from the pleaſantneſs whereof the houſe took its name,) and by Ladders aſcended into the top of that moſt celebrated Oak, which being thick with branches ſtretching and ſhadowing fore-right, was altogether impervious to the ſight; and here the Colonel bore him company while he laid his head, and ſlept upon a pillow in his lap. At night they both deſcended, and came into the houſe and refreſh'd themſelves; and the King perceiving the ſecrecie of the place, was not willing to keep longer abroad. He paſt away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banquetting-houſe at the end of the Garden, and there *John Pendrill* came to him from my Lord *Wilmot*, to conduct him to Mr. *Whitgraves* houſe at *Moſeley*; whither with much difficulty and danger he himſelf had arrived, but the ſafety there anſwered all. The King approved of my Lord *Wilmots* advice, and on Monday night (with the guard of the five brethren) and the help of the Millers horſe, he came to Mr. *Whitgraves*, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a ſecret place; and there it was conſidered what courſe to take for a further progreſſion in the Kings eſcape; & to this purpoſe one Colonel *Lane* of *Bently* was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Miſtreſs *Jane Lane* upon pretence of aſſiſting at the Child-bed of her Siſter, ſhould ride to *Briſtol*, and the King as her Servant ride before her, with one Mr. *Laſſels* and his Wife behind him, and a Paſs for their more ſecurity in travel was procured.

Comes to Roſcobel, where Col. Careles directs him to the Oak.

To Maſter Whitegraves at Moſeley.

Mrs. Jane Lane undertakes to convey him to Briſtol.

On their way thither, my Lord *Wilmot* (as of chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his fiſt, and ſo they journeyed together to *Bromſgrave*, where the Kings Horſe loſing a ſhooe, He was forc'd to carry his Horſe to a Farrier, who inquiring of News of the King, and being anſwered by his Majeſty, *that he believed the King was eſcaped into* Scotland, he replied, *that no doubt the King was ſecretly ſomewhere in* England, *and wiſh'd he knew where, for that he could get a* 1000 *l. by taking of him.* The King departing from thence, comes to *Eveſham*, where adviſing how to avoid Troopers then grazing their Horſes in the Meadows adjoyning, they lighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them paſs on their way to *Cirenceſter* to the Crown, where they lodged that night, and went the next day towards *Briſtol* within three Miles of the City, to the houſe of Mr. *Norton* of *Leigh*, the deſigned journeys end. Here the King feigned himſelf ſick, and took his Chamber by

1651. by the order and care of Mrs. *Lane*; but the next morning coming into the Cellar, he was taken notice of by the Butler, one *John Pope*, a Souldier formerly in the late Kings Army, who upon an intent look discerned him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such assurance of fidelity, that he gained his Majesties belief so far, as to be imployed by him in getting a Ship for his transportation: thence the King was conducted by my Lord *Wilmot* to one Colonel *Windhams* House at *Trent* in *Dorset-shire*, where he continued almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from *Lime*: Soon after his arrival here, Mrs. *Jane Lane* with Mr. *Lassels* parted, being openly entertained as Kinsfolk, and came in safety back again to *Stafford-shire*.

The King at Colonel Windhams.

My Lord Wilmot and he prevail'd with a Merchant to procure a Pass, but were disappointed.

The occurrences that hapned here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a passage which a Merchant had procured for him at *Lime*, (by my Lord *Wilmot* and Colonel *Windhams* means;) and though the fault was was not in the Merchant, but the dejected spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this disappointment had like to have proved the Kings ruine, by the shooing of my Lord *Wilmots* Horse, (there was one Mr. *Hen. Peters* that attended him for his Guide.) The Hostler and the Smith discovered by the shooes, that they were come somewhere from the Northern parts by their manner of nailing, and presently raised a rumour of the Kings being thereabouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minister of the matter, my Lord was got a way by providence, and the King came to *Bridport*, where as 'tis since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hostler, as he was setting up the Horses, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at *Exeter*, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a proffer of drinking with him when he was more at leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That night they touched at *Broad-Windsor*, where again the King met with some disturbance by Souldiers then filling those places, in order to their shipping for *Jersey*. But after all these surprising adventures, he got again to Colonel *Windhams*, with the Lord *Wilmot*, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at *Bridport* as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that place) he was sent to *Salisbury* to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer to that purpose with Master *Coventrey*, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. *Hides* house at a Village called *Heal*. The King in his way to *Salisbury* came to a Town called *Mere* to the *George*, an acquaintance of the Colonels, where drinking in the Cellar, the Hoste seeing the King stand off as a servant, said, *Thou lookest like an honest Fellow, Here's an Health to the King*; who unreadily answering it, made the man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought. The King from *Mere* went to the House of Mrs. *Hide*, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret place in the House, and here Colonel *Robert Phillips* came to him, and Col. *Windham* took his leave of his Majestie, and returned; and Dr. *Hinchman* after made Bishop of *London*, had the honour to be made acquainted with his condition; and *Phillips* was presently dispatch'd to procure some shipping at *Southampton*, where the Barks being all taken up, and employed by the Parliament, he returned with his labour lost, but meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he (being informed of the business) undertook to provide a Bark at *Brighthemstead* in *Sussex*, which he effected, and thither the King (and my Lord *Wilmot*) having taken leave of this Noble Matron and the Doctor, accompanied with Colonel *Phillips*, (passing by night near *Portsmouth*,) came in two daies to an Inne at *Brighthemstead*; where Colonel *Gunter* and one Master *Maunsel* the Merchant, who at *Gunters* request hired the Ship, and the Ship-master *Tetersball* (now a Captain in his Majesties Navy) met him, and at Supper they sate down together with his Majesty, when the Master presently discovered him, having formerly seen him in the *Downs*, when he obtained the release of his Ship loaden from *Newcastle*; whereupon the King conferr'd with the Master, who (being wrought upon by promises, and money paid down, and his own loyalty) agreed to transport him to *France*, and departed to call up his Mariners then on shore, (pretending his Ship half laden with coals was a drift;) but coming home for a bottle of *Aqua-vitæ*, his Wife by the unseasonableness of the night suspecting the truth, encouraged him to the undertaking, not caring (as she said) *if she and her little one begged their bread, so the King were in safety*. About five of the clock in the dark of the morning on the 20*th*. of *October* the King embarqued, with my Lord *Wilmot*, & keeping the shore all that day, in the evening crost over, and at dark night landed neer *Diep* in *France*. In their passage, the King sitting upon the Deck, and directing the course, or, as they call it, conning the Ship, one of the Mariners blowing Tobacco in his face, the Master bid him go further off the Gentleman, who murmuring, unwittingly replyed, *That a Cat might look upon a King*. At *Rouen* the King had his clothes changed by two English Merchants residing there, and was there saluted (though at first hardly known) by Dr. *Earls* late Bishop of *Salisbury*, and upon notice of his arrival, the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court went out to meet him, and congratulate his wonderful deliverance: A Providence indeed not parallel'd in History, and able to have convinced his Rebells, if their rage had not blinded them; but it cheared the minds and hopes of his Subjects, by this Pledge of their deliverance from thraldome, in this marvellous protection of Gods Anointed; (no less than two and fifty persons being privy to his Escape.)

He is received by Mrs. Hide at Heal.

He is safely transported into France by Tetersball.

He is met by the Queen-Mother, and Court of France.

Very few of the Nobles and Officers that came in with him from *Scotland* escaped, *David Lesly* and Lieutenant General *Middleton* were taken in *Lancashire*, and carried Prisoners to *Chester*, from whence with the Earl of *Lauderdale*, *Kelly*, *Rothes*, and others they were committed to the *Tower*, from whence my Lord *Middleton* happily escaped, the rest were not long after sent to *Windsor-Castle*, where they continued till the Restitution of the King to his Government.

Most of the Scots taken Prisoners.

On the 21*th*. of *September Cromwell* came to *London*,

1651. *London*, and was met about *Acton* with the Speaker and the Members of Parliament, and the Lord Mayor of *London* and Recorder *Steel*, who in a set Speech congratulated his great successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken *Prolepsis*, applied to him these words of the Psalmist, *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of iron*, in an arrogant exaltation of his Atchievement: next day the Common prisoners (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Tuthil* fields (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken were likewise hanged up in *Westminster*-Hall, with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

Cromwel comes with his prisoners to London.

We have hitherto without any digression related the fortune of the King from the time of his quitting *Scotland* to his safe arrival in *France*; but we shall now briefly describe the transactions that passed in *Scotland* at that time: *Cromwel* when he left the King constituted (as is hinted) General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the English Army there; which was an Action that carried great envy with it from those of his own party, because *Monk* had but lately engaged with them; and it was objected, that he had been heard to say, he would never draw a Sword in *England* against the King or his Interest, and therefore they could not expect faithful service from him in *Scotland* against the same party; but it is said, he gave such assurance to *Cromwel* of his fidelity in that station against that people, (who were the first raisers of those unhappy storms that overspread our Nation with the miseries of War and sedition) that he would not be perswaded to alter his choice.

The English Army left with the General exceeded not six thousand men, and many of these were sick and weak by long marches, but they had by several successful encounters gained a great reputation, and the Scots were much dispirited thereby, so that whilst the sound part of his forces was in good heart & his enemies dejected, he immediately march'd to *Sterlin*, and came thither by that time *Cromwel* got into *England*.

Sterlin was at that time governed by Colonel *Cunningham*, who was so surprized at the sudden approach of the English Army, (believing them to be of much greater numbers then they really were) that after a short siege he surrendred the Town and Castle upon Articles on the 14*th*. of *August*; where the Kings Royal Robes, the cloath of State, and all the Scotch Records were found & seized, together with five thousand Arms and forty piece of Ordinance, and great store of Ammunition; but all the goods of private persons there deposited, were delivered to such as would own them: over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle this Motto in the time of King *James* was written, *J. C. R. Nobis hæc invicta miserunt Centum sex Proavi* 1617. which shews that that place had remained unconquered during the Reigns of an hundred and six Kings, and so continued all his time and his Sons.

Sterling with the Castle surrendred to General Monk.

The next place to which the General marched after the taking of *Sterlin* was *Dundee*, to which Town the chief of the Inhabitants of *Edenburgh* and many other Towns and places had conveyed the best part of their Moveables, as a secure depository, so that there was great riches in it. 1651.

Major *Lumsdain* was Governour of the Town, who had therein eight hundred Souldiers, besides some Companies of armed Inhabitants, whereby he thought himself in so good a condition, that when the General drew near the place, and sent a summons to him, he returned a very slighting answer: hereupon he environed the Town with his Army; but at his first coming thither, hearing that old General *Lesly* and several of the Lords of *Scotland* were met at *Elliot* (about fourteen miles from *Dundee*) to raise Souldiers, he sent Colonel *Alured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a thousand Horse and Dragoons to disturb the Levies, leaving privately the chief conduct and care of the design to his confident Colonel *Morgan*, the other (though the elder Colonel) being not very competent for such a service: These, as soon as they had their Orders marched in the night and took Scotch guides to shew them the way to the Town, and by the help of some few Scotch Souldiers who had revolted to the English, they so dissembled their march, that the Countrey took them for part of their own forces going to *Elliot*, so that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about three of the Clock in the morning, and then they marched into it with little or no resistance, and took 300 Noblemen. Gentlemen, and Ministers, with about 70 of their Servants, the chief of which were General *Lesly* (who was found hid in a close Cubbord-bed) the Earls *Marshal*, *Crawford Lindsey*, and *Keith*, & the Lords *Ogilby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume*, & *Lee* with many other Knights, and Gentlemen of note; these were all shipt for *London*, but old *Lesly* putting in at *Newcastle*, was by the favour of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* (then Governour thereof) permitted to stay in *Northumland* with one *De la Val* his Son-in-law upon promise to be a true prisoner.

Old General Lesly and divers other Scotch Nobles surprised at Elliot.

The General by this means had prevented all possibility of disturbance in his Siege, and seeing he could not by fair means prevail with the Governour to yeeld up the Town, though he knew by the surprize of *Elliot* all hope of relief failed, on the first of *September* he took it by storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour with some few for a while saved themselves in a Steeple, but were smothered out by the burning of wet straw, and then they yeelded on mercy to one Captain *Kelly* of Colonel *Morgans* Regiment, who was carrying him to the General with purpose to intercede for his life, because of the gallantry of his behaviour in defence of the Town, but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarously shot him dead. The Souldiers had very rich Booty in this Garrison, for it was at this time the richest Town in *Scotland*, and there were sixty Sail of Ships in the harbour. After this taking of *Dundee*, St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Castles, and strong places either voluntary submitted or rendred upon Summons.

Dundee taken by storm.

These successes did not mitigate the severity of the Rulers at *Westminster*, who about the end of *September* appointed a Court-Marshal to sit at *Chester*, for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby* and several

1651. several other Prisoners taken after the Battel at *Worcester*, or some little time before.

The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge* that took him prisoner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15 *th.* of *October*, that rigorous Sentence was executed on him at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*; and for the same cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the same Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh*, Captain *Benbow*, and Captain *Symkins* were sentenced to death, and executed.

The Earl of Derby beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire.

This sad occasion obliges us to a further account of those English Royallists who were taken in, and after the same Battel of *Worcester*, amongst whom were (besides others mentioned) the Lord *Grandison*, Sir *John Packington*, Colonel *Blagne*, Colonel *Edward Broughton*, and Major General *Massey*; these were all except *Massey* presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he being much wounded and tired with riding as he endeavoured to escape, delivered himself up to the Countess of *Stamford*, who secured him in her house till he was cured of his wounds, upon his engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower, from whence by a disguise not long after he made his escape. Colonel *Wogan* was much sought after by the pursuers, but he got safe to the Highlands in *Scotland*, being resolved to prosecute the Kings Quarrel where Nature had fixt her *Non Ultra*.

Several Royalists taken and imprisoned in the Tower.

There remained nothing in *England* of the antient Dominions and Territories thereof unsubdued to the Power of the Parliament, except the Isle of *Man*, and the Island of *Jersey*, and Castle *Cornet* in the Isle of *Guernsey*, which were all about this time surrendred to the Authority of the English Commonwealth, and not only these adjacent Islands, but what was in *America* appertaining to the Crown of *England* came quickly into their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of *Barbadoes* (whereof the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* was Governour for the King) which was yeelded up upon Articles to Sir *George Ayscough* about the beginning of *January*. The Articles were very favourable both to the Governour and Inhabitants, the first having liberty of returning to *England*, with freedom to his person and estate, and the later being indemnified for what ever they had done in hostility against the Parliament. It is said, the gaining of this Island was much facilitated by one Colonel *Muddyford* then in difference with the Governour, whom Sir *George* had drawn to his party, and by whose power and influence in the Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the Islands of *Mevis* and St. *Christopher* thought it in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir *George Ayscough*.

The Isles of Man and Jersey, &c. surrendred to the Parliament.

Barbadoes yeelded up to Sir Geor. Ascue.

Towards the end of this year two eminent Commanders of the English Commonwealth were taken away by death, *viz.* General *Edward Popham*, one of the Generals at Sea; and *Ireton*, Son-in-law to *Cromwel*, and Deputy of *Ireland*, who died of a contagious feaver contracted at the Siege of the City of *Limrick* in *Ireland*, which after an obstinate resistance) he had newly gained. His Corps was transported to *England*, and brought to *London*, and interred in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel in *Westminster* with a magnificent funeral pomp and state. He was no doubt a man of much dispatch, of dextrous and able parts, had they been imployed in honester designs; and was thought to have been a great contriver and prompter in the chiefest of his Father-in-laws stratagems. For a time after his decease, Lieutenant General *Edmund Ludlow* executed his Office, till Colonel *Charles Fleetwood* who had succeeded him in his wife, was thereby preferred to succeed him in the Deputiship of *Ireland*.

Popham and Ireton yeeld no Fate.

1651.

Col Fleetwood succeeds Ireton in the Deputiship of Ireland.

The English Commonwealth having in some measure quieted things at home, and thinking themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and Tranquility, took upon them now to give Laws to their subjected Dominions, as also to make Acts of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to submit to them: The first related to *Scotland*, which being in a short time totally brought under, (for besides the gaining of *Dunbarton* Castle, which was delivered up by Sir *Charles Ereskin*, and *Dunnoter* Castle which was taken by Colonel *Morgan*, and the Isles of *Orkney*, the *Hebrides*, and even *Schetland*, which is thought by some to be the same that the Ancients called *Ultima Thule*, could not scape their Conquest, which was the work of Colonel *Overton*) they take into consideration a project, which however it being attempted in former times, could be brought to no effect, they resolved to go through with; namely, an Union of *England* and *Scotland*, and Incorporating of both Nations into one Commonwealth: This was mainly opposed and remonstrated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain; for the Parliament of *England*, (as they called themselves) had resolved upon an *Act for the Union of* Scotland, *and the Abolishing of Kingly Government in that Nation; intending that the Shires or Burghs should chuse their Deputies to represent them in Parliament, in such a proportionable number as the Parliament should think fit.* And Commissioners were sent from hence in behalf of the Commonwealth of *England*, to treat concerning this Union with the Natives, whom they found but very cold entertainers of their Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Clergy. These Commissioners were *Oliver* St. *Johns*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Dean*, Major *Salway*, Colonel *Fenwick*, and Alderman *Tichburn*: And not long after were sent down as Itinerant Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection into all things belonging to the Government of that Nation, Mr. *George Smith*, Mr. *John March*, Mr. *Edward Moseley*, and Mr. *William Lockart*, a Scotchman: But these Judges were several times altered at pleasure. But to the Commissioners there came in and submitted divers of the Scotch Nobility; as the Marques of *Huntly*, the Earls of *Weems*, *Angus*, and *Calender*, and the Lord *Belcarris*, and others; but of all that came in of the Nobility, the Marques of *Argyle* was he that most complied and adhered to the Commonwealth Interest, notwithstanding all the professions and shew he made when the King was in *Scotland*, and of the Lairds that acted amongst the

The Parliaments provision for the Government of Scotrand.

1651.

1651. the English, the chief were *Swinton* and *Warreſton.*

The Parliaments Act of Oblivion.

The next Act of Grace was to *England*, and was an Act of Oblivion, wherein they publiſhed it to be their intention to forget all injuries, and pardon all hoſtilities hitherto committed againſt them, upon condition of taking an Ingagement, which they impoſed upon all people, wherein they were to promiſe *To be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of* England *as then eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Lords*; out of which nevertheleſs were excepted the Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sir *John Webſter* of *Amſterdam*, the Executors of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the the ſlayers of *Doriſlaus* and *Aſcham*.

Scarce were theſe and ſome other little tranſactions finiſht at home, when there began to be in preparation new matter for the exerciſe of their Arms abroad, in reſpect of a ſecret grudge which had lain a pretty while ſmothering between them and their Brother States of *Holland*, which was probably in a great part occaſioned through the ſlight and indifferent reckoning of *Doriſlaus*, (whoſe Aſſaſſination they thought perhaps not ſufficiently inquired into;) and afterwards of their Embaſſadors *Oliver* St. *Johns*, and *Walter Strickland*, who being affronted by the common people in *Holland*, thought themſelves not ſufficiently vindicated by the States, nor reſpected according to the Dignity of their Maſters, and therefore came away in diſcontent; and though the States ſent hither afterwards as their Agent, *Myn Heer Joachim* with ſeveral Complements and excuſes, with Commiſſion to treat about a fair Correſpondence and Commerce with *England*; yet our States at *Weſtminſter* were now reſolved they ſhould not have their friendſhip on ſuch eaſie terms as before they offered by their Embaſſadors, ſince they then made no more account of it: ſo that they diſmiſt *Joachim* after a prefixt time, beyond which he was not to ſtay, & then proceeded to make an Act, *For the Encouragement of Navigation*; wherein they prohibited *the importing of any Forein Commodities except upon Engliſh Bottoms, or ſuch as were of the Countrey whence the Commodities came*; beginning withal to ſtand high upon claims of Dues and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading: upon which occaſion was taken oftentimes to ſearch the Dutch Ships, and ſometimes to make prize of them. To complain of theſe damages, but more eſpecially, if it were poſſible, to obtain a ſuppreſſion of the ſaid Act ſo prejudicial to their Trade, they ſent over into *England* their Embaſſadors, *Myn Heeren Catz*, *Van de Peere*, *Sharp*, and *Newport*; theſe men however coming as moſt zealous Advocates for a ſpeedy Pacification, & relying much upon the favourable reception they ſhould meet with here, were nevertheleſs at their very firſt Audience accoſted with ſuch high demands about the Herring-fiſhing, the buſineſs of *Amboyna*, and a free Trade in the *Schelde*, from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were able to give but a cold account to their Maſters in the Affair they came about: and though ſome Meſſages for a while paſt to and fro for the Vindication of each others actions, (the Dutch all the while making great Proteſtations of their ſincere and real intentions towards this Commonwealth) yet ſtil preparations for War were privately made on both ſides. 1651.

The occaſion of the War with Holland.

This yeat ended with an Act for the Baniſhment of *John Lilburn*, who being a perſon of a turbulent nature, had with reſtleſs impatience oppugned all Government, in ſo much that it was ſaid merrily of him, *If all the World were diſpeopled to him alone*, John *would be againſt* Lilburn, *and* Lilburn *againſt* John. It was provided in this Act, that if ever he returned without leave from the State, he ſhould ſuffer as a felon. That which cauſed this ſeverity againſt him at this time was his violent oppoſition of Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, a leading Member of the Parliament about a Coalpit in his poſſeſſion, claimed by one *Primate*: wherein he did not only lay many oppreſſions and ſcandals to the charge of *Hazlerig*, but in the publication thereof arraigned the Juſtice of the whole Commonwealth. Lilburn baniſhed.

The States of *Holland* ſet out a very great Fleet for the ſecurity of their Trade for this year, and in their inſtructions to *Martin Harperz van Trump* their Admiral, they directed him not to ſtrike his Flagg to the Engliſh Admiral, and the ſame Orders were given to every of the Ships of War, if occaſionally they met any ſingle Ships of *England* or others, that were not too numerous for their oppoſition. 1652. The Hollanders ſet forth a great Fleet.

The Engliſh on the other ſide they knew would not eaſily loſe the Dominion of the Sea, which in all ages they exerciſed without controul; ſo that *Van Trump* coming into *Dover*-Road on the 17*th.* of *May* with two and fourty Sail, lay there at Anchor, as to dare them to oppoſition, and notice thereof being given to *Blake* the Engliſh Admiral, he made haſte to ply up towards him with about 15 Ships and Frigats, but when *Trump* deſcried the Engliſh Fleet, he and his weighed Anchot, and ſtood away by a wind Eaſtward, intending (as *Blake* ſuppoſed) to leave them to avoid the diſpute of the Flagg; but about two hours after they altered their Courſe, and bore directly with the Engliſh Fleet, and *Van Trump* was headmoſt, whereupon the Engliſh lay by, and put themſelves into a fighting poſture, judging the Dutch had a reſolution to engage. Being come within Muſquet-ſhot, *Blake* gave Order to fire at his Flag, which was done thrice, and after the third ſhot, *Trump* let fly a broad-ſide, and it was well returned by the Engliſh Admiral; and after the exchange of Broad-ſides Major *Bourn* came in to *Blakes* aſſiſtance with eight good Ships, and then both the Fleets engaged from four in the afternoon till it was dark, and though there were not leſs than two thouſand ſhot of Cannon exchanged on one ſide and the other, the loſs of men was not great, and the greateſt was of the *Hollanders*, of whom one Ship was ſunk, and another taken, and about an hundred and fifty men ſlain; the Engliſh had not any Ship diſabled, and very few men killed. *Van Trump* drew his Fleet in the night to the back of *Goodwin* Sands, and the next morning ſailed away for *Zealand*. The firſt Sea fight between the Dutch and Engliſh. The Dutch come off with loſs.

The *Holland* Embaſſadors at *London* by their Memorials endeavoured all they could to per-

1652. swade the Parliament, that this action of *Trumps* was without the privity or consent of their Masters, and thereupon demanded a restitution of the Ship taken by *Blake* in the fight; but the people at *London* were so inflamed with the news of the fight and *Trumps* carriage in it, that they insisted not on that demand, and the Parliament was necessitated to appoint a Troop of Horse to guard the Embassadors from the rage and fury of the multitude.

The States apprehended this business might cause a Rupture betwixt them and the English, and therefore they dispatched the *Heer Paw* to *England* in the Quality of an Embassador Extraordinary, who was so very well received at his arrival at *London*, that he believed he should not only extinguish the flame already kindled, but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on by the other Embassadors. But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had joyntly presented a paper to the Parliament to excuse the late enterprize of *Trump*, they returnd an answer that did not at all content them for they peremptorily required, *To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and damages they had been put to and sustained by the preparations of the States General, and other attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other Proposition.* The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this proceeding immediately recalled their Embassadors, and, thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both parts, and in a very little time *Van Trump* was again at Sea with an hundred and twenty sail of men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General *Blakes* sailing Northward with seventy Sail of Ships of War to interrupt the Dutch fishing-Trade, and look for five Dutch East-India Ships which were about that time expected to return home that way.

Trump out again at Sea with an 120 Sail.

In the mean time about the *6th.* of *June* Sir *George Ascue* arrived in the *Downs* with the *Barbadoes* fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way ten Dutch Merchant-ships and four men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchant ships of the present differences.

The Parliament upon his arrival sent Orders to him to stay there till a fleet then providing in the *Thames* should be made ready to joyn with him.

Trump having intelligence thereof, about the beginning of *July* clapt in with part of his Fleet between Sir *George* and the River, and sent the other part Westward to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink and disperse those with Sir *George Ascue*; but the Governour of *Dover* gave so speedy advice of the posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then *Trump* on the eighth of *July* made towards Sir *George* to assail that fleet, but the wind failing, they came to an Anchor a League off, and before the next ebb, the Militia of that Countrey was ready upon the Coast, and Sir *George* his ships well re-inforced with men, and a Platform was cast up betwixt the Castles of *Deal* and *Sandown*, whereon good store of Cannon were planted to receive them, but at the next ebb whilst they were under sail the wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them. 1652.

Trump upon this disappointment, returned to *Holland*, to convey several Merchant-men for the Northern and Eastern Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he sailed towards the *Sound*, and in his way he received advice, that *Blake* had spoiled and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken twelve Men of War that guarded them, and was with his fleet in Harbour about the Isles of *Orkney*, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-men on their Voyage, and with the rest he sailed to find out *Blake*, having met in his way the five East-India Ships, but when he came near those Northern Islands, such a storm arose, that he was forced to put to Sea, and his fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with two and forty sail, and three of the East-India ships, but shortly after the other two East-India ships, and all the fleet except six came home in safety; and *Blake* came safe to *Yarmouth* with all his fleet and six of *Trumps* Frigots, which he had met with and nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time Sir *George Ascue* had got a fleet together of about forty sail, with which he sailed to *Plymouth* to secure our Merchants-ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived five ships from the East-India's, and two from the Streights; Whilst Sir *George* lay there, *De Ruyter* was passing that way with a fleet of fifty men of War to convey about the like number of Merchant-ships that way: about two in the afternoon on the *16th.* of *August* the English fleet got sight of the Enemy, and *De Ruyter* sent away his Merchant ships, and made ready for the fight, and about four Sir *George* with nine of his headmost ships charged through the Dutch fleet, and got the weather-gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his fleet being Merchant-men, and not coming up, and the night being already entred, both fleets drew off from each other; the Dutch into one of the *French* Ports, and Sir *George* to *Plymouth* to mend and repair the damages of the fleet; Captain *Peck* his Rear Admiral lost his Leg and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one ship lost; what loss of men the Dutch sustained was not known, but none of their ships were disabled.

Sir George Ascue and De Ruyters engagement at Plymouth being the second combat with the Dutch.

Van Trump was at this time very much discontented upon some rumors spread of his failer of conduct in the last expedition, so that he desired the States that he might leave his charge and retire; the States seemed very unwilling to comply with his request, but at last they consented to it, and *Wit Wittens* was appointed in his place, to whom *De Ruyter* was joyned in Commission. These two Commanders made what speed they could to get their fleet to Sea, and in *October* they made their stations on the side of the North *Foreland*; *Blake* as soon as he had notice thereof hastned with his fleet towards them, having been on the Western Coast to Convey some Merchant ships homewards, and taken in his way five Dutch West-India ships of great value, and six Streigths men, valued at two hundred thousand pounds.

He

1652. He divided his fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, the other by *Pen* the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral *Bourn*, and the 28*th.* of *October* the fight was begun by *Bourn*, and seconded immediately by the whole fleet, wherein great courage was shown on both sides, the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch was boarded and taken, and two more of their ships were sunk, and one blown up, so that *Wit Wittens* was glad to give over the conflict, and to ply his Sails to get off, being pursued by the English fleet within twelve Leagues East South-East of the *Maze*, and he with the remainder of his torn and much shattered ships came into *Goree*. The English preserved all their ships, though many of them were much battered, and *Blake* came in triumph into the *Downs*.

De Wit worsted by Blake being the third engagement with the Dutch.

The Dutch were much troubled at the loss of this Combat, which was by *Wittens* imputed to the cowardise of some of his Commanders, and the disadvantage of the English Ships over them in number and strength.

But nevertheless the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat till they had a more sufficient fleet than before, both in the goodness and strength of their ships and the number also.

Both they and the English in the first beginning of the War had sent to the *Swedes* and *Danes* to invite them to their party, because the materials for shipping came from the Seas where these Princes had the chief Dominion; the *Swedes* were very favourable to us, and at least would be Neuters, if not partakers with us, and the Queen sent hither Monsieur *Spiering* her Embassador who died shortly after his arrival at *London*, and after his death Monsieur *Appleboon* succeeded: but the *Danes* declared for the States of the United Provinces against us; and about this time their King sent a Message to them that he was ready to succour them with twenty good ships of War, provided they would re-establish *Trump* in his late employment as Admiral: The States were very willing to comply with this proposition and *Trump* was again prevailed with to re-assume his former charge.

The Dane sides with the Dutch.

In the *Levant* Captain *Badily* with four or five English Frigots was set upon by *Van Galen*, who commanded a Fleet of sixteen Sail of Dutch-men of War in those Seas, in which encounter the *Phœnix* was taken by the Dutch, and the rest of our Ships were forc'd to retire under the protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Van Galen* bought this Victory with the loss of his life, and the *Phœnix* was on the 20*th.* of *November* regain'd by the valour of Captain *Cox* a former Lieutenant to the Same Ship.

The English come off with loss in the Levant.

Van Trump being restored to the office of *Admiral*, was very industrious to give a proof of his courage in some valiant enterprise; and to that purpose having got together eighty men of War, and ten Fire-ships, he sailed directly to the back-side of the *Goodwin*, neer the place where the former Battail was fought; *Blake* was in the *Downs* with few more than forty Sail, but was nevertheless resolved not to refuse an ingagement, and for that purpose he hoysed his sails to find out *Trump*, and sent out seven Ships to discover his Fleet, which were met with nine of the Dutch Ships sent out on the same errand. These began the Fight with their Canon, and immediately the two Generals advanced at the head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and lasted from two in the morning on the 29*th.* of *November old style*, till six in the evening. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himself was with the Victory, and *Vanguard* bore most of the stress, being ingaged at one time with twenty of the best Dutch Ships, and though it was long doubted on which side the fortune of the day would turn, yet at last the numbers of the Dutch drew it to that side with the loss of the *Garland* and *Bonaventure* which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three sunk; and indeed if the night had not been favourable to our retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much danger. But the Dutch could not much boast of this Victory, for they lost many men, and one of their Flag-ships was blown up, and all the Mariners and Souldiers therein lost, except two; and the Ships of *Van Trump* and *de Ruyter* were much damaged. 1652.

The fourth combate with the Dutch.

Blake defeated in the Downs.

Blake after this defeat drew his shattered Fleet into the River of *Thames* to be repaired, and it is said, *Trump* triumphantly sail'd through the *Channel* with a Broom on his main Topmast, pretending to sweep the *Channel* of all English Shipping; and having sent home all his disable Ships, after some little stay about *Guernsey* and the Western parts, he arrived at the *Isle* of *Rhe* to stay there for a Fleet of Merchants Ships which were to be convoy'd homewards. In the mean time all possible care was used by the English States to equippe a Fleet to meet him as he return'd, and General *Monk* was added to the number of the Generals at Sea, and General *Deane* being newly arrived from *Scotland*, was ordered to go to Sea with *Blake* and *Monk*; so that under the joynt command and conduct of these three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

The expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all waies they could to husband their treasure, and because they thought the entertainment of the Duke of *Glouceſter* (whom since the murder of the late King they had kept at the *Isle* of *Wight*) too great an expence, they resolved to send him abroad, and about the beginning of *February* they sent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promising to allow him a small exhibition for his maintenance, if he would not come neer his Brother, nor any of his relations.

The Duke of Glouceſter sent away to Dunkirk.

But as soon as he came on that side of the water, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and from *Bruxels* he was attended to the Princess of *Aurange* at *Breda*, where he safely arrived to the great joy of her, and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fear, that his life would be taken away by those that spared not the life of his Royal Father.

He is conveyed to Breda.

After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted from thence by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to *Paris* to the King his Brother, to whom as also

From whence he is conducted to Paris to the King his Brother.

1652. also to his Mother the Queen and his other relations, he was welcom'd as one risen from the dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*, and that whole Court.

The King of *Denmarks* confederacy with the States of *Holland* made the Parliament very solicitous to draw the Queen of *Sweden* to their interest, but she continued in a resolution of Neutrality, and offered her Mediation for a peace betwixt the two States, which yet took no effect; but the Dutch to strengthen their party, were very earnest with the *French* by their Embassador *Boreel* at *Paris* to conclude a League Offensive and Defensive with that Crown, and herein they doubted not to succeed, because the English were in a kind of hostility at this time with the *French*. For about the later end of *August* in this year, some of the Parliament Frigots had taken seven of the King of *France* his Ships which were going to the relief of *Dunkirk* then besieged by the Arms of *Spain*, by which means that Town came into the hands of the Spaniards: But the reputation of the English Commonwealth was at this time so great, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who then managed the affairs of *France* endeavoured rather an accommodation with them, than otherwise; so that the Dutch missed of their purposes in that negotiation, and about the month of *December* Monsieur *De Bourdeaux* was dispatched as Agent from the King of *France* to acknowledg the English State. This action of the *French* at this time was looked on with much reflection by those that were friends to the Crown of *England*, for our King had by his excellent wisdom and address newly composed the Civil Commotions of of that Kingdom, wherein the Princes of the Blood had possessed themselves of *Paris*, and begun and formed a great Party against the King, demanding to have the Cardinal banished, and several real or pretended grievances redressed and so formidable were they grown, that the Cardinal withdrew himself to *Colen* for fear of them, and the Duke of *Lorrain* was on their behalf entred into the bowels of *France* with an Army, whereby a great effusion of Blood had ensued if his Majesties Mediation had not prevented it; by which the Crown of *France* was not only raised to a great lustre; but the Cardinal, whose fortune was by most men judged desperate, was with the peace restored to his former Authority and Greatness.

The Parliament solicits the Q. of Swedes to espouse their interest.

Mr. Bourdeaux sent Agent from the French King to the English States.

The King reconciles the differences between the King and Princes of France.

The States of *Holland* having advice that the Parliament was equipping a Fleet to be put to Sea under their three Generals, sent an express to *Trump* (than at *Rhe*) to hasten away with what Merchant men were ready, and to block up the River of *Thames* to prevent their going out; *Trump* upon receiving this Order made what haste he could; but contrary to the expectation of the States, and even to their amazement on the eighth of *February* the English Generals set sail from *Queenborough* with sixty Sail of men of War, to which on the 11 *th.* of the same moneth twenty sail more joyned from *Portsmouth*, and with this fleet they sailed over against *Portland*, where they lay cross the Channel half Seas over to discover the Dutch fleet; on *Friday* the 18 *th.* of *February* by break of day the Southermost ships of the English descried the Dutch, consisting (as their own prints reported) of seventy six men of War, who had the charge of 300 Merchants Ships to convey homewards. 1652.

The English Fleet out at Sea again.

The English Fleet made what sail they could towards the Enemy, and *Van Trump* having recollected his ships of War prepared to receive them, and about eight in the morning, the Triumph wherein *Blake* and *Dean* were, with twelve ships more (for the rest of the fleet could not get up) engaged board and board with the gross of the Dutch fleet, and the *Triumph* was hardly put to it, having received seven hundred Cannon-shot in her hull, but was gallantly relieved by *Lawson* Commander of the *Fairfax*. By this time the whole English Navy came up, and a furious fight ensued betwixt the two fleets which continued till the night parted them.

The two Fleets engage near Portland. The fifth time.

The Ship wherein General *Monk* commanded being a slow sayler, could not perform so much as he desired, but she lost many men, and had as great a share in the fight as any of her condition. The *Triumph* and *Fairfax* being enclosed by the greatest of the *Holland* ships, had in each an hundred killed and wounded, and *Blake* received a hurt in his thigh with a piece of Iron which a shot had driven out, and *Ball* the Captain thereof was slain, together with *Sparrow* the Secretary; the *Prosperous*, a ship of four and forty Guns, was boarded by the Dutch, but recovered by the *Merlin* Frigot, Captain *Mildmay* of the *Vantguard* was killed; the English lost not a ship in this fight, but had many disabled; but six men of War of the Dutch were taken and sunk, whereof one was a Flagg-ship, and it is said, that most of the Officers in *Trumps* ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Marriners. Such of the English fleet as were disabled got into *Portsmouth*, and the wounded men were sent on shore, and on *Saturday* morning the Dutch fleet was again discerned seven Leagues off *Weymouth*, and over against *Dungenness* whither the English plied; and in the afternoon both fleets engaged with so much fury that they were quickly environed with flame & smoke. *Trump* had put his Merchant men before him, and after the first shock, he drew off and fought retreating towards *Bulloign*, and in his way thither the English Frigots at large took many of his Merchants ships, and *Lawson* boarded a Dutch man of War and brought her off; the next day early in the morning the fight was renewed, which continued very fierce till four in the afternoon, but the wind being cross to the English at North North-East, *Trump* got to *Calice* Sands, and there anchored, and thence tided it home.

The Dutch beaten in this fight.

The Dutch lost in these three days fight eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchants ships, and by the calculation of their own Prisoners, they had not less than fifteen hundred men killed; but of the English though many ships were shattered, there was but one sunk named the *Sampson*, but Captain *Button* the Commander thereof (though much wounded) and most of the men were saved. The number of the English slain is not reported, but by the best conjecture that could be made, they were not much less than those of their enemies.

This

1652. This Year died the Lady *Eleanor Davys*, whose Prediction concerning the late Duke of *Buckingham*'s death, was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated by several Writers of the History of those times, amongst the Presages that threatned the untimely end of that Great Man: And this coming from a Person of her Quality, was so much the more a subject of critical discourse and censure among the Wits of those times; and whence perhaps, some later Observers have taken aim; but since common Fame in these cases is ever apt to take things upon trust, and for want of due examination, to fix reproach as soon upon the best as the worst, it may much conduce to the rectifying of mis-informed judgments, & the vindicating of the memory of so Vertuous a Lady from the injurious reflexions of unwary Writers, to give this faithful account of her; She was the *5th.* Daughter of the Lord *George Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*, and was married to Sir *John Davys* the Kings first Serjeant at Law in *England*, and sometime Attorney General in *Ireland* (whose Worth his own Learned Writings, and the known Credit he had with his Prince, sufficiently speak) by whom she was the Mother of one only Daughter, *Lucy*, married to *Ferdinando* late Earl of *Huntingdon*, and (by her) Grandmother to the present Earl; as for her Character, there needs little more to be said (since nothing can be more advantageously) than to repeat what hath been delivered of her by the Elegant Pen of the Learned Doctor *Peter Du Moulin*; She was, saith he, *Erudita supra sexum, Mitis infra Sortem; Learned above her Sex, Humble below her Fortune, having a Mind so Great and Noble, that Prosperity could not make it remiss, nor her deepest adversity cause to shrink or discover the least pusillanimity or dejection of Spirit; for being full of the love of God, to that fulness, the smiling World could not adde, nor the frowning from it detract.* Hence, as from a living Spring, flowed a full stream of Christian Graces, redounding to the benefit of many as well as to her own Comfort. She had a fineness of Wit, but so temper'd with Prudence & Consultation, that she early addicted her self to serious speculation, and the study of Divine Truths: Wherefore, since our Saviour bids us examine (especially in these cases) the tree by the fruit, we recommend it to the consideration of the judicious, whether a Person so qualified and so addicted, might not with most equity be judged on this occasion, to have been favoured with some beam of a divine knowledge of future things; Certain it is, that not only in the above-mentioned, but in divers other Events both of private and publick Concernment, her Predictions proved undoubtedly true; In the most flourishing condition of the Nation, she foretold its unparallell'd troubles, and in the depth of those troubles, she foretold that happy Restauration to Peace and Settlement which we at this day (through the Mercy of God) enjoy under our Most Gracious Sovereign, and in every one she long before prefix'd the time of their accomplishment.

This Year died the Lady Eleanor Davys.

This busie year ended with the safe arrival of Prince *Rupert* with the *Swallow*, and a prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigot at *Nantes* in *Britanny*, from the *Caribee* Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with seven or eight ships and his Brother Prince *Maurice* with him, endeavouring to give what annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of *England* in those parts, till some serviceable occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the sad strokes of adverse Fortune, which yet eclipsed the Royal Throne of *England* did even in those distant parts pursue this Illustrious pair of Princes, and by the violence of a *Hurricane*, the life of one of them (the Valiant Prince *Maurice*) was taken away, a person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent proof of as much courage and generosity as any one man could be master of, than whom death has left few worthier behinde, to dignifie the World with actions of Glory and Renown. Prince *Rupert* at his first arrival fell sick, but upon his recovery he was invited to *Paris* and complemented by the King of *France*, and cordially welcom'd by the King our Sovereign, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

1652. Prince Rupert arrives in Britanny from the Caribee Islands

Prince Maurice drown'd in the West Indies.

1653. It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest than secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of Affairs in *England*, where the new Commonwealth now advanced to as great prosperity and security as their ambitious hopes could aim at, having together with the death of the late King, as much as in them lay even buried and eradicated Monarchy it self, began to sink under its own weight, and by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruine, which all the strength and power of her enemies abroad and their Confederates could not reach to.

The Officers of the Army who effected this change, had met in Counsel some moneths before in meditation of altering the Government, and these being of two parties and of different interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the design. *Harrison* who was one of the heads of that party at this time known by the name of the Sect of the Fifth Monarchy, had gained a great part of the Inferior Officers, and these were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government, but *where* (as they said) *Christ was to Rule*, which as they explained (was a Dominion to be exercised by Saints under him, men of such holy and sanctified lives, that nothing but plenty and happiness could be expected from their Government, and to such, all Offices of Trust and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by nomination a new Representative. *Cromwe* mingled with these zealots in this projection, knowing the inconsistencie of their intentions, and that the reins of Power would be by them managed (as the Poets feigned *Phaetons* conduct of the Chariot of the Sun) to set the world in a flame, and introduce such confusion as would necessitate his taking to himself the Government to rescue his party from destruction.

The Officers of the Army consult about a change of Government.

The

1653. The Parliament were very ſenſible of theſe actings, but knew not how to prevent their progreſs, yet that they might not be wanting to their own ſecurity, they had many conferences with theſe Officers, wherein they repreſented to them the inconveniences of their proceedings, telling them *as the temper of the Nation now ſtood, no ſafety could be adminiſtred to the Government, but by filling up the Houſe with Elections by the Countrey, of perſons qualified, and when they were by that method arrived to a full Repreſentative of the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater Authority, and by the concurrent advice of ſo great a Body of intereſſed perſons, their cauſe would be ſtrengthned, and the good they would do in reforming the Law and all abuſes, and adminiſtring Juſtice impartially, and ſettling a due liberty to the people in Civil and Spiritual things, would make the Government in a few years ſo acceptable, that there would be no need of an Army to ſupport it.*

To this anſwer was made by the Officers, *That they could not expect any good fruits to the people of God from this Parliament, wherein there was ſo great a party of Carnal men of corrupt Principles, that the perſons by their Authority to be choſen would be of the like temper and ſpirit as they are, and joyn with them in perpetuating themſelves in the Supreme Government*; concluding, *That the people of the Land, who were diſtinguiſhable from the people of God were not yet to be truſted with the choice of their own Repreſentatives: But they* (they ſaid) *would take care to devolve the Supreme Authority upon known perſons, fearing God, and of approved integrity.* This reaſoning on both ſides tended to make the breach wider, but the Parliament in the mean time went on according to their own purpoſe, and prepared an Act for the ſetling of Qualifications of Members to fill up their Houſe, wherein ſuch ſpeed was made, that on the 20 *th.* of *April* the Queſtion was ready to be put to paſs it into a Law, when *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and ſome eight Officers more of the Army, by intelligence with ſome of the Members, entred the Houſe, and after a ſhort Speech ſpoken by *Cromwel*, ſhewing ſome reaſons for the neceſſity of their diſſolution, he declared them diſſolved, and required them to depart, but the Speaker would not leave the Chair, till by *Harriſon* taken out by the Arm, and *Cromwel* commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not any more to be carried before him, and then they cauſed the Doors of the Parliament Houſe to be locked, and placed a good Guard thereon to prevent the aſſembling of the Members.

The manner of Cromwel's diſſolving the Parliament.

This Revolution could not but be very pleaſing to the King, for now the Stone was rowling, in all probability it would not fix (as in the ſequel it appeared) till that juſt Government ſhould be attained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as much happineſs for many Centuries of years as any Nation in the world.

The firſt thing done by theſe Officers after this change, was to conſtitute a Councel of State conſiſting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and ſuch of the late Parliament as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was placed, and till a Repreſentative ſhould be choſen, all obedience was required thereunto as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting, and *all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and publique Miniſters whatſoever were to proceed in their reſpective Offices and places, and Writs were to run in the ſtyle of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England *as before.* 1653.

A Councel of State conſtituted.

The Dutch thought to profit themſelves of this alteration, and made all poſſible haſte to get out their fleet, but our new Governours omitted nothing that might advance their Maritime preparations; and the firſt thing they did after their eſtabliſhment, was to make an Ordinance for the raiſing of ſix moneths Aſſeſſment from the 24 *th.* of *June* enſuing, which was readily obeyed, becauſe it exacted not ſo great a ſum, as the laſt Acts of Parliament for Aſſeſſments.

A ſix months tax ſetled.

Whilſt theſe things were in action, all Officers and Souldiers in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and all the Officers in the Fleet were practiſed on to approve of the Armies proceedings, and did comply therewith, ſo that no Commotion followed in any part upon this mutation of Government.

The next conſiderable matter that occurr'd was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch fleet under *Trump* aſſiſted with *De Ruyter*, *Wit Wittens*, and the two *Everſons* conſiſting of 104 Men of War and 12 Galliots and 9 Fire-ſhips, and the Engliſh Fleet under the Command of General *Monk* and General *Dean* (who were both in one Ship) aſſiſted by *Pen* the Vice-Admiral, and *Lawſon* Rear-Admiral, conſiſting of an hundred ſhips of all ſorts. It was about eleven of the clock at noon on the ſecond of *June* that both the fleets engaged, and ſo fatal was the beginning of the fight, that at the firſt Broad-ſide of the Enemy, *Dean* was ſhot almoſt off in the middle by a Cannon-Bullet, as he ſtood by General *Monk*, but he without any diſturbance was ſo preſent to himſelf, that he cauſed him to be removed, and proſecuted the Battel with great reſolution, without any further notice of the accident. The noiſe and thunder of the Cannon was very great, & had been very deplorable to both parties, if a ſudden calm had not abated the fury of the fight for ſome time after it began; but after two hours ſuch a freſh gale of wind roſe, that the fight was renewed in ſo violent a manner, that it continued with very little intermiſſion whilſt there was any light; *Lawſon* preſſed ſo hard upon *De Ruyter* with his Squadron that he had carried him if *Trump* had not come in to his relief, but he could not prevent *Lawſons* ſinking a ſhip of *Holme* of two and forty Guns that had in her a hundred and forty men; the General with his Squadron was in the thickeſt of them, and greater execution had been done, but that the wind blew croſs to the Engliſh, and ſo favoured their enemies, that they bore away before it. The next morning early General *Monk* found himſelf near them, but the wind was ſo ſlack, he could not come up till noon to engage their fleet, but then the Combat was begun with greater vigour than at any time before, and continued till ten at night; ninety of *Trumps* fleet in the heat of the engagement were in ſo great confuſion, and ſo unwilling to ſtand to the fight, that he fired upon them, and ſent his boat to Command them to come up to him, but nothing he could

Trump engaged by Gen. Monk and Dean: which was the fifth Sea-fight.

Gen. Dean ſlain in the fight.

1653. could do or say, could perswade more than twenty of them to return, the rest steered away East and by South, but the wind being fresh Westwardly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and eleven Ships and two Hoyes were taken, and thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of very good note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

Trump defeated.

At the end of this daies Fight, General *Blake* came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the Dutch had not been upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calice*, whereby our great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The English had not one Ship lost or disabled, and except General *Dean*, but one Captain slain.

Van Trump imputed this overthrow to the ignorance and unskilfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadors, was sent into *England*.

The Councel of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over *England* (who were the most sanctified creatures they could nominate) to form a representative, and a summons was sent to every one of them in the name of *Oliver Cromwell* Captain General of all the Forces, *&c.* to take upon them the trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *White-Hall* to that purpose on the 5*th.* of *July* then next coming.

The new Parliament summoned.

These according to the respective summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to *Westminster* to the Parliament House; and chose one *Rouse* a Cornish man (made by the late Parliament Provost of *Eaton*) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their business easie to them.

The Dutch in this conjuncture had underhand made Overtures of a Peace to *Cromwell*, which were not ill received, but that they might make it on better terms, they were resolved once more to try their fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the number of 125 Sail, with so much confidence of success, that they posted *Van Trump* out with 95 Ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by *Witt Wittens* from the *Texell*.

It was upon the 29*th.* of *July* in the morning when the English Fleet of about 106 Ships descried the Dutch, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into 4 Squadrons, (*viz.*) the first under *Trump*, the second under Vice-Admiral *Everson*, and the third under Rere-Admiral *Floris*, and the fourth under *Witt Wittens* for a reserve.

The English Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* in Chief, having *Pen* for his Vice-Admiral, and *Lanson* Rear-Admiral; *Blake* was discomposed in his health, and not with the Fleet, the English were all a stern, and could not get up till six of the clock to come to any engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-inforc'd to the number of thirty, who continued the Battail till the night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to joyn with them. 1653.

The last Dutch Engagement between G. Monk and Trump, being the sixth Combat.

The Dutch by the darkness of the night sent away many of their maim'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet to joyn with the 25 Ships that *Wittens* brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General *Monk* observing this War to be very burdensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpness of it, and therefore gave orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, that the taking of Ships Oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakned,) The Air was quickly fill'd with scattred Limbs of men blown up; The Sea was died with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded; *Witt Wittens* and *Everson* did bestir themselves, and often attempted to board the Ship in which the General himself was; *Cornelius Eversons* Ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself standing upon the Poop of his Ship with his drawn sword encouraging his men, was slain with a Musquet-bullet; whereby the rest of the Fleet was so discouraged, that they hoysted out all the Sail they could to haste away towards the *Texell*: The English pursued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to *Sole-bay*, there to repair the shattered Ships, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, *viz. Everson, Zanger, Fomeen, Scotten* and *D'Hayes*, and about 1200 common men, by the mercy and compassion of the English taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; 33 sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, were sunk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is supposed some were sunk, out of which no men were saved. The English lost 400 common men, and eight Captains, *Graves, Peacock, Taylor, Crispe, Newman, Cox, Owen*, and *Chapman*, men of great resolution; and had about 700 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they lost but one Ship, which was called the *Oake*. *Van Trump* was a man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime affairs, that he justly merited the fame of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Countrey, which made him bear a grateful respect to the House of *Orange*, by whom the foundation was laid of that (High and Mighty) greatness they now assume and enjoy; and by whose

Van Trump slain.

Character of Van Trump

1653. Prudence and courage their Liberties were rescued and preserved against one of the most potent Princes of *Europe*. Out of his great sence of Honor, he had much commiseration for the sufferings of our Royal Family, and did endeavour to perswade his Masters to espouse the Kings Interest, as that to which they were in Justice and Conscience obliged to adhere, and though he was without success in that undertaking, he omitted not on all occasions to testifie his affection to his Majesty.

The War was not only prosecuted in those great fights, but in all parts of the world where the trade of the two Nations was used, the ships of each engaged one the other, and many sore conflicts were made in several places, but because the particular description of these encounters would swell this Treatise to too large a bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for so, for distinction we must call it) began to be so troublesome in their consultations, that the whole Nation, and the most of those Army Officers that named them, grew wearier of them than those that were before removed; for they were so Seraphical and Notional in their debates, that the whole Magistracie and Ministry was to be so modelled, as would make the Government ridiculous; but the Ministry and the maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they most arraigned as an Antichristian Constitution; so that now all things succeeded to *Cromwels* expectation, and their dissolution was earnestly pressed to save a threatned confusion in Government, if they continued in Authority; and of this some amongst themselves were so sensible, that *Rous* the Speaker on the 12 *th.* of *December* acquainted the House, that their sitting was no longer necessary, and being seconded by some others privy to the intention, he rose from the Chair, and went out of the House with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the Major part of the Members) he came to *Whitehal*, and there resigned to *Cromwel* the Instrument by him formerly delivered to them at their first sitting; *Harrison* and some few staid in the House after the rest went, but were quickly dispersed by a party of Souldiers sent to dissolve them.

The new Parliament dissolved.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Instrument or Systeme of Government, on which the foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entreated *Oliver Cromwel* to accept of the Government under the Title of *Protector of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and Ireland*: He at first seemingly refused the Dignity; but when the exigence of time and necessity of Affairs were laid open to him, he did accept of it; and was that day at one in the afternoon installed at *Westminster* in manner following:

The Protector installed.

He came from *White-Hall* to the Chancery Court in *Westminster-Hall* attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Counsel learned of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns, then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State set in the Court, and the Protector stood by it, till the Instrument of Government was read, then the Oath was administred to him, which he took in the following words: 1653.

I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of my understanding, Govern the Nation, according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof; and to seek their peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administred.

Having subscribed this Oath and the Instrustrument, he sate in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat, and the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which he respectively returned to them again; and then the Protector in the same manner as he came returned to *White-hall*. To publish the Instrument of Government is not very necessary, and will be too long, but some heads thereof are here inserted:

The heads of the Instrument of the Protectors Government.

1. *A Parliament to be called every three years.*

2. *The first to assemble on the third of* September 1654.

3. *No Parliament to be dissolved till it have sate 5 moneths.*

4. *Such Bills as are offered to the Protector by the Parliament, if he assent not in twenty days, to be Laws without him.*

5. *That his Councel shall not exceed the number of one and twenty, nor be less than thirteen.*

6. *That immediately after the death of the present, and succeeding Protectors, the Councel shall chuse another Protector before they rise.*

7. *No Protector after the present, shall be General of the Army.*

8. *The Protector shall have power to make War and Peace.*

9. *That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Protector and his Councel may make some Laws that shall be binding to the Subject.*

The first Councel chosen in pursuance of this Instrument, were,

Col. *Edward Montague.*
Col. *John Lambert.*
Philip Lord Viscount *Lisle.*
Col. *John Desbrow*, newly made also one of the Generals at Sea.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering.*
Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper.*
Sir *Charles Woolsey.*
Major Gen. *Skippon.*
Walter Strickland, Esq;
Col. *William Sydenham.*
Col. *Philip Jones.*
Francis Rous, Gent.
John Laurence.
Richard Major, Esq;

The

1653. The first Act of these Counsellors after their establishment was a Proclamation notifying the Government with a direction therein, *That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and all other publique Officers, and Ministers whatsoever within this Commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices till further Order to the contrary.*

The States of the United Provinces were brought into so low condition by the two last fights, and their people so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the Provinces, nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their condition, and chose the *Heer Opdam* to be Admiral of their Fleet in the place of *Trump*, but thought it more advisable to prosecute overtures of peace then venture another Battel; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were so baffled, they would very hardly have procured men to furnish a fleet, and one Battel more might have brought us a Blank paper for our own conditions; but *Cromwel* was not so well setled in his Throne to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Embassadors, *Newport*, *Youngstal*, and *Bevering*, and *Vander Perre* were well received by him; and in the beginning of this year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5 *th.* of *April* the Articles of Peace were signed in *London*, and on the 26 *th.* of the same moneth they were proclaimed in *London* and *Amsterdam*, and in this Peace the King of *Denmark* was included.

Opdam supplies the place of Trump.

1654. The Protector concludes a Peace with the Dutch.

For the King of *Denmark* espousing the interest of the States of *Holland*, had arrested two and twenty English Ships which were in his Ports, and at their instance confiscated the Merchandizes therein; so that they were obliged to compose that difference, and this was that which had more difficulty than any other matter in the Treaty.

The Articles of the Peace we think not very essential to our History to be inserted at large, but the two which were of most importance, were these (*viz.*)

The Men of War and other Ships of Holland *meeting the English ships in the Narrow Seas shall lower their sayls to them.*

The States shall cause restitution to be made by the King of Denmark *of all the ships and goods of the English by him seized which are yet undisposed, and a full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertained in a time prefixt by six English Merchants, and six Dutch who should meet for that purpose.*

And the Spanish Embassador was as early as any to congratulate the Protectors Authority; and peace was made with the Queen of *Sweden*, and the Conde *del Sa* Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of *Portugal* came in a splendid embassie to sue for a Peace of him: nor were the French backward to own his power, having given to Monsieur *Bourdeaux* their Resident here the Quality of Embassador to qualifie him the better for his Negotiation, and added to him the Baron of *Baas* for a Colleague, *Cromwel* being now owned by many of the Neighbour Princes and States abroad, and by most of those of his own party at home, thought himself insecure from none but the Royallists, and to give them some terrour, he had by his Agents formed a Plot to draw in some honest credulous persons of that party to their destruction; and in prosecution hereof in the month of *May* Colonel *John Gerard*, and his Brother Master *Charles Gerard*, Mr. *Philip Porter*, Mr. *Peter Vowel*, and Mr. *Sumerset Fox* were apprehended for a pretended intention to assassinate the Protector, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, proclaimed on the 13 *th.* of *June* following, and sitting on the 31 *th.* before whom they were tried for their lives, and three of them (*viz.*) Colonel *John Gerard*, Mr. *Vowel*, and *Sumerset Fox* were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his confession of the fact and craving mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. *Vowel* was hanged at Charing Cross, where with an undaunted spirit tempered with a Christian constancie and patience he gave up his life. Colonel *Gerard* was beheaded on *Towerhill*, and died with great courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold suffered the *Portugall* Embassadors Brother Don *Pantalion Sa*, who had a while before made a riot in the new Exchange upon conceit of some affront offered there to him, and killed one *Greenway* a Gentleman standing quietly at a shop, no opposition being made but by this Colonel *Gerard*, who was fatally joyned with him in death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of *Malta*, who escaped, but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadors Servants being taken (one whereof was an Irish youth.) They were arraigned in *Westminster*-Hall before Judge *Rolles*, and others by special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the *Portuguese* were tried by a Jury of half English and half strangers, and the Irish Boy by a Jury of English; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above mentioned Don *Pantaleon* and the Irish youth, who was hanged at *Tyburn*.

A peace with the Q. of Sweden.

1654. Spain, Portugal, and France seek Cromwels friendship.

Col. Gerard and others tried before a High Court of Justice.

Col. Gerard and Pantalion Sa beheaded.

Our King had remained in the Court of *France* between two and three years, with an expectation sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, *Lunenburgh*, *Brunswick*, &c. as also the Emperour himself, to whom was sent in a decent and Honourable equipage the Lord *Wilmot* created Earl of *Rochester*, and his Address received with much civility and respect. Moreover, the *Dutch* seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with *England*, and Prince *Rupert* was designed to have had the Command in his Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet so little speed was made in putting this Overture into act, and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and them, that whatever they hoped for and expected from them, quickly vanisht and came to nothing: His next and more probable expectation was from the Success of those earnest endeavours that were made by the Pope and o-

The Kings hopes from Forein Princes and States.

The Earl of Rochester sent Embassador to the Emperor.

1654. The King sollicites a Peace between France and Spain.

ther Princes, for a Reconciliation between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in which Affair he also interposed himself a most zealous Sollicitor, as not doubting but that from the united forces of two such powerful Monarchs, he should receive considerable assistance: and matters were once in a fair way to a peaceful conclusion, had not the Politick Reasons of State, as it was thought, of Cardinal *Mazarini* put a stop to this Grand work; so that taking his leave of the King of *France* (and the other Great ones) from whom he received many Complements and Apologies, he went accompanied with his Brother the Duke of *York*, his Cosins Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Edward* Palatine, to *Chatillon*, a House belonging to the Prince of *Conde*, where they staid a while to determine how most commodiously each of them should dispose of themselves: The King with Prince *Rupert* resolved for *Germany* (the Earl of *Rochester* being at that time with the Emperour at *Regensburgh*, to sollicite in his behalf;) and the rather, because about that time a general Diet of the Estates of the Empire was to be held in that City: Prince *Edward* took his journey to *Bourbon*, and the Duke of *York* remained in *France* till a good while after the conclusion of the Peace with *England*, being Lieutenant General of the *French* Kings Army, Commanded in Chief by Marshal *Turein*. Prince *Rupert* parted from the King to go to *Heidelbergh*, the Chief Seat of his Brother *Charles* Prince Palatine, and thence to the Imperial Court at *Vienna*, and the King took his Journey by the way of *Cambray* and *Liege* to the *Spaw*, which he made his first place of Residence in *Germany*: Here his Sister the Princess Royal of *Aurange* met him, and after a few moneths stay in this place, accompanied him to *Colen*, where they were received with great Honour and Magnificence; as they made their entrance into the Town, the great and small Guns were discharged, and the Deputies of the City came in a solemn manner to Complement them: the Duke of *Newburgh* also entertained them very splendidly at his House at *Dusseldorp*, from whence the Princess of *Aurange* returning into *Holland*, the King her Brother brought her onward of her way as far as *Bedinguen*.

He departs out of France towards Germany.

The King removes to the Spaw. Thence to Colen.

The conclusion of the War with Ireland.

From the time we left *Ireland* in so declining a condition, and so almost lost to his Majesties hopes, and the Lord Lieutenants endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in *Ulster*, under the leading of *Emir Mac Mahon* Bishop of *Cloghor*, who (*Owen Roe Oneal* being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united forces of *Clanrickard*, *Muskerry*, and *Castlehaven*, and some few parties that now and then sallied from their Fastnesses, these for a while gave check to the Republicans and *Cromwels* substitutes; till in the end the said Prelate being overthrown (even to the taking of his person mortally wounded in the fight) by Sir *Charles Coot*, and Colonel *Fenwick*; the Lord *Muskerry* by the Lord *Broghil*; the Marques of *Clanrickard*, soon after a defeat he received at *Finagh*, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of *Carrick*; the remnant of the *Ulster* forces Commanded by the Lord *Jinkillen*, Colonel *O-Rely*, and the *Mac-Mahons*, Relations of the foresaid Bishop, yeelding upon Articles; as likewise did *Morrogh O Brian*, having all of them stood it out to the last extremity: the remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out, as *Athlone*, *Galloway*, *Ballishannon*, *Ballimote*, the Isles of *Arran* and *Enishuffen*, and other places, were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conquerours power; the Marques of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Inchequin*, having in time provided for their safeties, (when they saw things in a desperate condition, and still growing worse and worse) by imbarking for *France*, nothing was left but to dispossess and extirpate the vanquisht, and take possession in their room: Some they removed out of the world by an Itinerant High-Court of Justice, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof was one Justice *Donellan* an *Irish-man*, and *Cook* (notorious by his officiating in another High-Court) his assistant: Others were sent out of the Land by the Articles of Transportation, which the Marques of *Clanrickard* and others upon their laying down Arms had concluded with them; namely, to have free Liberty to go beyond Sea to serve the King of *Spain*, or some Forein Prince in his Wars: those Inheritors that remained and escaped the High-Court, were transplanted to the Province of *Connaught*, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of *Irish* Lands: the main pretence of this foresaid Court which sate at *Kilkenny*, and thence removed to *Waterford*, *Dublin*, *Ulster*, and other places, was for the Trial of those that were judged guilty of the *Irish* Rebellion in 1641. The chief of Quality that suffered, (for there were a number of less note) were Colonel *Mac Hugh*, Colonel *Tool*, and Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and who was of all the most eminent as in Quality so in Crime (had he been judged by a Lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief obstructors of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the advantage of his Majesties Service, Sir *Philim Oneal*, who being taken near *Charlemount*, tried, and condemned, was hanged and Quartered near my L. *Canfields* House, at the place where he had caused his father to be murdered: thus was *Ireland* become subjugated to the English Usurpation. And so likewise was *Scotland* thought to have been at this time, when on the sudden a new Hostility springs up in the Highlands, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful influence in those parts, the Earls of *Glencarn*, *Athol*, *Seaforth*, *Kinoule*, the Lord *Kenmore*, the Lairds *Mac-Renalds*, and *Mac-Cloud*, Colonel *Montgomery*, Sir *Mungo Murry*, and Sir *Arthur Forbes*; these having each of them got together their several parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so trusted to have been able with a force not altogether contemptible to have taken the field against the main power of the *English* that were then in *Scotland*: and 'tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under *Glencarn*, and *Kenmore* been encountred on the sudden, ill armed, ill provided, and in disorder, by Colonel *Morgan* at *Cromar*; *Glencarn*'s Army in this conflict, being very much put

Glencarn & Middleton defeated in the Highlands.

1654. put to the rout and dispersed, and himself missing but little of being taken, the rest in little straggling parties were many times met with to their loss: yet were they not for all this so out of heart, but that they again made a shift in some sort to reimbody, & that so much the more confidently, upon expectation of *Middletons* coming over with Supplies out of *Holland*; though upon his arrival not long after with Commission to be General, Sir *G. Monro*, (who together with the Lord *Napier*, and Major General *Dalyel*, landed with *Middleton* at *Vney Ferry*) having also Commission to be Lieutenant General; The Highland Levies instead of being re-inforced by these additional forces and supplies were rather weakned and overthrown by the animosities of some of the Scotch Nobility, especially *Glencarn* stomaching the preference of *Middleton* and *Monro* to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in discontent, and laid down his Arms. Upon the neck of which breaches and defections among them. General *Monk* (the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea) is sent Commander in Chief into *Scotland*, and coming upon *Middleton* at *Loughgery*, on the twentieth of *July* gave him an utter defeat, and thereby put a period to these Highland Agitations, and all further attempts in *Scotland*, to the disturbance of the then regnant Authority in *England*.

The General Assembly dissolved by Col. Morgan

The Kirk of *Scotland* also her self at this time had the wings of her Religious Empire very much clipp'd, if not quite taken away by the dissolution of her General Assembly, which was done by Colonel *Morgan*, the fore-going year at *Aberdeen*, where they were assembled, Mr. *Andrew Cant* & the rest of them in vain protesting against the action: the like disturbance they had afterwards at *Edenburgh* from Lieutenant Colonel *Cottrel*.

The Marquess of Argyle intercedes for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland.

The Marquess of *Argyle* to keep up his Reputation with the Church of *Scotland*, seemed much troubled in his mind at this proceeding against the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protector for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good success: For *Oliver* considering that his declining the Kings interest, facilitated the total subjection of *Scotland* to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by seeming to do that at his request, he determined to do before for the quieting of the minds of the people; the Church of *Scotland* was therefore indulged with the exercise of Religion, and a great part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline: they were restrained in little more than the power of keeping general Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the rigour of Excommunication: For, whereas before persons excommunicated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their estates confiscated till their Reconciliation, This later part was not now to be executed; but to please the Ministers for the restraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in Universities of *Scotland* was increased, and many Priviledges granted to them.

The Priviledges of the University in Scotland, increased, and maintained for the Scholars

The Government and security of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. *Lambert* was formerly appointed for that Government, and had provided all his equipage to go thither; but *Cromwel* was jealous, lest his ambition should excite him to gain a party there to establish himself against him: and therefore he artificially contrived to hinder him from going, upon pretence of greater advancement here, and he made him next to himself, Commander in Chief of all the Armies, with an entertainment of ten pounds a day; this done, he constituted his own Son-in-law *Fleetwood* to be Deputy of *Ireland*, assisted with 6 Counsellors (that is to say) *Steel* who was after made Chancellor, *Pepys* one of the Barons of the Exchequer in *England*, appointed to be Lord Chief Justice of *Ireland*, Mr. *Robert Goodwin* of *Sussex*, *Miles Corbet*, and the Colonels *Robert Hammond*, and *Mathew Thomlinson*. 1654.

Fleetwood is made Deputy of Ireland.

The King was at *Colen* when he received the disconsolate News of the disasters in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, supported chiefly by that brave and undaunted fortitude, which never failed him in the greatest of his adversity. The Princes of *Germany* were very kind to him, which made his stay in those parts the more agreeable; and to encrease his comfort, he sent the Marquess of *Ormond* to *Paris*, to wait on his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester* to him, whom he more earnestly desired to have near him, lest his youth might be prevailed upon, by the subtilty of Arguments, and temptation of Riches and Promotion, to change his Religion; for the King was ever most zealous in the profession of the Protestant Religion in himself and Family, and on all occasions to promote it to his power in others.

The Marquess of Ormond sent to attend the D. of Gloucester.

According to the late Instrument of Government, wherein it was Articled, That a Parliament should be called every three years, and that the first should begin on the third of *September* 1654. A Parliament was summoned by *Oliver*'s Writs, chosen after the wonted manner of Election by the peoples voice, and assembled at *Westminster* at the prefixed time above mentioned, making choice for their Speaker of *William Lenthal*, Speaker in the Long Parliament: their beginning was somewhat bold, considering the tottering ness of their Estate; for at their very first sitting, they began to question the lawfulness of the Power by which they were called, whereupon they were enjoyned to sign a Recognition of the Government, as it was setled in a Single Person and a Parliament, before they could be re-admitted to their Seats in the House: this all of them that sign'd (for some refused) had liberty again to take their places; but so little did their proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarcely sate full five moneths (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles of the Instrument) when he came and dissolved them. A day or two after which, were apprehended Major *Wildman*, with a Declaration *proving the lawfulness and necessity of taking up Arms against* Cromwel: and of the Royallists, Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and some others, about a new Conspiracie, which *Oliver* told the Members of his Parliament at the time of his dismissing them, he knew to have been countenanced & abetted, if not in a part promoted by some of them present, whom he

A Parliament called.

The Members injoyned to sign a Recognition

The Parliament dissolved.

Sir Henry Littleton, and others committed to the Tower.

1654. he could name. And the truth is, there was a foundation laid (by a Combination of the most courageously affected toward their Princes Service throughout the Kingdom, authorized by Commission from his Majesty) of a general rising for him in every County; which had not so quickly and so easily been suppresst, had not *Cromwel*, sparing for no cost to maintain his Instruments of deceit, for he had his Spies ready hired, not only here in all corners, such as counterfeiting themselves zealous Royallists, insinuated into their Counsels, and betrayed them, (of which number Sir *Richard Willis* at last became shrewdly suspected to be one) but even about the Kings person, as appeared by the defection of one *Manning*, preferred in consideration of his fathers merits (his father was Colonel *Manning*, slain in his late Majesties Service) to be one of the Kings Secretaries Clerks, whom Colonel *Samuel Tuke*, forcing open his Chamber-door, took in the very act of holding Correspondence with *Thurloe*, *Olivers* Secretary, from whom having newly received a Pacquet, and setting himself busily to the returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he was hastily chewing Papers in his mouth just as the Colonel entred. Thus for a long time had he made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence to the Usurper, of all that was transacted in the Kings Court, and had a large Pension punctually assigned him for his pains; till at length thus fortunately found out, he had the reward of his treachery paid him in a more deserved manner, being by the Kings command, the whole Court beseeching his Majesty to make a publike example of him, shot to death in one of the Duke of *Newburghs* Castles. This Combination, though it were probably to the very bottom discovered, before the apprehending of the above-named persons; yet so far the design, being generally laid, had taken effect, that in several Counties some small armed parties began to gather into a Body; in *Shropshire* and *Wales* some endeavoured to have taken *Shrewsbury* and *Chirk* Castle by surprize, but were both prevented; and of those that attempted *Shrewsbury*, Sir *Thomas Harris*, who was the chief, was taken prisoner, and sent up to *London*.

Manning's treachery discovered, for which he is put to death.

The surprize of Shrewsbury endeavoured.

Upon Sunday the 11 *th.* of *March*, a party for the King of about 200 entred *Salisbury* about Midnight, and having seized upon Horses, and taken away the Commissions of the Judges that were upon their Circuit, bended their course towards *Cornwal*; of which Captain *Unton Crook* having timely intelligence, pursued them with his own Troop, and at a place called *Southmolton* in *Devonshire* overtook them, and after four hours sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and drowsie, and faint for want of sustenance, drove them to a necessity of yeelding; yet *Penruddock* bravely stood it out, till Articles were granted for the Indemnity of him and his Company, which *Crook* is said to have afterwards perfidiously denied, and left them wholly over to the Courtesie of their Judges: besides 50 common prisoners, there were taken of the chief Leaders 3 Captains, *Penruddock*, *Jones*, and *Grove*, only Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* made a shift to escape away. Other Risings there were in *Northumberland*, and at the Forest of *Sherwood* in *Yorkshire*, where 500 Horse being met, and not finding the Country to come in as they expected, dispersed themselves, and returned to their Habitations. Also at *Hexam*-Moor in *Yorkshire*, there was a great Rendezvouze of the Gentry of the Countrey, of whom Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, and Sir *Richard Maleverer* with much ado escaped.

An Insurrection at Salisbury.

And the like in other parts of the Nation suppress.

1654.

At *Salisbury*, *Exeter* and *Chard* in *Somersetshire* many of the West Risers were tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and executed, and particularlarly at *Exeter*; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded, Captain *Jones* was reprieved; besides those who were put to death of the chief Leaders, many Prisons in the West were filled with a number of the common sort of prisoners, till within a little while after that they emptied themselves into Forein Plantations.

Penruddock and Grove beheaded about the Western rising.

And there hapned about this time an Adventure which served very opportunely for the ridding of Prisons of their surcharging numbers, and the imploying of a multitude of loose and vagrant people, there having been ever since the peace with the *Dutch*, preparations made for the equipping forth of a great and powerful Fleet, upon an Expedition which was kept very secret, and not made known even to those that went upon it, unless to the Supreme Commanders, till the very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage would be very profitable, and to a place where there was much Gold and store of Riches: In this Service we may well think there would not be wanting enough that would greedily engage themselves; hither all sorts of people flocked, especially those of low and Bankrupt Fortunes, and upon hopes of enriching themselves, run headlong most of them to their ruine; a Fate that commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Covetousness. This Navy setting Sail from *Portsmouth* on the 27 *th.* of *December* put in at the *Barbadoes* on the 28 *th.* of *January*, *Venables* commanding the Land-Forces, and *Pen* being General at Sea.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if for nothing else, yet for the death of that famous and Learned Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose Works are a Monument far more worthy his Memory, than that in the *Inner-Temple* Church.

The death of Mr. John Selden.

1655.

The King of *Spain* was not ignorant that this great preparation was designed to make some impression on his Dominions in the West-Indies, and after having dispatched expresses into those parts to give them warning thereof, he sent the Marquess of *Leda* (a person of great reputation in Arms) in a splendid Embassy to the Protector, to divert, or prevent the prosecution of the business: he arrived at *London* the 22 *th.* of *May*, but had so cold reception and was so much discouraged in his Negotiation, that he quickly returned.

The Marq. of Leda comes Embassador from Spain and speedily returns.

In the mean time the English Fleet set sail from the *Barbadoes* the 30 *th.* of *March*, and steered its course towards *Hispaniola*, one of the fairest and richest Islands belonging to the *American* Dominions of the King of *Spain*; so that it was by this time apparent enough which way this expedition tended. And whereas it was admired

The fleet steers towards Hispaniola.

1654. mired by many, that at that time when no Hostility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of *Spain*, or any defiance bid on either side, we should carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offer'd: it was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfie the *Spaniard*, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach: However it were, whether this Expedition were just or not; whether it were undertaken to a pious end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive pride, and ambitious usurpation of the *Spaniard*, and to bring freedome and purity of Religion to those *Indians* under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the *Spaniard* of some of his *Indian* Gold, (thinking it too much for one *Potentate* to ingross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprise, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the War with the *Spaniard* proved afterwards succesful enough) for General *Venables*, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of *Santo Domingo*, (the principal Town and Fortress of the Island, and which was in a manner deserted by the Garrison Souldiers,) upon sight of the English Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than suspected) over-rul'd by the Counsels of his Wife, set them ashore ten Leagues Westward of *Domingo*; whereupon the Spaniards gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves again to the defence of *Santo Domingo* which they had abandon'd: The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemie near them, thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the *Indies*, sharing the Golden Mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General causing it to be Proclaim'd in the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of death, should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattel. This sudden frustration of their Hopes, and the Climates excessive heat, proved the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakning to their Bodies, that by that time they had marched a most tedious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, (of which they met not with a drop in many miles,) they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with faintness and weakness; so that the Spaniards, Negro's, and Molatto's falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; and those that could make a shift to flye away, found it a sufficient Atchievement for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

The English land in the Island of Hispaniola.

They are cruelly vanquish'd by the Spaniards and Natives, and driven out of the Island.

In this Conflict Major General *Haines* acted the part of a very valiant Souldier, who being shamefully deserted by his own men, and overpowred by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above 600 in the Fight, besides what were cut off in straggling parties neer as many more; & all this Execution was done by not above sixty of the Enemie. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken so long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, possest themselves with little or no opposition of another Island called *Jamaica*; which however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of *England*, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at *Oristano*, the chief if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since. 1654.

They possess themselves of Jamaica.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one *Gage* a Minister (formerly a Romish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those parts (of which there is a handsome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his daies not long after his arrival, reaping little fruit of his Project.

Whilst the proceedings in the *West-Indies* were unprosperous, General *Blake* had better fortune in the *Streights*, who coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and sending to the Governour thereof to demand satisfaction for the depredations committed by his people on the English, and to require the English Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous answer return'd, (*viz.*) *Here are our Castles of* Guletto *and* Porta Ferina *well mann'd and furnish'd with Ordnance, do what you can, we fear you not*; and at the same time they mann'd a line all along the shore, and planted Guns thereon: Whereupon (after a short consultation with his Officers) *Blake* with his great Ships and their seconds, came into the *Bay* of *Porta Ferina* within Musquet-shot of the Castle and their line, and fired with such fury upon them (notwithstanding the frequent discharges of sixty great Guns upon his Ships, that in two hours, the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the stones clattered about their ears; and finding nine of their Ships in the road, he caused them all to be fired with his long Boats, and in five hours they were consumed. After this brisk action he sailed to *Algiers* and *Tripoly*, with both which places he made very advantageous treats, and then came again to *Tunis* which he found (by this time) willing to submit to what he proposed.

Gen. Blake's notable Attempt and success before Tunis.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the several late endeavours for the King for which so many suffered, it was not much above a Moneth e're the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lords *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas*, *Petre*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Jeoffrey Palmer*, Sir *Richard Wingfield*, with divers others, were committed to the Tower, upon suspition of pretended High-Treason against *Cromwell*; which yet, went no further than bare suspition, for they were never brought to a publick Tryal.

The Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Newport and others commited to the Tower.

About the beginning of *July*, Major *Sedgewick* went with a Squadron of twelve Ships, a-

mong

1655.

mong which was Colonel *Humphryes* with a Regiment for the ſupply of thoſe in *Jamaica*; from whence, in the following Moneth of *Auguſt*, General *Pen* return'd for *England*, with a part of the Fleet, the greateſt part yet ſtaying behind: and not long after him came over General *Venables*, leaving in their ſteads Colonel *Forteſcue* to command the Land Forces, Vice-Admiral *Goodſon* the Navy. *Venables* not long after his Arrival, was for his ill management of Affairs in *Hiſpaniola* ſent to the Tower; from whence, being judged to have failed rather through raſh Imprudence, than any ſiniſter Intention, he was at length releaſed.

Major Sedgwick, and Col. Humphries ſent with a ſupply to Jamaica. Gen. Pen and Gen. Venables return into England.

The Duke of Glouceſter comes to Colen to his Brother the King.

The Duke of *Glouceſter* willingly obeying the Order of the King his Brother, was come away with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* from *Paris*, and having ſtayed for ſome time with his Siſter the Princeſs Royal, at the *Hague*, was at laſt accompanied by her to the King their Brother at *Colen*, where ſhe her ſelf alſo ſtaid with them till after the Fair at *Frankeford*; to which place, they all of them together made a Progreſs of State and Pleaſure, attended by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Newburgh*, the Lady *Stanhop*, and Monſieur *Hemflet*: her Husband, they went by Coach a little beyond *Bonne* the Arch-Biſhops Electoral Seat: the reſt of the Journey they went by Water; through every Princes Countrey which they paſt, they had the chief Officers of State ſent to Complement them, and were ſaluted by the great Guns from all their Towns and Caſtles, more eſpecially the Prince Elector of *Mentz* ſent his grand Marſhal to invite them to his Court: whereupon the Lord *Newburgh* was ſent back with the Grand Marſhal, to deſire the Elector to excuſe them at preſent, promiſing to wait upon him at their return: Being arrived at *Frankeford*, and hearing that Queen *Chriſtina* of *Sweden* was coming that way in her Journey into *Italy*, the King ſent one of his Lords to her, expreſſing his deſire to wait upon her, at whatever place her Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to nominate; the place then appointed for this Interview was *Coningſtein*, a Village neer *Franckford*, in the Electorate of *Mentz*, where he had firſt particular Diſcourſe with her himſelf for half an hour, which paſt with many Complements and Ceremonies of Civility: next the Duke of *Glouceſter* was admitted, and then the Lords that attended the King. As theſe Princes came back from *Franckford*, the Elector of *Mentz* renewing his Civilities, provided all manner of accommodation for them, as they paſſed through his Territories; and meeting them himſelf a great part of the way, he brought them to one of his Palaces, where he entertained them in a very ſumptuous and ſplendid manner, for the ſpace of two or three daies; after which they returned to *Colen*: Four Burgomaſters being appointed by the Magiſtrate of the City to wait upon them, and welcome them home.

Their Progreſs to Franckford.

The Interview between the King and Chriſtina Q. of Sweden.

The King and his Company entertain'd by the Elector of Mentz.

An Army having been ſent under the Marqueſs of *Pianella*, and the Earl of *Quince* Commander of the *French* Forces in *Italy*, by *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, againſt his Proteſtant Subjects in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, upon occaſion of ſome high diſpleaſure taken againſt them, and the Souldiers left to their own unbridled Licence, having committed many cruel Outrages and Maſſacres upon the poor miſerable People; *Cromwell* taking this opportunity to ingratiate himſelf with the Proteſtants abroad, (affecting to be thought the chief Patron and Protector of thoſe of the Reformation in all Parts,) concern'd and beſtirr'd himſelf very vigorouſly for their Relief; he appointed a ſolemn day of Humiliation to be kept, and cauſed a large Contribution to be gathered for them throughout the Nation, and ſent his Agents abroad to mediate for them, Mr. *Pell* to the *Proteſtant* Cantons of the Switzers; Mr. *Samuel Moorland*, and Mr. *George Downing* to *Thurin* to the Duke of *Savoy*, but his Meſſage being ſlighted by him, he took another courſe to deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the King of *France*, his now great Allie; by whoſe Power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacification was ſhortly concluded: Though of the large Collection that was made, ſo ſcanty a ſhare came to them, (for ſome they had) that it may be very well ſuſpected, whether ſelf-Charity for the getting of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as Charity *ad extra* for the beſtowing it.

A Contribution gathered throughout England for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in Piedmont.

However it far'd with the *Proteſtants* abroad, theſe at home, *viz.* the Royalliſt, becauſe they would not become *Oliver*'s obedient Subjects, are not only not ſav'd from Perſecution, but perſecuted themſelves; while, beſides other diſpleaſures both toward the Clergie who were prohibited from teaching School, and from having any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains; and toward the Laity, who were by Proclamation confin'd (ſuch as had ever been in Arms) not to come within twenty miles of *London*, and diſabled from electing or being elected in Parliament, there comes out a two-handed Invention of *Cromwell*, which ſerv'd him at the ſame time to acquire money to his own Coffers, and to bring them low in their eſtates and power; this was an Order for the Decimation, or tenth part of the Eſtates of all ſuch as had ever been in Arms either for his late or preſent Majeſty: For the better executing this Project of Decimation, (under colour of *ſecuring the Peace of the Commonwealth*,) for which Orders were ſet forth toward the later end of *Octob.* by *Oliver* and his Councel, is ſet up the Office of *Major Generals Civil*, in the nature of *Præfects* or Governors of Provinces, to Curb, Watch, and keep in awe the Royalliſts, and if it were poſſible to pull down their high Stomachs; they were Eleven in number, namely, *Kelſey*, *Goff*, *Deſborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whaley*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worſley*, *Lambert*, and *Baxter*, which laſt was alſo Lieutenant of the *Tower*; each of them having his ſeveral Counties allotted to his Government in the nature of *Provinces*: In which their Principalities, they reign'd like ſo many petty Kings, domineering over the Gentry and Nobility; till *Cromwell* either thinking to do a ſpecial act of Grace by taking off his Maſtives, or jealous of what their power in time might come to, eaſily gives way to his next Parliament to unhorſe thoſe whom he himſelf had ſo lately mounted.

Major Generals conſtituted over ſeveral Provinces.

Upon

1655. A debate held at White-hall about the admission of the Jews.

Upon the the tendring of certain Proposals to the Protector by *Manasseh Ben Israel*, a Jewish Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admission to Trade, and exercise their Religion in *England*; a Conference was held about it several days at *White-Hall*, by the Members of the Councel, and certain Divines of the most eminent then in esteem: and many Arguments being urged, some for, others against their admission; those against it so far prevailed, that the Proposals took no effect.

An Imbargo upon the Goods of English Merchants in Spain. Open War with England proclaimed by the Spaniard at Dunkirk.

The Spanish King thinking it in vain to hope for a Conservation of the League on this side the Line from those whom he judged to have so apparently broke it on the other side, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began not obscurely to make preparations for War; and to shew that he had entertained thoughts of Hostility, a general Imbargo was made in *Spain* of all English Merchants Goods, and many of their persons secured; hereupon the like was done in *England*, and there suddenly followed on both sides a denunciation of open War, which by the Spaniard was not long after solemnly proclaimed at *Dunkirk*.

Articles of Peace between England and France ratified and proclaimed.

The dissolution of the Peace with *Spain*, was the product of a peace with *France*; for there having been long since an address made to that end from *France* to the State of *England*, no sooner did the breach begin between *England* and *Spain*, but the French King sends to Monsieur *Bourdeaux* his Ambassador here to press his Embassie; which he did with so good success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between us and *France* were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the twenty eighth of *November* the Peace was proclaimed at *London*, and at *Paris* much about the same time.

Whereupon soon after *Cromwel* not to be behind-hand in State, and to provide for the diligent management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, sends over in the Quality of his Embassador extraordinary to the French King, Colonel *Lockhart*, sometime one of the Itinerant Judges in *Scotland*, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highness: And at the same time there was a strict League of Amity between him and *Carolus Gustavus* the then King of *Sweden*, and Embassies of friendly Correspondence were on each side interchanged; from hence went Mr. *Rolt*, one of *Oliver*'s Bed-Chamber (as Envoy) and from thence arrived here the Lord *Christian Bond*, who was entertained with more than ordinary respect; for of all Amities that were between *Cromwel* and Forein Princes and States, his most particular and intimate seems to have been with the Swedish King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War against the *Dane*, while at the same time he made shew of endeavouring an accommodation between those two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with *France*, was the exclusion of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of *France* his Dominions, but he upon foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to *Germany*, and there remained (for the most part at *Colen*, as hath been already mentioned) until such time as the Spaniard invited him into *Flanders*: his Brother the Duke of *York*, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the King of *France* his Army (the nearest Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Interest comes in place) was by the same reason of State, advertised to depart that Kingdom with all his retinue by a prefixed time, not without some Complements and Apologies for this dismission: also his departure was respited for some space, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by the Marshal *Turein*, and others of the *French* Grandees; as likewise by the Duke of *Modena* (who at that time was come into *France* about some important affairs;) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of France, and attended by the Lord St. *Albans*, and other English Lords, took his Journey toward *Flanders*, where at that time the King his Brother resided at the invitation of *Don John* of *Austria*, who then Governour of the Low-Countries for the King of *Spain*, sent the Count of *Fuensaldagne*, to offer him in the Name of the Spanish King all possible Service and assistance.

1655.

The Duke of York warned out of France.

Betakes himself to Flanders to his Brother.

The Close of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the last; the last Year ended with the Learned *Selden*; this, with that most Pious and Reverend Prelate, *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and once Primate of *Ireland*, whose Judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Common-wealth of Learning throughout Christendom; his Burial, though he died on the 21 *th.* of *March*, was deferred till the 17 *th.* of *April*, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by most of the Nobility in *London*, attended to *Westminster-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to *Cromwel* (for so Dr. *Bernard*, once Preacher to the Society of *Grays-Inn*, was then entitled;) Moreover, *Cromwel* himself defrayed all things befitting his Inment, bestowing 200 *l.* toward the solemnizing thereof. Yet were his Coffers not so well furnisht as he desired. And therefore notwithstanding his no success in his last Parliament, he finds a necessity of calling one again, whereupon he sends forth Writs in *July* for the summoning of another Parliament on the seventeenth of *September*.

The death and burial of the Bishop of Armagh.

1656.

A Parliament summoned again.

In the mean while, a part of the English Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and six other Ships under Captain *Richard Stainer*, set upon a Fleet of eight *Spaniards*, within four Leagues of the Bay of *Cadiz*; the Admiral Ship in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with six hundred thousand pieces of Eight, run ashore in the Bay, the Vice-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquevell*, and having in her 1200000 pieces of Eight, and another Ship Commanded by *Don Rodrigues Calderon* were taken, and afterwards fired (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by accident:) Two others were taken and kept in possession, the Rear-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by *Don Francisco del Hayo*, and having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden; another man of War of some value, with a *Portugal* Prize, and a small

Gen. Blake and Gen. Montagues Victory over the Spanish Fleet near Cadiz.

1656. Vessel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, escaped to *Gibralter*. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken prisoners, was the Marques of *Baydex* with his whole family: there perished in this Combustion (besides a number of less Note) the Marques himself, with his wife and his eldest Daughter, who was going into Spain to be married to the Duke of *Medina Celi*; there were saved from this fire, the Marques his eldest Son *Don Francisco de Lopez*, a younger Son *Don Joseph de Sunega*, and two Daughters *Donna Josepha*, and *Catalina*, with about ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken prisoner *Don Diego de Villa Alva*, Governour of the *Havana*. It was related by the young Marques *Francisco de Lopez*, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to *London*, and there for a while detained Prisoners, that the Cities of *Lima* and *Calao* in *Peru*, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 11000 Spaniards, but of Indians not above 100: also that the Mountains of *Potosi* being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby utterly destroyed. This enterprize near *Cadiz* purchased no less profit than honour to the performers thereof, and to the chief in Power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them, and after no very long time of detention, dismist them home without any Ransom.

The Marq. of Baydex and his wife perish in a ship set on fire.

A sad and wonderful accident at Peru.

The Parliament assemble.

On the 17 *th.* of *September* (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and chose for their Speaker Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the Instrument of Government, but such as after their elections should be approved of, & allowed by the Councel, & there were many discontented persons chosen of those that were dismissed at the last dissolution of what remained of the Long Parliament, and others of the Fifth-Monarchy Principle, that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthning of his Authority, so that till the 26 *th.* of *June* the proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that day the Parliament adjourned it self to the 20 *th.* of *January* following, and passed some Acts, the principal whereof were:

An Act for Renouncing and Disanulling the Title of Charles Stuart *unto the Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protectors Person, and the continuance of the Nation in security and peace.

A Vote to assist his Highness in his War against the Spaniard, *which they declare to have been undertaken upon just ground.*

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of Buildings within 10 *miles of* London; the Substance of which was *That for every House built from such a time within that Compass, upon a new Foundation there should be paid a Years Rent to the Protector.*

The Humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at *White-Hall*, to desire him *to take the Chief Government of the Nations upon him, with the Title of KING*; of which the Power he already had, the Name only he wanted: This Offer was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly toucht upon, as springing from a Motion suddenly started by some of the Protectors friends. When as sure enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed them, and as they had private encouragement and Instructions from the person they seemed to court. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him with this Humble Petition and Advice, he still desired further time of deliberation, before he could positively determine in a matter of so great weight and concernment; till at length being requested to give his final Answer, he returned (after he had several times sifted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so averse (the most part of them) that he thought it not safe to venture) *That he could not take upon him the Government with that Title*: Thus openly refusing (in regard matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly pursued.

1656. The Parliament Petition and advise the Protector to take upon him the Title of King.

It must needs be thought high time for *Cromwel's* Convention to make Acts for the security of his Body, since there was now more noise than ever of a most desperate plot against it; the Criminals said to be of this plot, were *Miles Sindercome*, a Cashier'd and dis-satisfied Army man, *Toop*, one of *Cromwels* Life-Guard, *Cecil* and *Bois*, the last of whom a Priest belonging to *Don Alonso de Cardenas* (once Lieger Embassadour here from *Spain*) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents a work, comes off himself with a *Non est inventus*; *Cecil* and *Toop* pleaded they were drawn by *Sindercombe*; he on the other side, that he was trapann'd by them: Of the several Ambushes in this plot, thus runs the Story; At *Hammersmith* a House is hired on purpose, placing of an Engine called a Blunderbus, to shoot him as he goes to *Hampton-Court*; at *Hide-Park* Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another house in *Westminster*, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly, when these took no effect, the next design was to set *White-Hall* on fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken fire at a prefixed time; which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In conclusion, he of the Life-Guard discovers all, and both he and *Cecil* have their pardons, he for his discovery, and *Cecil* for his free Confession, and the sorrow he expresseth: *Sindercombe* boldly and sturdily standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the *Upper-Bench*, before *Cromwels* Attorney-General, was nevertheless cast by the Witness of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at *Tyburn*; in the mean time being kept close prisoner in the Tower, that very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have snufft up into his head a certain poysonous powder to avert the shame and misery of the execution

Sindercomb and others plot against the Protectors life.

Sindercomb tried and condemned.

Sindercomb procures his own death by a poysonous powder.

1656. tion that was preparing for him, though it was whiſpered as if his poyſoning had been the Deſign of ſome others: however, as a *Felo de ſe*, he was dragged at a Horſes Tail with his Heels forward to Tower Hill, and turned naked into an hole under the Scaffold, with a Stake ſpiked with Iron, driven through his body into the earth.

The trial of James Naylour before the Parliament.

Memorable alſo was the Trial (hapning a little before this diſcovery) of one *James Naylour*, the great Champion and Ring-leader of the Sect called *Quakers*, who having ſpread his Doctrine, and gained many Proſelytes to it in divers parts of the Nation, was more eſpecially taken notice of at *Briſtol*, and from thence was brought up to *London*, attended by ſeveral men and women of his Opinion, who all the way they came (the women eſpecially) are ſaid to have ſung *Hoſanna's*, and to have uſed the ſame kind of expreſſions toward him, as antiently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into *Jeruſalem*: The Parliament took it upon them to judge him themſelves, before whom being convented, he was charged of Blaſphemy, for aſſuming to himſelf Divine Honours, and ſuch Attributes as were due unto Chriſt only: After he had uſed many cunning Sophiſms and evaſions to clear himſelf, ſuch as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheleſs ſentenced by the Houſe to be (firſt at *London*) publickly whipt, pilloried, and ſtigmatized as a Blaſphemer, then to be conveyed to *Briſtol*, there to be alſo whipt; laſtly, to be brought back to *London*, to remain in *Bridewel* during pleaſure: which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him.

His Sentence.

The King now in *Flanders*, having his reſidence for the moſt part at *Bruges*, had upon hopes of the good ſucceſs of thoſe his Subjects of *England*, who now began again buſily to ſtir for him in all parts of the Nation, embodied together ſeveral Regiments, conſiſting of ſuch *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *Iriſh*, as he recalled out of the Service of the *French* King, and thoſe that came in to him from other parts, whoſe Colonels were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Lords *Wentworth* and *Gerard*, and Lieutenant General *Middleton*; theſe Forces he kept quartered upon the Sea-coaſt, to have been in readineſs, if occaſion were, to have ſeconded thoſe in *England*, Monſieur *Marſin*, an expert Souldier, formerly Lieutenant General to the Prince of *Conde*, being deſigned to have conducted this Army; but the Counſels of his friends that acted for him in *England*, being from time to time betray'd, and his Majeſty not being in a capacity to keep his men in continual pay, he took the opportunity, ſince he could not make uſe of them himſelf, to gratifie a power that had obliged him, and which ſtood in need of reſolute men, and thereupon conſigned them to the Service of the King of *Spain*.

The King keeps an Army in Flanders.

1657. In vain did *Cromwel* think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, ſince all the ſeveral Intereſts therein, how contrary ſoever among themſelves, attempted at one time or other, to ſhake off the Yoke of his Protection: yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and thoſe that at preſent atempted to ſtrive, *Oliver* being ſtill too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the 19 *th.* of *April* 1657. at a certain Houſe in *Shoreditch*, were apprehended a diſcontented party formerly in the Army, that went under the Name of *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, ſuch as taking upon them to be the Champions of Chriſt's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy beſide; the chief of whom were *Thomas Venner*, a Wine-Cooper-prædicant (whom we ſhall have occaſion to take more notice of hereafter (*Aſhton*, *Hopkins*, *Gowler*, and *Gray* their Scribe: they had appointed to Rendezvouze that night at *Mile-End-Green*, and thence to have marched into ſome other Counties to joyn with others of their party, that were ready to ſhew themſelves upon the firſt opportunity; there was taken with them, beſides a great quantity of Arms, and certain printed Papers (that were to be diſperſed) a Standard with a Lion *couchant*, *gules*, *in a field argent*, and having this Motto, *Who ſhall rouſe him?* There were alſo taken into cuſtody Major General *Harriſon*, Captain *Lawſon* late Vice-Admiral, Colonel *Rich*, and Major *Danvers*; whereof the firſt was committed to the Sergeant at Arms, and the reſt to other priſons. 1657.

Fifth Monarchy men apprehended upon a deſign againſt the Government

Major Gen. Harriſon and others ſecured.

The *Spaniards* were very much diſtreſſed in all parts by the War with the Protector, and on the 20 *th.* of *April* ſo gallant an Action was performed by General *Blake* in part of their Dominion, that the like hath ſcarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with ſome Ships near *Cadiz* to watch for the return of the Spaniſh plate-Fleet, had intelligence that they had put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Iſland of *Teneriff*, hereupon he weighed anchor on the 13 *th.* of *April*, and on the 20 *th.* rode with his Ships off the offing at *Santa Cruz*, where he diſcerned the Spaniſh fleet to the number of ſixteen, barricadoed in the Bay in a ſemicircular manner. Near to the mouth of the Haven a Caſtle is placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and beſides that, there were ſeven Forts round about the Bay, with ſix, four, and three great Guns on each, all united by a Line of communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Muſquettiers, and *Don Diego Diagues* the Spaniſh General of the Fleet upon ſight of *Blakes* fleet cauſed all the ſmaller ſhips to be moored cloſe to the ſhore, and ſet ſix great Gallions well manned farther out at anchor, with their broad ſides at Sea.

Gen. Blakes ſucceeſful enterprize againſt the Spaniard at Santa Cruz.

Blake having well conſidered this poſture of the enemy, ſent Captain *Stayner* Commander of the Speaker Frigot with a Squadron into the Bay, who by eight the next morning fell pell-mell on the Spaniſh ſhips, but *Blake* who would have his ſhare of the toil and glory of ſo brave an enterprize immediately ſeconded *Stayner*, and placed ſome ſhips to pour their broad-ſides into the Caſtles and Forts, whilſt he with *Stayner* fought the Spaniſh Fleet (which was not inferior in number to the Engliſh, and much better manned) and by two in the afternoon they gained an intire Victory, but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Ships ſet them all on fire, but one that was ſunck, and when this Service was performed, the

1656. wind even to wonder, which before blew ſtrong into the Bay ſuddenly veer'd about to South-Weſt (which brought our Ships ſafe out to Sea.)

The news of this ſucceſs of *Blake* was ſo grateful to the Protector and the Parliament that they ordered him a Jewel of five hundred pound, and an hundred pound was given to the Meſſenger that brought the Letters, and proportionable gratuities, and thanks to moſt of the Officers and Mariners.

An Army of Engliſh ſent to aid the French in Flanders. Montmedi, & St. Venant taken.

According to the Conditions of Agreement between *England* and *France*, the *French* King demanded Auxiliary forces from *England* to help him in his War againſt the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, which was readily granted by the Protector, & 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be ſent over, Commanded in Chief by Sir *John Reynolds*, one of *Cromwels* Knights, a man of good Courage and Reſolution, once Commiſſary General in *Ireland*: No ſooner were theſe Forces arrived in *France*, but the *French* by their help took two very advantageous places, *Montmedi* and St. *Venant*; nor was it long after ere they took the ſtrong Fort of *Mardike*, being of notable conſequence toward the ſpeedy gaining of *Dunkirk*: This Fort was immediately after it was taken conſigned by the *French* into the ſole poſſeſſion of Major General *Morgan* and the Engliſh, who preſently fell to fortifying of it, and in a ſhort while made it ſo impregnable, that when the *Spaniard* ſenſible how much it imported to the keeping of *Dunkirk*, to regain this fort, ſent a ſtrong power of men (among whom were two thouſand Scotch and Iriſh Reformadoes, aſſigned by our King to that Service, and commanded by his Brother the Duke of *York*) to ſet upon its recovery by a deſperate ſtorm, they were after a very gallant and reſolute effort upon the place, which continued for the ſpace of ſix houts, repelled in the end with the loſs of many men.

1658. The Protectors Inſtalment.

After *Cromwel* had given his final Anſwer to his Parliament, that he could not take upon him the Government with the Title of King, it was reſolved on, that the Title of Lord Protector ſhould be continued and inſerted in the Humble Petition and Advice, by which Title he was ſolemnly Inveſted (with much more Ceremony than before) on the 26 *th.* of *June*, before a great Aſſembly of people in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where a fabrick was erected for that purpoſe, and a Chair of State placed for the Lord Protector, whoſe Inſtalment wanted but little of a Regal manner, and though he attained not the Crown, yet he had the Scepter, for there were four Emblems of Government preſented unto him by Sir *Thomas Widdrington* the Speaker (who at the delivery of them made an Oration to him, in which he amply deſcanted upon each of them) a purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines, wherewith he was veſted by the Earl of *Warwick*; Commiſſioner *Whitlock* preſented a large Bible with Boſſes & Claſps richly Gilt, and a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword, which the Speaker girt about him: Thus attired, while he ſate in his Chair under a Canopy of State holding the Scepter in his hand, the herald ſtanding aloft, made a ſignal to the Trumpet to ſound thrice; after which he was proclaimed Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and then returned to *White-Hall* in State, having the Sword before him by the Earl of *Warwick*. He was likewiſe proclaimed not only in *London*, and other parts of *England*, but alſo in the chief Cities of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And now he began to take the King upon him in his manner of living, and to Govern after a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family according to the faſhion of a Kings Court; to which end he had his Yeomen of the Guard in their Livery of Gray-cloth, with Welts of Black Velvet, of whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; his Lord Chamberlain was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, the Lord Keeper of the Seal *Nathaniel Fiennes*; *Lambert* was Warden of the Cinque-Ports; *Glyn* Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, and *Steel* (formerly Recorder of *London*) Lord Chief Baron: Moreover, being thus confirmed Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himſelf by Alliances abroad (for beſides the Leagues with *France*, *Sweden*, the United States, and a fair Correſpondence with *Denmark*, he had alſo upon the coming of Don *Franciſco de Mello* Embaſſador, concluded a firm peace with *Portugal*) he began to make it his next care, for the better eſtabliſhing of himſelf, and ſtrengthning of his Intereſt at home, to advance his neareſt Friends and Relations, and to match his Children into the Nobleſt Families; his eldeſt Son *Richard* he called out of the Country, to inure him to a Court life, and an inſight into publike affairs, deſigning him for Succeſſion in the Protectorate, which the Univerſity of *Oxford* prudently foreſeeing (as the Learned were never found backward in complying with the times, and courting the riſing Sun) ſent their Agents and Proctors to him, to elect him their Chancellour, in which Honour he was ſolemnly Inſtalled at *White-Hall*: his ſecond Son *Henry*, he made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, in the room of his Son-in-law *Fleetwood*, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he ſaid his preſence and Counſel: his two youngeſt Daughters he matched, *Frances* the younger to Mr. *Robert Rich*, Grand-Child to the then Earl of *Warwick*, and *Mary* the elder to the Lord *Falconbridge*, the Nuptials for them both being kept with much feſtivity and Splendor, both at *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and the Ladies are ſo vertuous they deſerved a better father.

The Protectors eldeſt Son inſtalled Chancellor of Oxford.

His ſecond Son created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

His youngeſt Daughter married to Mr Robert Rich.

His eldeſt to the Lord Falconbridg.

Sir John Reynolds & his Company caſt away upon Goodwin Sands.

Scarce was the Mirth of theſe Solemnities over, when, to allay the Triumphs for the ſeveral Succeſſes of the Engliſh in *Flanders*, there arrived the News of the loſs of Sir *John Reynolds* General of the Forces in thoſe parts, who with Colonel *White* and ſome others, Imbarquing for *England*, by the way of *Goodwin* Sands, in a ſmall Veſſel, at a tempeſtuous ſeaſon, contrary to the perſwaſions of many (it is unſafe to venture againſt ill preſages) was caſt away with his whole Company. But here was ſomething more than ordinary in this haſty coming over of *Reynolds* and *White*, both ſeeming to prevent the arrival of each other; for whether *Reynolds* was ſent for by *Cromwel*, or ſuſpected the intention of *White* to be ſome Impeachment againſt him; his buſineſs probably was to defend himſelf, in reference to an Imputation of holding Correſpondence with the Royalty, becauſe he was prevailed with by the Duke of *York*,

1658. *York*, who always loved ſtout men, to give him a meeting between *Dunkirk* and *Mardike*, at which Parley, *Reynolds* was indeed not backward to render his Highneſs thoſe Honors and Civilities which were due to a perſon of his Illuſtrious Quality. Not many moneths before, there died at Sea as he was entring into the Sound of *Plymouth*, that valiant and expert Sea-man General *Robert Blake*, not long ſurviving his notable Exploit at *Santa Cruz*; the beſt Elogium that can be given of him, is the true rehearſal of his Actions; than which, ſaving that it was his misfortune to ſerve an Illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our Engliſh Nation. Alſo Vice-Admiral *Badily* ended his Life on Land, whither he was come for the recovery of his Health; and at *Jamaica* there died Lieutenant General *Brain*, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

The death of G. Blake, Vice-Adm. Badily, and Lieut. Gen. Brain.

Colonel *Sexby* one that was a Priſoner in the Tower upon ſome deſign againſt *Cromwel* on a Commonwealth accompt, died about this time, and his death was not without ſuſpition of poyſon: he was a virulent enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and ſuſpected to have acted the horrid murder on him by cutting of his head, or aſſiſting therein with a vizor, for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

Col. Sexby dies in the Tower.

The laſt Convention having adjourned on the 26 *th.* of *June*, met again on the 20 *th.* of *January* following; and in this Seſſion, which differed from the other as much as one diſtinct Parliament could poſſibly have done from another, two very obſervable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more diſturbance to *Cromwels* Ambition and ſafety, than he with all his Policie and foreſight was aware of; the firſt was the admiſſion of thoſe Members which in the laſt Seſſion were kept out with a high hand, whom ſince the Injuſtice of the act did not reſtrain from excluding the time before, the conſideration of his Intereſt urged him now no leſs, but rather the more to have excluded them this time alſo; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (if at leaſt they were his friends) of the laſt Convention, who made it one of the Articles in their *Humble Petition and Advice*, That *thoſe perſons who are legally choſen by a free Election of the People to ſerve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by conſent of that Houſe whereof they are Members.* The other was, the erecting of a new Convocation, intended (in imitation of the Old Conſtitution) for a Houſe of Lords, but they would not venture at firſt to call it by any other name than that of the other Houſe; it conſiſted partly of ſuch as he took for his eſpecial Favourites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were pickt out of the Houſe of Commons to be conſtellated in the Other Houſe, partly of ſeveral of the late excluded Common-wealth-men, and ſuch likewiſe of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a ſcore of the old Nobility were nominated, but refuſed to come. Now in this Contrivance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himſelf very much deceived, ſince by this ſtrong inundation of the late excluded, and the tranſlation of ſeveral of his Friends of the Commons into his Other Houſe, his Intereſt there was ſo weakned, that his tranſlating alſo of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoiſe that way) vailed him little; for Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and the reſt of the ſticklers both diſdaining to accept of *Cromwel's* offered Baronage, and that by the addition of their own preſence they might ſtrengthen their own Party the more, took their places in the Houſe of Commons, by which means the Commonwealth faction grew ſo potent, and flew ſo high, that the other Houſe was not ſo much as taken notice of, except in way of deriſion and contempt; ſo far were they from being concurred with or owned in any of their Meſſages. Moreover, they began to call in queſtion what was done in the laſt Seſſion, as being invalid without their aſſent: So that the *Humble Petition and Advice*, which but lately made ſuch a noiſe, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This ſo incenſed the Protector, that in a great heat and paſſion he goes from his Councel, and notwithſtanding the earneſt diſſwaſion of ſome of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haſte, and being come into his Other (or Lords) Houſe, ſends for the Houſe of Commons up to him, and for a preamble to their diſſolution, ſtanding under a Canopy of State, unfolds his mind to them in this following Speech; which we have thought remarkable enough to ſet down at large, in regard it plainly diſcovers (as averſe as he ſeemed from accepting the Kingly Title) his ſtrange perturbation of ſpirit, and how nettled to the quick he was to ſee himſelf croſt and curbed in the tendencie and progreſs he made thereunto, though by ways a little fetcht about, and under the ſhew of ſettlement and flouriſhing eſtate of the Nation.

1658.

The Commons diſown the Other Houſe, and begin to queſtion the Government

The return of Cromwels Convention after the r Adjournment, with the addition of the other Houſe.

The Humble Petition and Advice.

Cromwel diſſolves them.

Olivers Speech at the Diſſolution of his laſt Parliament.

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Bleſſing; and the Lord be my Witneſs, I deſire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to theſe Ends. The Bleſſing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs, and Peace, which I deſire may be improved.

That which brought me into the Capacity I now ſtand in, was the Petition and Advice *given me by you, who in reference to the Ancient Conſtitution, did draw me to accept of the Place of Protector; There is not a man living can ſay I ſought it, no not a Man nor Woman treading upon Engliſh ground; but I contemplating the ſad Condition of theſe Nations, relieved from an Inteſtine War unto a ſix or ſeven years Peace, I did think the Nations happy therein. But to be Petitioned thereunto, and Adviſed by you to undertake ſuch a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the Houſe, that then had the Legiſlative Capacity, I did look that the ſame Men that made the Frame, ſhould make it good unto me: I can ſay in the preſence of God, in Compariſon of whom we are but like poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wood ſide, to have kept a flock of ſheep, rather than undertook ſuch a Place of Government as this is; but undertaking it by the* Advice and Petition *of You, I did look that you that had offered it unto me, ſhould make it good.*

1657. *I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unleſs there might be ſome other Perſons that might interpoſe between Me and the Houſe of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent tumultuary and popular Spirits; and it was granted I ſhould name any other Houſe; and I named it of Men that ſhall meet you whereſoever you go, and ſhake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Party that they value, but a Chriſtian and an Engliſh Intereſt, Men of your own Rank and Quality, who will not only be a Ballance unto you, but to themſelves, while you love* England *and Religion.*

Having proceeded upon theſe Terms, and finding ſuch a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Vertue, Honeſty, Piety, and Juſtice are omitted: I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have ſatisfied You; but if every thing muſt be too high or too low, you are not to be ſatisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unleſs I knew there would be a juſt Accord between the Governour and the Governed, unleſs they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliaments Petition and Advice *adviſed me unto; upon that I took one Oath, and they took another Oath upon their part anſwerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what Condition they ſwore? God knows, I took it upon condition expreſſed in the Government; and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and thereupon I thought my ſelf bound to take it, and to be Adviſed by the Two Houſes of Parliament, We ſtanding unſettled till we were arrived at that; the Conſequences would neceſſarily have been Confuſion, if that had not been ſettled: Yet there are not Conſtituted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power conſiſting in the Two Houſes and my ſelf: I do not ſay, that the meaning of your Oath was to You, That were to go againſt my own Principles, to enter upon another mans Conſcience; God will Judge between Me and You: If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have ſettled upon this Baſis, and have offered your Judgment and opinion.*

God is my Witneſs, I ſpeak it, it is evident to all the World, and people living, that a new buſineſs hath been ſeeking in the Army againſt this Actual Settlement by your Conſent; I do not ſpeak to theſe Gentlemen or Lords (pointing to his right hand) *whatſoever you will call them, I ſpeak not this to them, but to you; you adviſed me to run into this Place, to be in a capacity by your Advice; yet inſtead of owning a thing taken for granted, ſome muſt have I know not what; and you have not only disjoyned your ſelves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confuſion, in this fifteen or ſixteen days that you have ſate, than it hath been from the riſing of the laſt Seſſion to this day, through the Intention of deviſing a Common-wealth again, that ſome of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing; and hath that man been true to this Nation, whoſoever he be, eſpecially that hath taken an Oath thus to prevaricate: Theſe deſigns have been upon the Army, to break and divide us; I ſpeak this in the preſence of ſome of the Army, that theſe things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will:) Theſe things tend to nothing elſe but the playing of the King of* Scots *his Game, if I may ſo call him; and I think my ſelf bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banquetting-Houſe was true, That there were preparations of Force to invade us; God is my Witneſs, it hath been confirmed to me ſince within a day, that the King of* Scots *hath an Army at the Water-ſide ready to be ſhipped for* England; *I have it from thoſe who have been Eye-witneſſes of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from ſome who are not far from this place, to ſtir up the people of this Town into a Tumulting, what if I ſaid into Rebellion; and I hope I ſhall make it appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me; it hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been ſitting, and to draw them to ſtate the Queſtion about a Commonwealth, but ſome of you have been liſting of perſons by Commiſſion from* Charles Stuart, *to joyn with any Inſurrection that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to Invade us) but even preſent Blood and Confuſion. And if this be ſo, as I do aſſign to this Cauſe, your not aſſenting to what you did Invite me to by the* Petition and Advice, *as that which might be the Settlement of the Nation, and if this be the end of your ſitting, and theſe be your Carriages, I think it high time that an end be put unto your ſitting; And I do declare to you, I do diſſolve this Parliament: and let God Judge between Me and You.* At which many of the Commons cried, *Amen.* And ſo the Parliament was Diſſolved. 1657.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that croſt him, to the inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much ſtreightned for want of thoſe ſupplies of Money which he expected.

Toward the later end of this year died the Protectors Son-in-law Mr. *Robert Rich*, and was but little above two Moneths ſurvived by his Grandfather the Earl of *Warwick* himſelf.

1658. The following year, 1658. begins with the News of a Victory at *Jamaica* (which came by an Expreſs from the Governor on the 8 *th.* of *April*) obtained by a Party of the Engliſh there, commanded by Major *Richard Stevens*, againſt 500 Spaniards, who under *Don Chriſtopher Arnaldo Saſſer*, having lately landed in that Iſland, and begun to fortifie themſelves at a place called St. *Anne*, were fiercely ſet upon by the Engliſh, and forced to flye into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of Spaniards, conſiſting of 300, who had fortified themſelves at *Chareras*, in the North of the Iſland, were, by the Governor himſelf Colonel *Doiley*, driven quite out of their Hold, *Don Franciſco de Prencia*, the *Maeſtro del Campo*, with others, taken, many kil'd, and the reſt utterly diſperſ'd. The Spaniard diſperſed by the Engliſh in Jamaica.

Cromwell had no ſooner freed himſelf of the danger threatned him from his Parliament, but he is preſently alarm'd again by his old Enemy the Royalliſt, whom yet he had ſtill the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligence; however, he took all Advantages to provide ſtill more and more for his The attempts of the Royal party in behalf of his Majeſty, betrayed and diſcovered to the Protector.

1658. his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor (*Tichburn* was then the man) and Aldermen of the City, acquaints them with what he had discovered, *of the busie actings against the Peace of the Commonwealth*, aggravates the danger, recommends to them the setling of the Militia in trusty hands, causeth the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected persons were already secured, as Sir *William Compton*, Brother to the Earl of *Northampton*, Sir *William Clayton*, Mr. *John Russel*, Brother to the Earl of *Bedford*, and many more, the whole Design being beforehand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one *Corcar*, a Minister of *Bourn* in *Sussex*, and such others as had been long employed by *Cromwell* for the same purpose; the Marquess of *Ormond*, who indeed was the chief Manager of this intended general Rising for his Majesties Service throughout the whole Nation, and had to that end remain'd for a good while concealed in *England*, being narrowly watch'd and searched for; but he happily obtained an opportunity (by the help of one Dr. *Quaterman*) of shipping himself away at a Port-Town in *Sussex*: Among those that had been formerly imprisoned, were Dr. *Huet*, Minister of St. *Gregories*, and Sir *Henry Slingsby*; which last had been a Prisoner ever since the Rising in the *West*; yet being a Person who was known to bear no good will to the present Power, he is charged with an Intention of delivering up *Hull*, meerly upon the expressing of his Consent thereunto, to some that were sent to make the motion to him, and sift out his mind with purpose to betray him; and these were Major *Waterhouse*, Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thompson*; and the Doctor seems to have been no less hardly dealt with, considering what things were laid to his charge: which had they been true, would certainly never have been so utterly denied, at the very moment of his death, by a man of his known Honesty and Integrity: The rest that were taken afterwards were, Mr. *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, Mr. *Manly* a Merchant, Mr. *Hartgil Baron*, Mr. *Stapely*, Mr. *Maunsel*, M. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carrent*, Mr. *Jackson*, and one *Mallory*, who is suspected to have been a Decoy to the rest; of whom, M. *Mordant*, *Woodcock*, *Carrent*, and divers others, were tried at a High-Court of Justice, which on the 25 *th.* of *May* was set up under the Presidentship of Commissioner *Liste*; all hitherto mentioned, except Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Huet*, having the good hap to come off with life: Sir *Henry*, and the Doctor, were the first brought to Tryal, and both of them sentenced to dye as Traytors: The first, upon the bare Testimony of those three men, who had so treacherously circumvented him, which in vain he pleaded; as also the impossibility, a Prisoner as he was, of performing what he was charged with; The other, as a Mute, disowning the Courts Authority, and thereupon denying to plead: The next was Mr. *Mordant*, who also at first disavowed the Courts Authority, but was at length prevailed with to plead, and in the end acquitted only by one Voice, in that fortunate interim, while Colonel *Pride* by reason of a Fit of the Stone wherewith he was troubled, had withdrawn himself from the Court, and staid somewhat longer than he intended; the other two being so far favoured, as to have their Sentence mitigated, were on the 8 *th.* of *June* Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*: The next that were tryed were Mr. *Robert Woodcock*, Captain *Henry Mallory*, and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*: The first made so handsome and discreet a defence for himself, that they could fasten no Accusation upon him, and so were forc'd to acquit him; *Mallory*, no doubt by precompact, confessed, was condemn'd, and not hanged: Of the rest that had to do with this High-Court, *William Carrent* was acquitted; Collonel *Edward Ashton*, and *John Bettely*; the the first in *Tower-street*, (the other in *Cheapside*) were hanged and quartered on the 7 *th.* of *July*; the same day *Henry Fryer*, ready to have been executed in *Smithfield*, and two daies after *John Summer* in *Bishops-gate-street*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Grace-Church-street*, had their Reprieves brought them: The same day the two last were Reprieved, *Edmund Stacy*, his Sentence remitted, was hanged near the *Royal Exchange*: In the mean time, *Manly*, *Baron*, and *Maunsel* aforementioned, with two others, namely, *Edmund Seymour*, and *Guy Carlton*, having made their escape, were at the *Upper-Bench* (as it was then called) Indicted of High-Treason, though absent, and out-lawed.

1658.

Sir Henry Slingsby & Dr. Huet Beheaded.

Col. Ashton and others, executed.

The Marquess of Ormond makes his Escape.

Dr. Huet, and Sir Henry Slingsby, committed to Prison.

Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Huet, Mr. Mordant, and others, tried before a High-Court of Justice.

In *Flanders* Successes came on with a swift Career; presently after the taking of *Mardike* Fort, *Dunkirk* was straightly begirt by the joynt Forces of the French and English, the French commanded by the Marshal of *Turein*, the English by the Lord *Lockehart*, Ambassador from the *Protector* to the *French* King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir *John Reynolds* deceased. The Relief of this so important a place (it being the chief Sea-Port, and as it were the Key of all *Flanders*) the Spaniards resolved to Assay, though with the hazard of a Pitch'd-field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Force they could make, amounting to about seven thousand Foot, and nine thousand Horse, Commanded by *Don John* himself in person, together with the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Marquess of *Caracene*; and drawing down from *Fuernes* Fort, were engaged by the Marshal of *Turein*, and the Count of *Schomberg* joyning with *Lockehart* and his English Forces, who making their way (a good part of them) up a Sand-Hill, against the whole power of the Spaniards, were the main Instruments in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken; and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of *Conde* was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Cosin *Bonteville*, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Princes stead: There were slain of the English, Captain *Sherwin*, and another Captain, five Lieutenants, and two Ensigns, with eighty Common Souldiers, besides three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel *Roger Fenwick*, who

The Siege of Dunkirk.

The Spanish Army vanquish'd near Fuernes Fort, by the French and English.

1658. who was reported a ſtout man, and his loſs much bewailed: A day or two before this Battel, the Marſhal of *Hocquincourt* (who had cauſed the important Town of *Heſdin* to revolt from the French to the Spaniard) was ſlain as he went out Picqueering upon a Party. No ſooner was this Battel ended, but the French and Engliſh returned again afreſh to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Marqueſs of *Leda* Governour thereof (who had been formerly ſent Ambaſſador to the Protector) ſeeing now more ſtraightly than ever inviron'd both by Land and Sea, whereby it was reduced to great Extremities; he reſolute to defend the Town, made a bold ſally forth, in which he received his mortal Wound: the Governors death, and the terror of the Granadoes ſhot into the Town, wrought ſo upon the Beſieged, that they were ſpeedily brought to Articles of Surrender, and on the 25*th.* of *June*, march'd out with Colours flying; ſo that the King of *France* in perſon, accompanied with the Cardinal *Mazarini*, took poſſeſſion of the place, and immediately reſigned it up into the hands of General *Lockehart*, in behalf of the Lord Protector, and the Engliſh.

The Marſhall of Hocquincourt ſlain.

The Marqueſs of Leda, Governour of Dunkirk ſlain in Maly.

Dunkirk ſurrendred to the French, and reſigned into the hands of the Engliſh.

The ſixth of *Auguſt*, *Elizabeth* the Protectors ſecond Daughter died at *Hampton-Court* of an Apoſteme in ſome of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, becauſe he loved her above all his Children; and that ſorrow was increaſed by the length of her Sickneſs, and the grievous torments ſhe endur'd: A little before ſhe expired (which was in much pain) the Delirium of her Sickneſs prompted her to utter many things, (which though formerly ſhe thought, ſhe yet durſt not expreſs,) againſt the Injuſtice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one *Cleypole*, the Son of a private Gentleman of *Lincolnſhire*, of a moderate Fortune; but ſhe could not be confin'd to it, being of a Spirit as high, as if ſhe had been born to that Greatneſs to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Diſpoſition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Auſterity, and oppreſſion of the Royal Party, to ſeveral of whom ſhe did many good offices. The Grief which the Protector had contracted for her death, was very much augmented by his Trouble, to diſcern, that the Diſcontents ſprung up amongſt many of the Inferiour Officers of the Army, were fomented by *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*; the firſt of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Siſter, who with *Berry* and *Cooper* Colonels, and *Sydenham* and *Pickering*, two of the Privy-Councellors, were in a Confederacy againſt the preſent Government, in favour of a Common-wealth. And a while after he fell ſick himſelf of a Tertian Feaver, which at firſt ſeem'd not to ſignifie much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: Yet his Imagination was ſo far tranſported with Enthuſiaſtick Ravings, that inſenſible of his own Danger, he affirm'd, That GOD had reſerved him to greater Attempts, than ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was aſſured he ſhould not dye of this Sickneſs. In which Extaſie, he was much heightned by *Goodwine* one of his Chaplains, who openly declared, *GOD had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given them his Life*, and therefore he perſwaded ſome of his Friends, to keep a kind of private Thankſgiving beforehand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amuſed his Phyſitians ſo much, that they were leſs regardful of his Condition. But nevertheleſs, it was adviſed he ſhould be brought to *White-Hall*, where with more conveniency than at *Hampton-Court*, a reſpect might be had to his Health, and the Publick Affairs of the Nation, where he had not been many daies, e're it viſibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had ſome time before his Sickneſs appointed a *Junto* or Committee of *Nine*, with whom he privately conſulted in the moſt urgent Affairs of the Government. Theſe were, *Fleetwood*, *Fiennes*, *Desborow*, *Whalley*, *Thurloe*, *Lawrence*, *Berry*, *Cooper*, and *Goffe*, which were mixed of both Factions, that is, of that of a Single Perſon, and that of a Common-Wealth, that he might diſpleaſe neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the later from Deſigns upon his Power.

1658.

The death of Mrs. Eliz. Cleypool, Cromwel's ſecond Daughter.

Her Charity.

Cromwell falls ſick at Hampton-Court.

He is removed from thence to White-Hall.

Upon *Tueſday* the 31*th.* of *Auguſt*, finding himſelf in danger, he commanded his Servants, and all other Perſons, except M. *Thurloe*, and Dr. *Thomas Goodwyne*, out of the Room, and declared to them, *That in regard he found his Sickneſs and Weakneſs increaſing, he was reſolved to declare his Succeſſor, according to the power given him, by the* * *late* Petition, and Advice; *And therefore he deſired them to take notice, that he Named and Declared his Son to ſucceed him accordingly.* They asked him, which Son? He Replied, *My Son* Richard, *my Eldeſt Son.* Immediately thereupon, there came ſome Perſons into the Room, whereby it hapned, that nothing further was ſaid at that preſent. But * Mr. *Thurloe*, and Dr. *Goodwyne* immediately conferring together, did conceive that the Buſineſs was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Atteſtation of it; and therefore Reſolved to take the firſt Opportunity they could to move him again therein, and to deſire him, for that Reaſon, to call ſome others, to whom he might communicate his Mind in that matter: But in regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were conſtantly there, they could not all that day, nor the next, gain any opportunity.

The Tranſaction between him and thoſe about him concerning the naming of his Succeſſor.

* A Syſteme of Government, made in the pretended Parliament An. Dom. 1656.

* Cromwels Secretary of State.

But on *Thurſday*, perceiving his Diſtemper very much to increaſe, and hourly gain upon him, They reſolved not to defer it longer: And thereupon they asked him, *Whether he remembred what he had ſaid unto them the* Tueſday *before?* Which he ſaid, he did. They asked him, *Whether he continued of the ſame mind or not, touching the ſucceſſion of his Son* Richard? He anſwered, *That he did.* They then told him, it would be requiſite he ſhould communicate his Pleaſure to ſome others, and that the *Declaration* of the Buſineſs, was of too great Concernment and Conſequence for them alone to undertake, if there ſhould be Oppoſition; and therefore deſired him to ſend forthwith for ſome others. He asked them for whom he ſhould ſend? They replied, whom he pleaſed. Then ſend, ſaid he, for the Committee

1659. mittee of Nine : Whereupon they ſent a Meſſenger forthwith to haſten them thither of whom three came immediately, *Fiennes*, *Whaley*, and *Goff*; and theſe five that that were then preſent, perceiving him ſtill to decline, went to the Bed-ſide, and asked one of them him, touching what he had declared to Dr. *Goodwyne*, and Mr. *Thurloe*. He thereupon ſaid again, *That he would have his Son, his Son* Richard *to ſucceed him* : and ſo, without any more Diſcourſe, they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his reſt. But within few Minutes came in *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, upon the Summons that had been ſent them; to whom the aforeſaid five declared what had paſſed, and offered ſomewhat faintly to move *Oliver* to the Declaration of his mind again, which they as faintly refuſed; but were not much urged to it, they having at their firſt coming declared themſelves ſatisfied with the Atteſtation of five perſons, ſo well known and eſteemed of them.

Cromwel having poſitively declared his eldeſt Son Richard his Succeſſor, gives up the Ghoſt.

Upon *Friday* (the third of *September*, the ſame Memorable Day of the Year, that in 1650. he overcame the *Scots* at *Dunbar*, and the Year following at *Worceſter*) at three of the Clock in the afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after ſo many hazards in the Field, ſo many ambuſhes ſaid to have been laid againſt him at home, notwithſtanding the Multitude of Enemies, that, from all Parties and Intereſts whom his violent purſuit of Greatneſs had exaſperated, conſpired againſt his ſafety; contrary to the real belief of many men, the ill-bodings of ſome, and the earneſt wiſh of others, he died not of a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death. The day of his death was uſhered in by a Night as tempeſtuous as had been ſeen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Combuſtion at the flight of a Spirit, which had made ſo great a Concuſſion in the Affairs of the World.

Cromwels deſcent and Character.

He was born in the Town of *Huntington*, and was the Son of a Second Brother of Sir *Oliver Cromwel* of *Huntingtonſhire*, a Perſon of Eminent Note in the late King's time; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward* of the Iſle of *Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* the Daughter of Sir *James Bourchier*, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is ſaid to have originally derived the Name of *Cromwel*, from that Great *Cromwel*, who was *Henry* the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Deſcent was from one *Williams* of *Glamorganſhire*, who living Contemporary with this Lord *Cromwel*, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transferred it to his own Poſterity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Diſſimulation, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obſcured what was praiſe-worthy in him; yet there was ſomething of Generoſity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of ſome that had ſerved him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that writ his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mentioned Lord *Thomas Cromwel*, toward *Seignior Friſcobald* an Italian Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.

By his Reputation in Arms, he was courted or feared by moſt of the Princes in *Europe*, and the King of *France* and *Sweden* were entred into ſo ſtrict a League with him, as might have troubled the whole world; but Cardinal *Mazarine*, the Chief Miniſter of France, held moſt ſecret Intelligence and Friendſhip with him. He was a man of ſingular Courage and Reſolution, and that attended with a moſt proſperous Stream of Fortune, which is not always the concomitant of Valour. He kept the Armies under him in ſo exact Diſcipline, that they rather ſeemed a Body of well-governed Citizens, than Souldiers: Swearing, Profaneneſs, Drunkenneſs, Murder, Rapine, Uncleanneſs, the Common Vices of other Souldiers, were not to be found amongſt his. His Ambition and deſire of Glory, excited him to make Attempts alſo in other Countries, in purſuance thereof, whereby a great Renown accrued to our Nation in all parts of the World. And had he not employed that Policie and ſagacity of Parts, which muſt be confeſſed to have been in him, to evil Ends, and by unheard of impieties Traiterouſly aſpired unto that higheſt pitch of Honour which belonged not to him, Uſurping his Majeſties Government, he might have been worthy of eminent Place and Dignity in it.

An hour after his death, there met together thoſe of the Privy-Councel then in Town, that had been the moſt zealous Promoters of the Petition and Advice, and beſt affected to that Government. Theſe were made acquainted by *Thurloe*, with what paſſed on *Tueſday* and *Thurſday*; and alſo, that *Oliver* had ſubſcribed a Paper long before his Death, touching the Succeſſion, wherein *Fleetwood* was declared Succeſſour; And that this Paper having been laid in a Cabinet, known only to *Oliver* and his Wife, and no Perſon more (as was thought) was ſearched for, but could not be found. They then agreed, to ſend two of their Number to *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, and to know of them unfeinedly, whether they acquieſced in the Declaration that *Oliver* had made, touching the Succeſſion of his Son? Acquainting them, that they knew there had been a Paper ſubſcribed by *Oliver* in his life-time, to the effect aforeſaid: and therefore requeſted to know of them, whether if hereafter any ſuch Paper ſhould be found or produced, they would notwithſtanding ſubmit to the Laſt Will and Parol Declaration of *Oliver*? Whereto *Fleetwood* replied, and promiſed, as in the preſence of God, That if any ſuch Paper then were, or ſhould thenceforth be found or produced, yet he would not inſiſt thereupon, forasmuch as he cordially acquieſced, as he ſaid, in the Succeſſion of *Richard*. And thereupon a Councel was forthwith ſummoned, where *Fiennes* and *Thurloe* gave an Accompt of *Olivers* Appointment of his Succeſſour. And *Goodwyn*, *Whalley*, and *Goffe* were called in, and atteſted the ſame upon their Oaths. And being withdrawn, the Councel unanimouſly declared their Satisfaction: *Desborow* having firſt ſtood up, and adjured them all in the Name of the Living God, that if any diſſatisfaction remained upon their Spirits, they would freely declare it; as he profeſſed he would have done, had any doubt remained with him. This paſſed; the Preſident and whole Councel

1659.

Olivers Will concerning his Succeſſour, imparted to the Councel and Chief Officers.

They all conſent to the Election of Richard.

1659. went at once to congratulate *Richard*, and condole his Fathers Death.

Richard Cromwel proclaimed Protector by the City and chief Officers of the Army.

After the Congratulation, *Strickland*, *Skippon*, and some others of the Councel were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done; and the next morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by *Chiverton* Lord Mayor of *London*, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Councellors of State as could be got together; wherein *Richard Cromwel* was at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, and several other publick places in *London*, proclaimed Protector of the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, after the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him, which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies passed (the Councel, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* administred an Oath to him in these words:

The Oath administred to him by Fiennes.

I do in the presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the Just Rights and Priviledges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the people of these Nations acding to Law.

Thus far matters succeeded well; his Brother *Henry Cromwel* was Chief Governour of *Ireland*, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of *Scotland* they had some doubt; but to endeavour to rectifie all things there, *Richard* sent that evening to Mr. *Thomas Clarges* (Brother-in-law to General *Monk*) to prevail with him, to go immediately into *Scotland*, with his Letters to *Monk*, to know how he stood affected to his Advancement: This *Clarges* was pitched upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his procurement, upon the death of one *Rowe*, to be Agent for the Armies and Councel of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, an Imployment of good value, whereby he became interessed in the knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; for the Regiments of that of *Scotland*, especially of the Horse were often changed, whereas the *Irish* Army continued still unchanged: And although at first his having been in the late Kings Service at *Oxford*, made them at *White-Hall* unwilling to imploy him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656. by his actings against the Kingship of *Cromwel*, that they would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason: Besides, all of the contrary faction (of which were the chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed *Monk* engaged him in those Counsels; and the opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert *Oliver* from accepting the Crown. *Clarges* willingly accepted of this occasion to go to General *Monk*, to be able to inform himself particularly of his inclinations: For although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little opportunity of other Converse with him than by Letters. The City of *London*, and the generality of the people in *England* (having been wearied and tired with the miseries of War, and their Spirits subdued by the oppressions and Tyranny of *Oliver Cromwel*) seemed outwardly to comply with the necessity of the Time, and submit to an approbation of that they could not remedy. By subtile Contrivances, Congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities & Counties were framed, subscribed, & presented to him. In *Scotland*; by private advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. *Clarges* came thither, he found them all prepossessed, & doubting one the other; they liked, or seemed not to dislike all that was done at *London*. But the General himself and he had many secret Conferences, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain condition, wherin he found both himself and the Nation inthrall'd by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Souldiers (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people, so that they consulted of a paper to be drawn up to be presented to the new Protector, the heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a sober & Orthodox Ministry, to permit no Councels of Officers, and to model and put the Army into the hands of the * qualified Nobility, and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might best trust: From this Conference which was managed by both, with much reservedness; *Clarges* began to perceive the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Country to its Antient Government, when ever a fit occasion should present it self for the attempt. With this paper, and a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, *Clarges* returned to *London* to him; the Letter he delivered publikely, but the paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him: and the prosecution of the advice thereof in his attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the divisions which hapned in them, and the happy consequences thereof.

1659.

Addresses to the young Protector from all parts of the Nation. The Army of Scotland submit to what was done in England.

* such as never had been against the Parliament to prevent the jealousie of the action.

Mr. Clarges returns from Scotland to the Protector. Addresses to the young Protector from all the Regiments of the Army both in England and other parts.

Mr. Tho. Clarges made choice of to be sent into Scotto acquaint Gen. Monk with Richards Advancement.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in *England*, Addresses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. *Lockart* Governour of *Dunkirk*, who had married his Couzin-Germane, was as forward as any to promote Addresses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General *Morgan*, who were yet in the French Army, Commanded by Marshal *Turenne*, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Countrey, by many signal Services in that Campagne; for by their valour chiefly

1658. chiefly, a great Victory had been obtained, as before mentioned, over the Spaniſh Army near *Dunkirk*, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of *Mardike*, and the Towns and Forts of *Bergen*, *Dixmude*, *Ferne*, *Oudenard*, *Mervin*, *Gravelin*, and *Ypre*, which laſt place, taken about the beginning of *October*, old Style, was the firſt Military Succeſs that the Engliſh had abroad under *Richards* Government. Mariſhal *Turenne* had not hopes ſo late in the year, to gain a place ſo conſiderable; but having beaten a party of five thouſand men under the Prince of *Ligne* that was ſent to joyn with ſome other forces, and to viſit that Garriſon in their march, he ſuppoſed that the Town miſſing the ſuccour they expected, might quickly be ſurrendred; there were in it about 2500 old Souldiers, beſides whom, all the Townſmen aſſiſted that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4000; and it was taken in a fortnights Siege. After the Army had been two or three days before it, *Turenne* ſent for Major General *Morgan*, who commanded the Engliſh to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of *Conde* intended with all the force he could get together, to put Relief into the place. *Morgan* informed him, his men were ſo expoſed, that he commonly loſt five or ſix every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he propoſed, that rather than weary them out with ſo much continual duty the Town might be aſſaulted. *Turenne* who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the Reputation of that Army, which had been victorious by many proſperous Succeſſes that ſummer, and therefore at firſt rejected the advice; but *Morgan* preſſing more upon him, and offering himſelf with 600 Engliſh, to go on upon the ſtrongeſt part of the Town, he at laſt conſented. He was ſeconded by two Sergeant Majors, who each of them Commanded 600 French, and were to attaque two other places, at the ſame time that *Morgan* made his aſſault; but he with his Engliſh entred and gained moſt of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the beſieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in, and immediately after the Town was ſurrendred upon eaſie terms, the Prince of *Ligne*, *Barbancon*, and *Arembeg*, marched out with the Garriſon. *Turenne* imbraced *Morgan* after this Service; and though he had long before eſteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the braveſt Commanders of his time, and in the Report of this Action, to the moſt Chriſtian King he attributed the merit of it wholly to him; which occaſioned an Invitation of *Morgan* to *Paris*, where it was intimated to him, a good preſent of Plate was providing to gratifie his Services, but he whoſe modeſty made him ever prefer the vertue of generous actions, before the the Reward of them, choſe rather to return into *England*, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous abſence.

The taking of Ypre by the Engliſh under M. G. Morgan.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards his Majeſty, and would uſe his power to his advantage, as ſoon as he ſhould be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his abſolute obedience, to which they were induced by the obſervation of his former deportment; for in his private Condition he demeaned himſelf with civility and reſpect to the Gentlemen of the Countrey where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of kindneſs to perſons in diſtreſs, apparently diſliking the ſeverity of his father, and not averſe to overtures for his Majeſties Reſtitution; but it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he ſaw himſelf owned and acknowledged by the Army and people, he was very much reſerved to all that wiſhed well to his Majeſty, and either really declined his Service, or had not vertue enough to reſiſt the temptation of greatneſs, or courage enough toward the declenſion of his power, to uſe that little which remained to attempt to free his Countrey from thraldom and oppreſſions.

The Young Protector not ſo great a wel-wiſher to his Majeſties cauſe as was believed.

1658.

In the firſt place, after his advancement to the Supreme Dignity, principal care was taken by him and his Councel, for the Interment of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accuſtomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore ſearch is ſaid to have been made into the Records, to ſee what had been expended upon the Burial of King *James*, and the ſame Coſt, if not greater, was to be beſtowed on this: The Corps of his late Highneſs being embalmed and wrapt in Lead, was removed from *White-Hall* to *Somerſet-Houſe*, there to lie in Regal Pomp and State, a Spectacle to all comers; the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

Four Rooms one within another were compleatly hung with black; the three firſt with Cloth, the fourth with Velvet, each Room was adorned with Scutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper-end of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and over that, a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majeſty Eſcutcheon, painted and guilt upon Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raiſed by two gradual Aſcents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies veſted with a rich Suit, Kirtle, and a large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furred with Ermines; to the kirtle was girt an embroyder'd belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatcht with gold, in the right hand was a golden Scepter, in the left a Globe, on the head a purple velvet Cap, furr'd with Ermines; behind was placed a Crown Imperial, ſet with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cuſhion of tiſhued Gold, on each ſide a rich Sute of compleat Armour, and at his feet his Creſt: the Bed of State was incloſed with Rails and Ballaſters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were Pillars adorned with Trophies of Military Honors, carved and guilt; on the tops of the Pillars were the Supporters of the Imperial Arms, bearing Streamers Crowned; at the Pedeſtals were Shields and Crowns guilt: within the Rayls ſtood eight ſilver Candleſticks, or Standards five foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms ſet upright in Sockets, with the Guidons, great Banners, and Banrols of Taffata richly painted and guilt. The Effigies having for ſome time been ſeen in this poſture, was afterwards ſhewed in another room, veſted after the ſame manner, and attended with the ſame Ornaments, as is already deſcribed, and this continued until the day of conducting the funeral pomp to the Church, which was on the twenty third of *November*; for till

The manner of the deceaſed Protectors lying in State at Somerſet-Houſe.

1658. then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Effigies placed in a ſtately Funeral Chariot, covered with black Velvet, and drawn with ſix Horſes in like manner mantled, and adorned with black plumes of Feathers, was attended from *Sommerſet-Houſe* to *Weſtminſter* by all the Officers of his Houſhold, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magiſtracie of the City, the Judges at Law, the Embaſſadors and publike Miniſters of Forein States and Princes, the Members of the late Upper-Houſe, and of the Privy Councel, all in mourning, each Company being diſtinguiſhed by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the Chief Ones, and a Horſe of State mantled with black Velvet, led alſo by ſome one of Eminencie. Laſtly, the Horſe of Honour trapped with Embroydery upon Crimſon Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Maſter of the Horſe, with ſuch other like Formalities uſed at the Obſequies of great Perſons. At the Weſt-end of the Abby-Church, the Effigies being taken out of the Chariot, was carried through the Church under a Canopy of State, born by ſix of his Gentlemen, up to the Eaſt-end where it was placed in a ſumptuous *Catapalco*, or Monument of Wood framed for the purpoſe, with Pilaſters and other Adornments of Architecture, carved, painted, and guilt, to remain for a certain time exhibited to publike view; a ſort of temporary Monument much uſed in Forein parts, at the death of great Princes: the Corps had been privately inhumed many days before the Solemnity in *Henry* the Sevenths Chappel.

The Solemnity of his Funera.

As ſoon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were paſt, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a ſtop to proceedings both Domeſtick and Forein, immediately other matters of publike concernment began ſeriouſly to be taken into conſideration, by the new Protector and his Councel. The firſt thing was the ſending of a Naval Supply to the King of *Sweden*, between whom and the old Protector there had been contracted a very firm and inviolable Amity, and Forces had been ſent to this Kings Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-ſervice; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever had occaſion to make up a good ſtout fleet; for after that by his Succeſs againſt the King of *Denmark*, he had won him to a Conceſſion of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the *Sound*, and had at length withdrawn his Army, the King of *Denmark* judging the Conditions too hard on his ſide, and alledging them not to have been punctually obſerved by the *Swede*, began preſently after the departure of the Swediſh Army, to flie to Arms, for the recovery of what was loſt, being eſpecially encouraged thereunto, by a certain aſſurance of Aid from the *Hollander*, beſides his entring into Confederacie with the Emperour, the King of *Poland*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, againſt the Swediſh King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of *Denmark*'s Deſign, ſpeeded back with his Forces, and was ſet down before *Copenhagen*, ere the *Danes* were well aware of his coming, but the *Daniſh* King had before-hand (providing againſt the worſt that might happen) ſo well fortified and ſtored the City, that it was able to endure a long Siege; and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the *Baltick* Sea, called the *Sound*, being thus diſputed between theſe two Kings, the *Dutch* thought it a matter of no ſmall advantage to them, that the *Sound* ſhould continue in the power of the *Dane* their conſtant Ally, leſt the *Swede* gaining too much ſway therein, they might be deprived of the benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all poſſible haſte to ſet forth a Fleet, for the Relief and Supply of *Copenhagen*: the Engliſh on the other ſide, thought it no leſs imported them to help the *Swede*, though it were againſt the *Dane* and the *Dutch*, both of them our friends in outward appearance, leſt their joynt Intereſt and prevalence againſt the *Swede*, who of all other Potentates was the moſt firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewiſe in relation to the *Sound*, which alſo concerned us no leſs weightily than the *Dutch*, therefore a Squadron of luſty Frigots was ſent forth by this State under the Command of Sir *G. Ayſcough* toward the *Sound*, which having for ſome time been detained upon the Coaſt by contrary winds, and afterwards ſteering their courſe towards thoſe Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made innavigable, they were forced for that time to return not without ſome damage to the Ships, by reaſon of the Ice, and the loſs of ſome men, through the bitterneſs of the Weather in thoſe parts, ſo that this Enterprize was ſuſpended till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was ſet out under the Command of General *Montague*, Sir *George Ayſcough* being invited by the King of *Sweden* to take upon him a chief Command in his Navy.

1658.

A Squadron of Ships ſent towards the Sound.

Another greater fleet ſet out under Gen. Mountague.

The War-like proceeding between the King of Sweden and Denmark.

In the mean time, the *Hollanders* fleet led by General *Opdam*, and *Witte Witteſon* arriving at the *Sound* with relief for *Copenhagen*, were aſſailed by the Swediſh Rix-Admiral *Charles Guſtave Wrangle*, in which Battel the Dutch are ſaid to have received a notable Overthrow, ſeven of their Ships being loſt, and *Witte Witteſon* one of their Admirals, with many other perſons of Quality ſlain; nevertheleſs during the Fight, ſeveral Dutch Fluyts and Merchant-men paſſed by with proviſion to *Copenhagen*, which ſo ſtrengthned the Beſieged, that they thereby became inabled for the ſuſtaining of a long Siege, as hath ſince appeared, and not long after, the *Swedes* in a reſolute effort againſt the City, were repelled with the loſs of a great many men, and ſome of Eminencie.

The Sea-fight between the Swedes and the Dutch. Copenhagen relieved.

And now in *England*, want of Moneys, and other preſſing occaſions of the State, required the ſudden calling of a Parliament: the young Protector iſſues out his Writs, ſummoning the Members to meet at *Weſtminſter* the 27 *th.* of *January*. Elections are made by the Counties, not without ſome Canvaſſing of Parties.

Moreover, according to the Conſtitution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons Houſe for *Ireland* and *Scotland*, as well as *England*. The Elections were ſo diſpoſed in *England*, that many honeſt Gentlemen in all parts were choſen, but the Upper (for it did not yet aſpire to the Name of Lords) Houſe, was filled with

1658. with the chief Officers of the Army, whereof most were of such contemptible extraction, and education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any capacity whatsoever to own them. From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, *Richard* was frequently entertained with the fore-mentioned Addresses, which much heightned the confidence he had entertained of his future prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Councel conformable to designs he had of subjecting the Army to his intire Command, for the Councel, as the Government then stood, had a great co-ordination with him in the administration of it, and the major part consisted of such as countenanced in all their extravagancies the Officers of the Army, who were many of them Anabaptists and of other Sects.

He endeavours to new model his Councel.

He pretended not to remove any of the Councellors, but to add so many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he proposed the Lord *Broghil*, and *Faulconbridge*, who had married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offered by those that opposed them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (*viz.*) *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Berry*, and *Cooper*: The first two had been of the late Kings Judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family: the other two were factious and seditious. These Transactions were not agitated in open Councel, but privately treated of by particular persons; but so rumoured, that the Army began to be jealous of the Protector, and murmure at his actions; sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he used, and at other times censure his Religion, exclaiming that Godliness was discouraged by him, and that he rather favoured those of loose Principles, than the zealous Professors of the Gospel. But in this he was injured, for if his private Condition represented him a kind of Libertine, he assumed together with the publike Person a more grave and circumspect behaviour, conformed himself to the constant observation of all Religious Duties, and was in appearance at least, if not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The Army grow jealous, and censorious of him.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to *London*, (as his Father was accustomed to do on the like occasions) to advise with him, to obviate any peril that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations: He was a little surprized at this advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges, to repair to *London*, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The Names of his Fathers Privy Councellors which acted and were continued under him, were *Richard Laurence* President; *Nathaniel Fiennes*, one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; *John Thurloe*, Secretary of State; General *Montague*, Sir *Charles Woolsley*, Colonel *Philip Jones*, *Philip* Lord *Lisle*, Son to the Earl of *Leicester*; Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Colonel *Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Colonel *Sydenham*, *Walter Strickland*, 1659. Colonel *Philip Skippon*; of which the six last named, were favourers and abettors of the Army; *Laurence* the President was an Anabaptist, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord *Lisle* was often absent and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. *Major*, the Protectors Wives Father, but his indisposition of health rendred him uncapable of action; *Fleetwood* and *Desbrow* had frequent Meetings at *Desborow*'s house, who with the factious part of this Councel, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, which were *Berry*, *Heuson*, *Cooper*, and *Lilburn*, consulted to wrest the Power of the Army out of the Protectors hands; and in order thereunto, *Desborow* was sent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many jealousies and fears of Designs against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the subversion of the Government, unless some speedy remedy were taken for prevention, and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the hands of some person that had served with them, and of whose Courage, and Integrity to their Cause, may might have confidence and assurance; and immediately named *Fleetwood* to be the man, adding, That this would not only satisfie the Army, but give great content to the Godly party, (which was a name much used by all these Novelists) and free him from much of the trouble which rendred him now less intent in the more necessary parts of Government. To this he replied, That as to the fears and jealousies of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what redress could be desired, not doubting but the Parliament now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their security, and the peace and quiet of the Nations: But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it, which his Fathers example confirmed him in. And with this answer dismissed him. His father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many seditious Anabaptist Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the fear and danger of a division, and respect to his person, kept them in some degree of Obedience; he displaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modelled the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few moneths longer: he had introduced his Son my Lord *Faulconbridge*, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him: all this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of possibility of accommodation when the Parliament sate down.

Seditious meetings of the factious part of the Army and Councel at Desborow's House.

Desborow sent to the Protector to perswade him to resign the Command of the Army to Fleetwood.

Which he refuseth.

The names of the Protectors Privy Councel.

At the prefixed time, the Parliament meets, consisting as the last Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of two Houses, the Commons, and the Other (which now began to be called the Upper-House) for the first was chosen Speaker, *Chaloner Chute*, a Lawyer, who within a short while fell sick unto death, as also Sir *Lisle bone*

A Parliament called by the new Protector.

Long

1659. *Long* Recorder of *London*, who was choſen *pro tempore* in his ſtead; For the later was choſen, *Nathaniel Fiennes* Lord Keeper of the Seal: The *Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief Governour of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*: Which was many daies debated in parts, and at laſt part of it reſolved in theſe words; *viz. That it be part of this Bill to recognize and declare his Highneſs* Richard *Lord Protector and Chief Magiſtrate of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.* And it was added, *That neither this nor any other Vote that is or ſhall be paſſed in order to this Bill, ſhall be of force or binding to the People untill the whole be paſſed.* The Protector liked well theſe proceedings, and thought himſelf towards a good Settlement; but of thoſe that were zealous for a Common-wealth, there was in this Parliament ſuch a conſiderable number, who had ſo powerful Influence on publick Tranſactions, that to procraſtinate the time, they caſt in ſeveral prævious Debates, in which, nevertheleſs, the Aſſertors of the Protectors Intereſt being more in number, carried things to their own Advantage by the Major Vote, as particularly in the buſineſs of the Scotch and Iriſh Members to be continued in among them, and the owning of the Upper-Houſe, and holding an Entercourſe with them, after a long Conſultation in queſtion of their Authority. However, the Factious Counſellors which abetted Diſcontents in the Army, continued their Meetings to purſue their purpoſe of wreſting the Command of the Army out of his hands, and putting it under *Fleetwood*.

The King creates new Commiſſioners for the manage. ment of his Affairs in England.

Several Deſigns had been in vain undertaken for his Majeſties Reſtauration during the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, which were chiefly managed by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *John Bellaſis*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *William Compton*, Colonel *John Ruſſell*, and Sir *Richard Willis*, who for their ſuppoſed conduct of the privacy of their Counſels, were commonly called, *The ſeal'd Knott*: But, though nothing was more prudently and ingeniouſly contrived, all their Conſultations were from time to time imparted to *Thurloe* by Sir *Richard Willis*, which was not yet known. Nevertheleſs, his Majeſty about this time thought fit to appoint new Commiſſioners, and ſent over into *England* a blank Commiſſion dated at *Bruxells* the 11*th.* day of *March*, in the 11*th.* year of his Reign, which was filled up with the Names of *Arthur Anſley*, Son to the Viſcount *Valentia*; *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*; Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Thomas Peyton*, and *William Legg*; which was as followeth:

The form of the Commiſſion.

CHARLES *by the Grace of God King of* England, Scotland, France *&* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Right Truſty and Well-beloved, &c. And to every of them, Greeting. We do by theſe Preſents Conſtitute and Appoint you Our Commiſſioners, giving you or any one or more of you Power to Treat with any our Subjects of Our Kingdome of* England, *and Dominion of* Wales, *that are or have been in Arms againſt Us or Our Father of Bleſſed Memory, or that have contributed to the preſent Rebellion in* England (*Excepting ſuch as actually ſate in Judgement for the taking away the life of Our ſaid Father, or pleaded as Councel Learned againſt his life, or attended as Miniſters to that odious pretended Court, or laid hands on his perſon in the execution of that horrid Murther*) *And to aſſure them in Our Name, That if they ſhall forſake the preſent Rebellion, and joyn heartily and effectually for the ſuppreſſing of the ſame, and for Our Reſtauration to the Rights due to Us by the Laws of God, and of that Our Kingdome; That then We will not only freely pardon their former oppoſing Us and Our dear Father, and all other their Crimes and Offences in acting, adhering to or complying with the ſaid Rebellion; But that We will Recompenſe and Reward ſuch of them as ſhall by any remarkable Service merit of Us, either by reducing or rendring any Town, Fort, or Garriſon of the Rebells into Our hands, or into the poſſeſſion and power of you or of any other Truſtee, imployed by Us or you for Our Service: And what you or any one or more of you ſhall by vertue of this Our Commiſſion in Writing under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promiſe in Our Name in this kind, We ſhall Ratifie and Confirm, and perform. Given at Our Court at* Bruxells *this* 11*th. day of* March, 1659. *in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.* 1659.

Theſe Gentlemen proceeded with much Warineſs and Diligence in the execution of this Commiſſion, the Effects whereof ſhall be made known hereafter; But in the mean time, we ſhall return to what paſſed between the Parliament and Army. Beſides the private Meetings of ſome ſelect Officers at *Deſborows* Houſe, the General Councel of Officers, (as they called themſelves) met in *Fleetwoods* Houſe, where they acted with as much formality, as if they had been the Supreme Legiſlators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before *Cromwells* Death, that great preparation was begun for the ſetting forth of a Fleet to the help of the Swedes againſt the Danes, and that under the Command of General *Mountague*, nor did his death put a ſtop thereunto, Sir *George Ayſcough* being ſent with a Squadron of Ships, though hindred from coming up to joyn with them, by reaſon of the freezing of thoſe Seas, as hath been already mentioned; whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, it was thought expedient that the *Houſe of Commons* ſhould be ingaged in it, and a Narrative Report was made to them by Secretary *Thurloe* about the later end of *February* this year, concerning the State of the War betwixt the Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, in relation to the *Baltick* Sea, and the Command of the *Sound*: This took

ſo

1659. so far, as to gain a Vote for the providing a considerable Navy for the preservation of Trade, which was forthwith Equipped, and General *Mountague* sent with it to the *Sound* about the later end of *March*, who was so straightned in his Commission, that he lay there without doing any thing, till he was called back by that part of the Long Parliament that subverted the Power that sent him.

The *Upper House* (as it now began to be called in a strain somewhat nearer *Lords House*) favoured the Military Councel of Officers, but the *Commons* took much distast at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Councels. The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarasments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord *Faulconbridge*, Colonel *Ingoldsby*, Col. *Bridge*, Col. *Charles Howard*, Major *Knight*, all Officers in the *Army*, and some few others, counselled him to send a party to *Desbrow*'s house, to seize upon those that met there, which were Eight or Nine of the chief Confederates, and immediately to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fairer opportunity to put them into better hands; and to send for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsels were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the business, diverted him from the first, but to the later, of dismissing the Officers, he readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly: And the same day that this was by him done, the *Commons* openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, *That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there should be no General Councel or meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave and authority of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament.* And because in the Debate of these Questions, many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, insinuating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, *That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in* England, Scotland, *or* Ireland, *or any of the Dominions or Territories thereunto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament of any the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedomes in their Debates and Councels.* These were transmitted to the *Upper House*, to be confirmed there; but they made a slow progress in them upon divers late contracted Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late *Vote* of the *Commons*, wherein they declared at the acknowledgment of their Constitution, *That their acknowledgment of that House for another House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Priviledges*: as also believing, that the Protector conspired with the *Commons* to weaken and divide, or subdue the Power of the Army; in which they were somewhat confirmed, for that these matters were Debated and Voted the same day he had dissolved the Councel of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior sort who were of phanatick Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most influence upon the Souldiers, were for *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*: For it was artificially instill'd into their heads, That *the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospell they had so long contended for.* The Debate against the Army in the House of Commons, was on the *19th.* day of *April*, from which time the meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the *22 th.* day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compell him to do it. He called his Confidents about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen; and in the Evening many of his Friends incouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Heads of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other party had drawn up some men in the several Avenues to *White-Hall*, and in St. *James*'s Field, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his Person would have prevailed much with the common Souldiers; but he was fearful, and unresolved, of a Spirit unbecoming the quality he assumed, and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some another, wasting their time in contradictions; and as it happens in the Consultations of fearful people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution. *Desbrow* his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and pressed him much to sign a Commission to *Fines*, to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till *Desbrow* insolently told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length consented to do it.

1659.

The Upper House jealous of the proceedings of the Commons and the Protector.

The Inferior Officers of the Army jealous of the Commons and the Protector.

The discontented faction of the Army, in a posture of hostility against the Protector.

He is forc'd by Desbrow to sign a Commission to Fines, for the dissolving of the Parliament.

The next Morning, the *House of Commons* having heard of these Transactions at *White-Hall*, Adjourned themselves for three daies: but this their Adjournment proved a Total Dissolution, for those that had made this breach upon them, proceeded further to compleat their purposes, and besides the foresaid Commission directed to *Fiennes*, caused a Proclamation to come forth in the Protectors Name, to publish the Dissolution of the Parliament, in these words:

A Proclamation for the Dissolution of the Parliament.

WHereas *We Summoned Our* High Court of Parliament *to Assemble and Meet together at Our City of* Westminster *the 27th. day of* January *last, which hath continued untill this present day; And whereas We did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of* England *bearing date at* Westminster *this present 22th. day of* April

1659. April *for divers weighty Reasons declare our Pleasure and Resolution to dissolve the said Parliament, & to that end did thereby Constitute and appoint Our Right Trusty and Right welbeloved Counceller* Nathaniel Fiennes, *One of the Lord Keepers of Our Great Seal of* England, *and others Our Commissioners in Our Name, this said present Twenty second day of* April, *to dissolve Our said Parliament, which was by them done according to the tenor of the said Commission in the usual place; and by vertue thereof our said Parliament is Dissolved: Nevertheless, We have thought it necessary with the Advice of Our Privy Council, by this Our Proclamation, to publish and make known the same, to the end all persons whom it may concern, may take notice thereof.* Given at *Whitehal* the Twenty second day of *April*, in the year of our Lord, 1659.

Desborow and Fleetwood promise the Protector, that his power and Dignity should be continued

Fleetwood and *Desborow* having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protectors Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they so little intended, they came to him together, and apart several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intire; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his Privity; telling him, *They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Designs of the Kings Party, and others, to disturb the publick Peace, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.*

He received not much Consolation from these discourses, and gave little credit to them; well knowing, that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into Seditious courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in haste, which they might have

The Officers of the Army oppose it.

leisure enough to repent; and that they would find now they had made a Concussion of his power, it would be a Province too hard for them to re-settle it, and so it proved in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at *Wallingford* House, after the emission of the afore-mentioned Proclamation, they would not hear of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were so far from thinking of the continuance of his power, that when any thing was moved tending that way, it was obstructed, or diverted, by Propositions of Government. Yet at last, when they had determined, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in *Fleetwood*, with a power to dispose of all vacant Offices till farther Order, they were perswaded to allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacie (somewhat like that of a Duke of *Venice*.) But the next day, whilest many of the Superiour Officers met at *Wallingford*-House, in further consideration of a Model of Government, the inferiour Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chappel at St. *James's*, having Dr. *Owen*, and other Independant Ministers with them to assist at their Devotion; where the matter was so artificially so contrived, that the prosperity they enjoyed under the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by *Lambert* and his Friends wherein he appeared not openly himself, but set Colonel *Lilburn* to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his friends had private *Junctoes*.

1659. The Superior Officers meet at Wallingford House, to consider of a Model of Government and the inferior at St. James's.

The next day *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* were allarmed with this Countermine against their Designs; for the Inferior officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness to restore the latter part of the Long Parliament, and to restore to their Commands *Lambert* and the rest of the the Officers who had been displaced by *Oliver Cromwel* for dis-affection to him; yet with so much respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an Honorable provision made for them. *Fleetwood* endeavoured to oppose this Torrent, suspecting *Lambert*'s ambition would quickly supplant him, if he got power: but when he perceived it was already too great to be resisted, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and *Desborow* to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army setled and modelled in a way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Councel of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, the Lord *Faulconbridge*, and Colonel *Bridge* from theirs: Colonel *Norton* they displaced from the Government of *Portsmouth*, which they gave to Colonel *Whetham*, and made Colonel *Edward Salmon* Government of *Hull*, in the room of Colonel *Smith*, who, by the recommendation of *Fleetwood*, had the Command of that Garrison given him by *Oliver Cromwel*. To Colonel *Sanders* they gave the Protectors Regiment of Horse; to Colonel *Rich* that of *Ingoldsby*'s; to Sir *Arthur Hasterigg* Colonel *Howard*'s Regiment of Foot, with the Government of *Barwick*, *Carlisle*, and *Tinmouth*: To *Lambert* they gave the Lord *Faulconbridge*'s Regiment; and to *Okey* that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel *Bridge*: Major *Packer*, and Captain *Gladman*, Anabaptist Officers, who had been by *Oliver Cromwel* displaced were restored to their Commands: The Inferior Officers, in all these respective Regiments, were suitably modelled according to the Opinion of their Colonels.

Several Col. removed from their Regiments, and others put in their rooms. As likewise Governours of Towns, and other Officers.

Thus *Lambert* was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former power. After this, the Councel of Officers was reduced to a smaller Number.

The Officers of the Army consult about restoring the remnant of the Long Parliament.

The 29th. of *April* there met at *Fleetwoods* House, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, *Cooper*, *John Jones*, *Berry*, *Hacker*, *Lilburn*, *Ashfield*, *Salmon*, *Zanchy*, *Okey*, *Sanders*, *Clark*, all Colonels, and

1659. and Major General *Kelsey*, and *Barkstead* the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they Debated the Election of a Councel, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next consult about some Articles, for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament, to establish the Common-wealth Government.

They send to treat with Vane, Haslerig, and others.

These Articles being digested into form, and agreed to by the General Councel a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Scot*, and Major *Salloway*, the prime leading men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to consent to them. *Vane* and those with him had been Treated with apart; but when they came to publique discourse, they were very reserved in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their consents, and of their endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and consent, at such time as they were met together.

This caution of theirs was disliked and suspected by *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, and *Lambert*; but the Inferior Officers were so far possessed in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore desired them to use means, to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of *Inter-regnum*; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to sit, which upon the sixth of *May* was presented to the Speaker by *Lambert*, with about 13 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration it self we have thought fit to insert, to shew the inconstancie of these new Politicians, that so soon altered from what they so solemnly declared: The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20*th.* of *April*, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

The Army's Declaration, to invite the remnant of the Long Parliament to sit again.

The Publique Concerments of this Common-wealth, being through a vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Backslidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our selves also contributing thereunto, by wandring divers ways from Righteous and equal parts; And although there have been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual; The only wise God, in the course of his Providence, disappointing all Endeavours therein. And also observing to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great work, did daily decline; so as the Good Old Cause *it self became a Reproach: We have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the* LORD's *withdrawing his wonted presence from us, and where we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.* 1659

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued their sitting until the 20 th. *of* April, 1653. *were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special presence of* GOD *with them, and were signally blessed in that Work, (the Desires of many good people concurring with ours therein;) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said* 20th. *of* April 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parl. consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648. *until the* 20 th. *of* April, 1653. *to return unto the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our places, to yeeld them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for setling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.*

6 th. of *May*. Signed by the Direction of the Lord *Fleetwood*, and the Councel of Officers of the Army.

Thomas Sandford, Secretary.

They agree to accept of the Invitation.

After the delivery of this, many of the most eminent Members of this Remnant of the *Long Parliament*, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in *London*, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signifie their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8*th.* of *May*, at 8 of the Clock in the *Painted-Chamber*, where they desired his Presence, to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House; which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places. Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Usurpation of the *Cromwels*, being overthrown by those of their neerest Relations, from whom by Interest, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir'd Dominion, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that assisted the Aspirers in the obtaining of it.

And take their Places in the House.

1659.

General Monck seems to give his Consent to what was done in England.

Upon the Dissolution of the Protectors Parliament, Diligence was used by *Clarges* to acquaint *Monck* with all Occurrences: But the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, then in *London*, of *Fleetwoods* Party, had so dispersed Letters amongst their Friends, to ingage them for the restoring of this later part of the *Long Parliament*, that when he conven'd some of them at *Edenburgh* to sound their Tempers, he perceived they had been wrought upon; and therefore he judged it most prudent, to seem to approve of what was done: And to that purpose, he writ a Letter signed by himself and his Officers, to the Officers at *London*, which gave them Assurance of his Adherence to them (but if *Richard* had not dissolved his Parliament, *Monck* had then marched into *England* in favour of it.) They did not fear much any Storms from the Army in *Ireland*, who of themselves could do little, without correspondence from *England* or *Scotland*.

They publish their Intentions by a Declaration. The Words of the Declaration, extracted out of the Parliament Journals.

The first thing the Remnant Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers, was the passing a short *Declaration*, which was ordered to be Printed and Published; in the Close whereof they Declare; *That they are Resolved through the gracious Assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply themselves to the Faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Common-wealth upon such a Foundation as may assert, establish, and secure, the Property and Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men and as Christians; and that without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers: And shall vigorously endeavour the carrying on of Reformation so much desired, and so often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praise of our* Lord Jesus Christ, *and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land.*

Sir George Booth, Mr. Pryn, and others, of the old Secluded Members, claim their priviledge of Sitting, but are kept out.

Sir *George Booth*, Colonel *Rossiter*, Mr. *Pryn*, and some others, Members of the *Commons House* of this *Parliament*, (formerly secluded by the Army) attempted to go into the House, but were all kept back by Adjutant Gen. *Allen*, except M. *Pryn*, who slipt in, but they would do nothing whilest he was amongst them, but adjourned till the afternoon; and when he again would have entered, he was staid by some Officers of the Army.

About four daies after the present small *Parliament* had sate, which was spent in making a Committee of Safety, and dispatching Intelligence of their being re-instated in their former Power, to several of their Members absent in the Countrey, whom they had not disabled from Sitting; the Officers of the Army present themselves with their Petition and Address, a thing they often insisted to have prosecuted, and was one of the occasions that heightned the differences betwixt them and this *Parliament*.

1659.

The Title was, The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*. The Address it self was in these words following:

The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Remnant Parliament.

Calling to mind the former Declarations of Parl. and the Grounds therein inviting us to take up Arms, and those many signal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You, and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in asserting that Righteous Cause, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the people of these Nations were involved, so as that all open opposition was beaten down before you; and likewise weighing with our selves how in the several late Changes in Government, that Publick spirit, which appeared in that Work, hath since that time been discouraged, and another raised up, drawing back to the same things you had contended against, even to the hazarding the Essentials of that Cause; We did upon serious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear against those backsliding wayes, and Providence having brought the state of Affairs to the condition they were in some few daies before your sitting, we found it necessary to assert amongst our selves some of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cause, with some other things conducing to the Preservation thereof, with a full and fixed resolution, through the assistance of GOD, effectually, even to the hazard of our Lives, to endeavour the Recovery and Security of the same. And the same good Providence *holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto You a Way for the further discharge of your remaining Trust in* Parliament, *we did by our* Declaration *of this instant* May, *humbly desire you would be pleased to return to the exercise and discharge thereof, as before the* 20th. *of* April, 1653. *And having to our great rejoycing seen your* Declaration *of the seventh Instant, shewing, that you are resolved through the Gracious assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply your selves to the faithful discharge of the Trust reposed in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this* Common-wealth *upon such a Foundation, as may assert, establish, and secure the Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both as Men, and Christians, and that without a* Single Person, Kingship, *or* House of Peers, *resolving vigorously the carrying on the Work of Reformation, so much desired, and so often declared for, to the end there may a Godly and faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in these Nations; which so fully answers what our hearts were drawn*

1659. *drawn forth to desire, that we could not any longer forbear to express our thankfulness for this door of hope again opened towards the attaining a consummation of those things so much breathed after by the good People of this* Common-wealth. *And however we find our selves in some measure prevented, by the late* Declaration *and* Resolves *of this* Parliament: *Yet this nevertheless, we have judged it our duty to represent what was chiefly and unanimously upon our hearts, when we ingaged in that which made way for your Return, which we humbly (as becomes us) lay before you:*

1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all free people of these Nations, be maintained, preserved, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a *Free State and Common-wealth*, without a *Single Person, Kingship*, or *House of Peers*.

2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the people of these Nations.

3. That by an *Act of Oblivion*, all and every person and persons who have since the 19 *th.* of *April*, 1653. mediately or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19 *th.* of *April*, 1653. or in order to the Publick Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be Indempnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

4. That all *Laws, Ordinances, Declarations*, and *Establishments* made in the several *Changes* and *Alterations* of *Government*, that have been in these Nations since the 19*th.* of *April* aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, untill particularly repealed.

5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the publick service and affairs of this Common-wealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the 20*th.* of *April*, 1653. be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in GOD the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father & the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament* to be the revealed or Written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due encouragement and equal protection in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion, whilest they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to *Popery* or *Prelacy*, nor to such as shall practise or hold forth Licentiousness or prophaness under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null, and void. 1659.

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the *Universities* and *Schools* of *Learning* be so countenanc'd and reformed, as that they may become the *Nurseries* of *Piety* and *Learning*.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the 20*th.* of *May*, 1642. aided, or assisted or adhered to the late King; *Charles Stuart* his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Common-wealth of *England*, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the professors thereof, or are otherwaies scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publick Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future:

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preserved, or maintained, unless the persons, who are chiefly

1659. chiefly intruſted with the management and exerciſe of the Government, be of ſuitable ſpirits to thoſe Intereſts, That thoſe who are or ſhall be intruſted therein, be ſuch perſons as ſhall be found to be moſt eminent for Godlineſs, faithfulneſs, and conſtancy to the good Cauſe and Intereſts of theſe Nations.

11. That to the end the Legiſlative Authority of this Common-wealth may not by their long ſitting become burthenſome or inconvenient, there may be effectual Proviſion made for a due Succeſſion thereof.

12. And for the better ſatisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Common-wealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preſerving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereunto ſubſervient: We do unanimouſly acknowledge and own the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* Lieutenant General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of this Common-wealth.

13. That in order to the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring the Peace, Welfare, and Freedome of the People of theſe Nations for the ends before expreſſed, the Legiſlative power thereof may be in a Repreſentative of the People, conſiſting of a Houſe ſucceſſively choſen by the People in ſuch way and manner as this Parliament ſhall judge meet, and of a ſelect Senate, Co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful perſons, eminent for Godlineſs, and ſuch as continue adhering to this Cauſe.

14. That the adminiſtration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a *Councel of State*, conſiſting of a convenient number of Perſons qualified in all reſpects as aforeſaid.

15. That all Debts Contracted by his late Highneſs, or his Father, ſince the 15th. of *December* 1653. may be ſatisfied, and that an honourable Revenne of Ten thouſand pounds *per annum*, with a convenient Houſe, may be ſetled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thouſand pounds *per annum* more upon him during life: And upon his Honourable Mother Eight Thouſand pounds *per ann.* during her life, To the end a mark of the high Eſteem this Nation hath of the good Service done by his Father, our ever Renowned General, may remain to Poſterity. Theſe having been the Thoughts and Deſires of our Hearts, unanimouſly agreed upon before Your Returning to Sit, and finding the ſpirits of divers of the honeſt faithful people of this Common-wealth, led forth for the ſame things, and your ſelves by your late Declaration and Reſolutions in a great meaſure aſſiſting them; We thought it our Duty to the Nations, to You, and to the Honeſt People, humbly to preſent theſe, and beg the Bleſſing and Preſence of the Lord with you in the Proſecution and bringing forth ſuch a Settlement as may be for the Honour of God, the Union, Joy and Rejoycing of all the Peaceable People of the Common-wealth. 1659.

And we ſhall pray, &c.

This Petition was preſented by *Lambert* the 12 *th.* day of *May*, accompanied with *Deſberow* and *Barkſtead* the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, with 12 other Colonels, and two Lieutenant Colonels, we find entred in the *Parliament* Journal the words which *Lambert* ſpake at the delivery of it, which were theſe:

Mr. Speaker,

Lambert's words to the Speaker at the delivery of the Humble Petition and Addreſs.

WEE are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to preſent before you their Humble Petition and Addreſs; there are ſeveral things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their hands, and no viſible way of redreſs: Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; In diſcharge of their Truſt, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to preſent this Petition.

When he had ſaid theſe words, he withdrew, with thoſe that were with him; and the Houſe upon Debate Order'd their Speaker to return them the following Anſwer: Which is likewiſe entred in the Journal of that Daies Proceedings.

I Am

The *Speakers* Speech.

I am Commanded by the House *to tell you, That they have read the* Petition and Addreſs *that you have made here to Us; They have commanded me likewiſe to tell you, That as they found your Affection before they came hither, ſo they find that Affection continuing.*

For the things contained in your Petition, they are things of great weight, and many more things of great weight are lying before the Houſe; and it is concerning that Settlement, for which the Divine Providence of GOD *hath brought us hither, who we hope ſhall never depart from us.*

The House *finds in your Advice much of love and affection, and have commanded me to acknowledge that love and affection you have ſhewn, and to give you thanks, very hearty thanks for your love, and expreſſions of it; And accordingly in their Name I do give you very hearty thanks.*

The Houſe by Votes agreed to all the Articles of this Petition, at the firſt debate of it, except ſuch as concerned the publick Revenue, Government, and the *Protector*, which were referred to a Committee, whom they directed to go to the *Protector*, and receive an acknowledgment from him of his ſubmiſſion to the Government, before they would do any thing for him, and take a State of his Debts: Which being declared to him, with the Reſolve of the Houſe, the occaſion of that Meſſage; After Conſideration, he delivered the following anſwer to them in Writing, with his name to it.

The *Protector Richard's* ſubmiſſion to the Powers in being.

I Have peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other night, and for the information touching what is mentioned in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true ſtate of my debts to be tranſcribed and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that part of the Reſolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves, how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Common wealth, as it is declared by this Parliament.

I truſt my paſt Carriage hitherto hath manifeſted my acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of GOD, *and that I love and value the peace of this Common-wealth much above my own concernments; and I deſire that by this, a meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which through the aſſiſtance of* GOD *ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having I hope in ſome degree learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the hand of* GOD, *than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out amongſt us) however, in reſpect of particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the Government of the Nations, yet thorow the goodneſs of* GOD, *I can freely acquieſce in it, being made, and do hold my ſelf obliged, as (with other men) I expect Protection from the preſent Government, ſo to demean my ſelf with all peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the utmoſt of my power, that all, in whom I have any Intereſt, do the ſame.*

Richard Cromwel.

A Schedule of his Debts was annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they abſolutely rejected, and made ſlow Progreſs in the reſt, and delayed to ſettle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was deſired; but gave him two thouſand pounds to diſcharge part of his own private debts, and required him, and all his Dependents, to remove from *White-Hall* in ſix days. *Fleetwood* diſcovered a little diſcontent at this contempt put upon his Brother *Cromwel*, and that Family; but as ſoon as it was ordered that he ſhould be Commander in chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for one year, in compliance with the twelfth Article of the Armies Petition and Addreſs, he was leſs ſolicitous in the concernments of his Wives Family: when the Houſe voted he ſhould command the Armies, they likewiſe voted, *he ſhould have power to Sign and Seal ſuch Commiſſions, for the Conſtitution of Officers under him, as ſhould be approved by the Parliament*, and nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, and the Colonels, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, or the major part of them, who were made Commiſſioners for that purpoſe. And for his better Eſtabliſhment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the Houſe to be paſſed into an Act for his conſtitution: Which was done accordingly; but upon the ſecond reading of it, they would not admit of that clauſe, to authorize him to Sign Commiſſions, but *Ordered, That all Commiſſions, both to the Commiſſion Officers of the Army, and the Captains of the Fleet, ſhould be* Signed by the *Speaker of the Parliament of the Common-wealth of* England, *to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers* gratis, *by the Speaker in the Parliament Houſe.* They alſo at the ſame time, Ordered, *That the Government of* Ireland *ſhould be by Commiſſioners nominated and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Perſon, and that Colonel* Henry Cromwel *ſhould be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament.* This Gentleman had made himſelf very popular in *Ireland*, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the members whereof were of ſevere and rigid behaviour, the generoſity of his diſpoſition was ſomewhat overruled; nevertheleſs, moſt people in diſtreſs there did receive ſuch effects of his civility, where he had any manner of capacity to ſhew it, That they acknowledged he deſerved to have been the Son of a better Father.

Fleetwood voted Commander in chief of all the Forces.

All Commiſſions to the Officers of the Army, ordered to be Signed and given by the Speaker.

Henry Cromwell called from the Government of *Ireland.*

He had the *Iriſh* Army under good Diſcipline, and was ſo well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have conſented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare againſt it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had happened, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being only from the intelligence of private Friends. At the firſt Alarm, he adviſed with his Confidents what to do, and to prevent Confederacies againſt him, by any Combinations of the Officers of his Army, he

commanded all of them to their charges, and (to use his own words) *not to hearken to any design of Innovation, how speciously soever the same might be presented to them.* Likewise he dispatched Cornet *Monck* to *Scotland* to General *Monck*, (who came thither not till fifteen days after the alteration of Government) to inform himself how he and his Army stood affected to it, who returned no other answer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to send to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Colonel *Henry Cromwell* had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared against their proceedings at *London*, he might have shaken much the new foundation of the Common-wealth; for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been said) relations or dependents of the Family of the *Cromwells*; but he was so doubtful of the success that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted, as his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduc'd.

We purposely omit many particulars of these transactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their constitution of a Council of State, for the more immediate executive power of the Common-wealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel *Henry Cromwells* Letter to the Parliament, when he submitted to it, as not very essentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the restriction of his Commission, yet he dissembled his passion, and yielded to necessity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to inlarge his power: however, both he, *Desborow*, *Lambert*, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferiour Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And *Fleetwood* himself to dissemble his acquiescence with great submission, and Protestation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commission in the House, from the hands of the Speaker, and after him *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, and the rest of them in and about *London*, who had Commands in the Army.

Fleetwood, *Lambert*, and others receive their Commissions in the House from the Speaker.

The *Parliament* now became confident of its Power, and meditated to subject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they displaced those Officers in both, whom they suspected in any manner to have been affected to *Cromwell*, or Monarchical Government. The seven Commissioners before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was first committed, were continued in that Authority, and very active in it. Those of the *Anabaptist* perswasion, were by them esteemed most firm to a Common-wealth, and by their information they were much guided in the disposition of Places; but where any had been put out by *Cromwell*, for dissatisfaction to him, they were restored as of course. Colonel *Lockart*, the Governour of *Dunkirk*, had made his submission; but shortly after, there was a desperate Mutiny in the Garrison, at first suspected to be for the King, but it was quickly appeased, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Colonel *Pierson*, Colonel *Ashfield*, and Colonel *Packer*, are forthwith sent over. Thus all things succeeded fortunately to them. Embassadors from all parts making haste to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Governour of *Dunkirk* submits to the change of Government.

The Embassadour from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentialls for Audience within a fortnight after the first beginning of this New Common-wealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and desire of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners, who had that in charge, made great dispatch both in Modelling the Army and Navy. *Peirson* and *Mason*, two *Anabaptists*, Lieutenant Colonels under General *Monck*, undertook to know so well the Army in *Scotland*, that their information was much credited in the settling of it, and to weaken *Monck's* power, they had designed to remove those he most trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all these passages the General had very good Intelligence, his Agent *Clarges* not omitting to acquaint him with all that passed with these Commissioners. And after a while, he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the House, in which, among other Expressions, he told them he had heard of their intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any knowledge they had of their Persons or Qualifications, but the informations of others; and that he thought himself as fit to be credited in that matter as any, and did assure them, they were all honest and stout men, and such for whose fidelity and good behaviour he would be ingaged.

The *Dutch* Embassador courts our restored Senate in a high manner.

Gen. *Monk* digests not the *Juntto's* Designs of Modelling his Army.

This Letter put a little stop to their Cariere, but did not divert their Resolutions: yet to give him some satisfaction, they sent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his own Regiments of Horse and Foot, there should be no alteration, till such time as he were consulted in it. *Monck* was not satisfied with their Answer, but privately advised some of those Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to *London*, to solicite their own concernments, and as much as they could obstruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of most advantage to the preservation of his Officers, was an Order made, That such Officers as were new Constituted for *Scotland* or *Ireland*, because they could not come to the *Parliament* to take their Commissions, should receive them from such Commissioners as should be appointed for the Civil Government of those Kingdoms

He useth his utmost industry to obstruct it.

doms respectively. And none being yet appointed for *Scotland*, that Affair rested a while in suspense, yet was not so far neglected as to hinder the designment of the remove of many, whom nevertheless the General underhand kept still in their Commands, till further order.

An Old Act of Assessment revived.

In the pretended *Parliament* begun at *Westminster*, in the Year 1656. an Act had passed for a three years Assessment upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, at 35000 *li. per mensem* on *England*, 6000 *per mensem* on *Scotland*, and 9000 a month on *Ireland*, to determine the 24th of *June* 1660. of which one years proportion was yet uncollected, which made the House to pass an Act on the 18th of *June* this year, to authorize the collecting of that money, knowing it to be less difficult to continue a Tax already imposed, than after the expiring of that to raise a new one. In this Act, they appoint the whole Years Assessment to be paid into the Treasury, one Moiety on, or before the tenth day of *August*, and the other on the tenth of *October*.

Commissioners appointed for the Government of *Ireland*.

Having, as is aforesaid, recalled Colonel *Henry Cromwell* from *Ireland*, they appoint for the Civil Government of that Kingdom certain Commissioners, namely, *Steele*, *Robert Goodwin*, *Matthew Thomlinson*, and *John Jones*; and for the Command of the *Army*, Colonel *Edmund Ludlow*, who with the Title of Lieutenant General, was immediately upon receipt of his Commission dispatch't away.

The King's Commissioners active endeavours to raise the Country for his Majesties Service.

In the mean time, the Kings Commissioners were not idle in engaging as many as they could for his Service; and Captain *Titus* was sent by his Majesty to treat with Major General *Brown*, and such others in the City of *London* as he knew to be well inclined to his Interest. When he came to *London* and sent to *Brown*, he refused to have any Communication with him, and therefore he used the mediation of Mr. *Charlton*, and Mr. *Beverly* of *Lincolns-Inn* to Treat with him, and they had several Conferences without any effect; for he being a Prudent wary man, was unwilling to hazard himself, till he saw some Body of Men together, to busie the *Army*, and divert the Forces in *London* and *Westminster*: *Titus* then addressed himself to Mr. *Mordant*, and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, and was very assistant to them. So active were these Commissioners, that most of the Nobility and Gentry of *England* and *Wales* were engaged by them, and a day in *July* fixed for the Rising. Sir *George Booth* was to raise *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, *Shropshire* and *Flintshire*. Sir *John Carter*, *Denbighshire*. The Earl of *Stamford*, *Leicestershire*. The Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* (who also advanced money to buy Arms) *Suffolk*. Colonel *Rossiter*, *Lincolnshire*. Colonel *Popham*, *Somersetshire* and *Wiltshire*, and to secure *Bristoll* and *Taunton*. Mr. *Edward Dunch*, and others, *Berkshire*. Major General *Massey*, & the Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, and Mr. *How*, *Gloucestershire*. Sir *William Compton*, Sir *Thomas Leverthorp*, and Mr. *Fanshall*, *Hartfordshire*. Mr. *Mordant*, Sir *Francis Vincent*, and Sir *Adam Brown*, *Surrey*; with many more in all places too long to name.

The first Rising was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less opposition; for the *Declaration* had no mention of his Majestie, but was called, *The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen, and Citizens, Freeholders and yeomen, in this once happy Nation.* The words of it were these:

The Declation of Sir George Booth emitted at the time of his Rising.

SInce it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Division to continue in this distracted Nation, and to leave Us without any settled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Propriety, the Legislative Power usurped, at pleasure, and contemned; The Army raised at first for our Defence abused, and misled into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the Superiour Officers; No face of Government appearing either in any single Person, or a Body of men in Council lawfully Constituted, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore We being Conscious of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruine, if these Distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression by some Settlement inconsistent with the Laws, Peace, and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of Our selves, and all others who will partake with Us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliaments *against all Violence whatsoever, of the known* Laws, Liberty, *and* Property *of the Good People of this Nation, who at present groan under illegall, arbitrary, and insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors. This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, We cannot despair of the Blessing of Him who gives Victory; nor of the chearful concurrence of all good People, nor of the undeceived part of the* Army, *whose Arrears and increase of future Pay, and advancement of high Command, We shall by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of force on any mans Conscience; And to this We doubt not but all honest* English-men *will say,* Amen, Amen.

Sir *George Booth*'s Rising aided by the Kings friends from all Parts.

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel *Richard Arundel* and *Trelanny* undertook, if his Majesty would bring five hundred Horse into *Cornwall*, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five hundred: And Major General *Egerton* did as much in *Staffordshire*; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expedited with that hast as was intended, so that the day of Rising was deferr'd to the first of *August*, and Mr. *Cooper* was sent by Mr. *Mordant* to his Majesty, to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatch't, that he returned in five days to those that sent him, to let them know, his Majesty would be present with them in short time: With him Colonel *Roger Whitley* came into *England*, with some verbal Instructions to Sir *George Booth*, and some blank Commissions to disperse in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Flintshire*; He staid no longer in *London*, than to receive Mr. *Mordant's* Commands, and some of the forementioned *Declarations* to carry with him to *Booth*. Captain *Titus* was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majesty

His Majesty removes privately from *Brussells* to *Calais*, to be ready if occasion were to come over.

thereupon remov'd privately from *Brussells* to *Calais*, about the first of *August*, which was two days after *Titus* came to him: He had in his Company only the Marquess of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristoll*, Dr. *Quatermaine*, Mr. *Daniel Oneal*, and one *Maurice Delaval*, a Servant of the Marquess of *Ormonds*, with two other Servants, one belonging to the Earl of *Bristoll*, and the other to *Oneal*; nor did they travel thither together, but by two and two: His Majesty had only Dr. *Quatermaine* with him, and the first place he came to from *Brussells* was a little Village, where *Monsieur Marsin* met him, with whom he had much discourse about his Affairs. *Marsin* accompanied his Majesty to St. *Omers*, where they parted; and then he went directly to *Calais*, where the rest met him; but to avoid being known, they dispersed into several Lodgings, and his Majesty had with him only *Maurice* to wait on him. The Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter* were at *Breda*, and were sent for to *Brussells*, but they arrived not till the day the King parted from thence, & after he was gone. The Duke of *York* with *Titus* followed his Majesty to *Calais*, but the Duke of *Glouceſter* by his Majesties appointment continued at *Brussells*, ready prepared to come over upon the first intimation. The King staid three days at *Calais*, and a Shallop was ready at *Boloign* for his Transportation into *Kent*, upon the first News of any considerable Party's being in Arms.

The Duke of *York* follows from *Breda*.

The main of the Design prevented by discovery.

But in the height of this Expectation, one Mr. *Baron* arrived from *Mordant* with the ill News of the disappointment of much of the Design in all the *South* and *West* parts of *England*, which was thought to be discovered by a Letter intercepted at *Reading* from the Lady *Mary Howard*, about the latter end of *July*; but it was known long before that Letter, to *Scot* and some few other Members of the *Council of State*, which hastned them so much in a more than usual Care in modelling the Army and settling the whole Militia of the Kingdom, wherein the meanest Commission Officer in any of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in *Parliament*; and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Souldiers at most of the Risings of the Kings Friends all over *England*: So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady *Mary Howards* Letter by the officious diligence of a Post-Master, was rather a service than a disadvantage to his Majesty, since thereby his coming to *England*, which might have exposed his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough dispersed to prevent the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers parts. The Earl of *Lichfield*, with Sir *Adam Brown*, my Lord *Mordant*, (so we now stile him, in regard he here first declared his having received the Dignity of Viscount) and about twenty five others Rendezvouzed near *Guilford* in *Surrey*, but by reason of the taking of Sir *Francis Vincent* an active Servant of the Kings, there was so little appearance, that all divided to shift for themselves: The Earl of *Lichfield* and my Lord *Mordant* came disguised by Water in the Common Barge from *Chertsey* to *London*, and got privately to Alderman *Robinson*'s house, where they were for a while concealed.

Sir *George Booth* appears with several others in a considerable Body.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kellmurry*, and Major General *Egerton* were met at the time appointed at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party; but they having the very Flower of the Gentry and Gallantry ingaged among them, their numbers encreased every minute: Colonel *Roger Whitley* delivered his Message to Sir *George* from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord *Mordant*, with an Account of his Majesties Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readiness to come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then consisted of about Five hundred men. The first thing they resolved, was to march towards *Chester*, and the first night they marched to a place called *Tradsam*, where they met Colonel *Werden*, who assured them, that the Gates of *Chester* would be opened to them: And the next day they marched thither, and took possession of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by *Croxton* the Governour thereof for the *Parliament*, who had one Company in it. The next day Major General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk-Castle*, where Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, opened the Gates, and joyfully received him. The next day he went with them to *Wrexam*, (having left his Son to Command the Castle for the King) and there many came in to them. The next day after, Colonel *Whitley* was sent with a Party to put a Garrison into *Harding* Castle in *Flintshire*, which was newly left by a Party of the *Parliament* Souldiers that marched from thence to *Denbigh* Castle their next Garrison, but were seized by the Country, and brought prisoners to Sir *George Booth*'s Party. Colonel *Ireland* at the same time declared for them in *Leverpool*, and Mr *Brooks*, one of the present Members of the *House of Commons*, willing to expiate his former mistakes, cordially joyned with them for the Freedom of his Country, and met at the first Rendervouz.

They take possession of *Chester* city, but the castle holds out against them.

Chirk-castle delivered to them by Sir *Thomas Middleton*.

Col. *Ireland* and several others declare for them.

The *Parliament* somewhat apprehensive of these proceedings, caused all the Horses in and about *London* to be seized, and all the Avenues to the City to be guarded, and divers Troops and Companies to be placed in all the Waies toward the *West* and *North-west* Parts. They had every hour news of the dispersing of several little Parties, and *Lambert* was ordered with a Brigade to march to suppress Sir *George Booth* and his Party. The Lord *Mordant* as the most active Agent for his Majesty was summoned on a great penalty to appear; and Mr. *Edmund Dunch* and *Brooks*, two Members of the House whom they suspected to be ingaged for the King, were on the penalty of a hundred pounds a piece required to attend the service of the House.

They at *Westminster* prepare for Defence, and send *Lambert* against Sir *George Booth*.

Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Reverend Minister, a Person of most firm Loyalty to his Majesty, and the only Brother to General *Monk*, came at this time to *London* in his way to *Scotland*, from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, Sir *Thomas Stukely*, and others of his Majesties Friends in the *West* of *England*.

Mr. *Monk* a Minister sent into *Scotland*, to solicit his Brother the General to the imbracing his Majesties Interest.

England. His buſineſs was to ingage his Brother in his Majeſties Cauſe to promote the preſent Deſign, being directed to receive further Inſtructions from Sir *John Greenvil.* He came directly to Mr. *Clarges* before he ſaw any one, and communicated his buſineſs to him, and afterwards to *Greenvill*, who much encouraged his undertaking, and ſhewed him two Letters he had received from his Majeſty, one to General *Monk*, and the other to himſelf; which may not be impertinent to this Hiſtory to be here inſerted, to manifeſt the great Vigilance of his Majeſty, whoſe eye was in every place where he had any proſpect of aſſiſtance to his Affairs. That to *Monk* was as followeth:

His Majeſties Letters to General *Monk*, and Sir *John Greenvill.*

SIR,

I Cannot think you wiſh me ill, for you have no reaſon to do ſo; and the good I expect from you, will bring ſo great a benefit to your Country, and to your ſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my Intereſt. The Perſon who gives or ſends this to you, hath Authority to ſay much to you from me; and if you once reſolve to take my Intereſt to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment; *And will comply with the Advice you ſhall give me. The reſt I refer to the perſon who conveys this to you; and it is in your power to make me as kind to you, as you can deſire, and to have me always*

Your affectionate Friend,

*July.*21. 1659. CHARLES R.

The other was to Sir *John Greenvill* of the ſame date, in theſe words; *Viz.*

His Majeſties Letter to Sir *John Greenvill.*

I Am confident that George Monk *can have no Malice in his Heart againſt Me; nor hath he done any thing againſt Me which I cannot eaſily pardon; and it is in his power to do Me ſo great Service, that I cannot eaſily Reward, but I will do all I can; and I do Authorize you to Treat with him, and not only to aſſure him of my Kindneſs, but that I will very liberally Reward him with ſuch an Eſtate in Land, and ſuch a Title of Honour as himſelf ſhall deſire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Intereſt: And whatſoever you ſhall promiſe to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his Advice, ſhall promiſe to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he ſhall ſtill keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.*

CHARLES R.

Greenvill earneſtly preſſed to have *Clarges* ingaged, and Mr. *Monk* moved it to him, with a promiſe of great advantage from his Majeſty upon his Reſtitution. *Clarges* replied, *That he needed not theſe temptations to oblige him to his Duty*; and refuſed to have any Diſcourſe concerning thoſe Matters with Sir *John Greenvill* at that time, well knowing, that the leaſt Jealouſie of his actions from thoſe in power, might make him uſeleſs for that future Service which could not be done without him.

Mr. *Monk* Negotiates with Mr. *Clarges* about the foreſaid buſineſs.

But becauſe all the Ways to *Scotland* were obſtructed, he took care to provide a Frigot for the Tranſporting of Mr. *Nicholas Monk* thither, and convey'd him ſafe on Shipboard, fully inſtructed how to manage his Negotiations with Caution, and to communicate with none but the General, except Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Phyſician to the Army, a very diſcreet Gentleman, and Mr. *John Price* his Chaplain: The firſt of which was ejected out of *Trinity* Colledge in *Cambridge*, for his affection to his Majeſty; and the latter, the Son of a Sequeſtred Miniſter, alwaies educated in Principles of Loyalty, a good Scholar, and an honeſt Man; both recommended by *Clarges* to the General at his firſt going into *Scotland*, to be near his Perſon.

Clarges ſecretly conveys Mr. *Monk* on Shipboard for his Tranſportation into *Scotland.*

The King when he received the News from the Lord *Mordant* of the diſappointment of the Deſign, went from *Calais* to *Bulloign*, and from thence by eaſie Journeys, and very privately, to *Rouen.* The Duke of *York* and Captain *Titus* ſtayed behind a while at *Bulloign*, and the Parts adjacent, to be ready upon all occaſions if any thing ſhould intervene. His Majeſty at *Rouen* was in Conſultation which way to move, when Dr. *Alleſtry* came to him with the News of Sir *George Booth*'s being in Arms, with Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and others with great Forces in *Lancaſhire*, *Cheſhire*, and *North-Wales*, which put him in good hopes of Succeſs. The firſt Rumour of this Riſing repreſented it very formidable, foraſmuch as his Majeſties Friends that lived at diſtance from it, were willing to receive it with the greateſt advantage, ſo that the Numbers were believed to be much greater than they were, and by imagination advanced to what the willing Affections of the favourers of his Majeſties Cauſe would have them. His Majeſty ſent the Marqueſs of *Ormond* to *Paris* to Tranſact ſome Affairs there, and went himſelf to St. *Maloes* by *Caen*, where he met the Earl of *Briſtoll*, and Mr. *Oneal.*

His Majeſty removes privately from *Calais* to *Rouen.*

Thence to St. *Maloes.*

They at *Weſtminſter* in the mean time were very active in diſpatching *Lambert* on the Expedition againſt *Booth*, but firſt they iſſue forth a Proclamation to proclaim Major General *Egerton*, Colonel *Robert Werden*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Thomas Middleton*, and their adherents Traytors and Rebels, which was Commanded to be proclaimed in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches.

Major General *Maſſey* was very active in *Glouceſterſhire*, and if by an accident of the interception of a Letter his Deſign had not been ruin'd, he had certainly taken *Glouceſter*; and what with his own reputation in their Parts, and the aſſiſtance of the Lord *Herbert* of

Maj. Gen. *Maſſey*, the Lord *Herbert*, and others for the King in *Glouceſterſhire.*

Worceſter,

Worceſter, Colonel *Barrow*, Captain *Glaynford*, and others of the Kings Friends, they would have got together above three thouſand men, Miners and others, out of the Foreſt of *Dean*, and from about *Stroud-Water*, and other places. There was in *Glouceſter* a Troop of the Army Horſe under one *Dale*, and a *Militia* Troop commanded by one *Crofts*, who upon this Diſcovery cauſed three hundred Foot to be preſently raiſed, and ſent a Party of Horſe to take the Lord *Herbert*, *Maſſey*, *Barrow*, and *Glaynford*: They took the Lord *Herbert* and brought him to *Glouceſter*; *Barrow* and *Glaynford* defended themſelves in *Barrow*'s Houſe, and upon Parol, to render themſelves at *Glouceſter*, were not taken. *Maſſey* and his Servant being taken Priſoners, *Maſſey* himſelf was ſet on a Horſe, and a good ſtout Trooper ſet behind him, to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each ſide, and ſome Troopers before his Horſe, and others behind: It was about the cloſe of the Night, the Evening very dark and Tempeſtuous with Rain and Hail, inſomuch, that when they were going down a very ſteep Hill by *Nimpſfield*-Road, about ten miles from *Glouceſter*, the way to *Bath*, *Maſſey*'s Horſe, with the man that rode behind him, fell headlong altogether, and tumbled down that ſteep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and moſt of the reſt alſo; ſo that all the Priſoners, except the Lord *Herbert*, and *Maſſey*'s Servant, eſcaped.

The Lord *Herbert* taken.

And Major Gen. *Maſſey*.

Maſſey eſcapes, together with ſeveral other priſoners.

The Parliament ſent to *Dunkirk* for three Regiments to ſtrengthen the Army; and Colonel *Zanchy* brought out of *Ireland* his Regiment of Horſe, and *Axtel*'s Regiment of Foot, which landing at *Angleſey*, marched to joyn with *Lambert*, who at his firſt march from *London*, had not above 1500. but by Conjunction of ſeveral Troops and Companies that met him, encreaſed to about 5000 before he ingaged; Sir *George Booth* had not half the number, and thoſe he had were without any Order or Diſcipline, becauſe many of them, being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aſpiring to Command, whilſt no body obeyed; Sir *George Booth* having intelligence of *Lamberts* drawing near to him, thought to have got a days march before him into *Lancaſhire*, to have increaſed his Numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* ſent a Trumpeter, with two Miniſters, to ſhew the ground of their raiſing an Army, and deſired a Treaty, to ſave effuſion of bloud: To which *Lambert* agreed, on condition they would firſt lay down their Arms, and ſurrender to him the Garriſons in their power. To this there was no Reply; but ſome of *Lambert*'s men preſſed ſo hard the next morning upon *Booth*, that at a Bridge near *Northwich*, a ſharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The *Boothians*, with much courage, defended the Paſs, till they were overpowred by Numbers. Captain *Morris*, a gallant Loyal Gentleman, was killed, and ſome few others of *Booth*'s Party; of *Lambert*'s very few fell, and thoſe that did of no great Note; all the vanquiſhed diſperſed themſelves, Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* got away. The Lord *Kilmurry*, *Brooks*, Major General *Egerton*, Sir *William Oneale*, and others, were taken priſoners, and all the Garriſons immediately ſubmitted to *Lambert*.

Lambert marcheth againſt Sir *George*, and increaſeth his Force.

Sir *George Booth*'s Forces ingage with *Lambert*.

Sir *George* defeated.

Sir *George*, although he had the good Fortune at that time to eſcape, was not long free, being ſeized at *Newport-Pannel* in a Diſguiſe, as he was riding towards *London*, in order to his Tranſportation into ſome Foreign Part.

Taken priſoner at *Newport-Pannel*.

The Curious that made Remarques on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiſer in the Diſcourſe than Execution of any great Deſign, did much cenſure the Conduct of it. They ſaid, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel *Zanchy*, from *Ireland* landing in *Angleſey*, might have been met, and with good probability of Succeſs fought with ere he could have joyn'd with *Lambert*, they being with all their Force betwixt him and them; and that Colonel *Lilburn*, who was gathering men together in *York-ſhire*, might eaſily, by any ſmall Force from *Lancaſhire*, have been broken, and hindered in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in ſmall numbers came from ſeveral Parts, might have been met and diſperſed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added ſo much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Acceſſions to their Party. Others (and perhaps with good reaſon) were of Opinion, that nothing was more Deſtructive to his Majeſty, than theſe Plots and Contrivances of Riſing for him; and that the beſt Reſolution he could have taken, ſince the end of the firſt War, was to have ſate in Expectation of ſome favourable Advantage to himſelf from the Diviſion of his Enemies; for what could new raiſed men do againſt experienced and ſucceſsful Souldiers? And where the late King with all his ſtrength could not prevail, Parties could leſs expect to conquer; and indeed, the Event manifeſted the Truth of this Reaſoning, for the Conſequence of theſe Plots, was no other than the Ruine of many of the Eſtates of Noblemen and Gentlemen, the loſs of ſome of their Lives, and the Depreſſion of the Spirits of the reſt; beſides, an occaſion of ſtrengthning the Army ſo much the more, and giving their Party plauſible Pretenſes, to infer a Neceſſity for their continuance, and to Levy Taxes on the People for their Maintenance, and unite and fix them the more againſt his Majeſty. But nevertheleſs, the generoſity of theſe noble Perſons (to particularize any of them in a more eminent manner than the reſt would be to injure all) cannot be enough commended, ſince they valued no hazard, in reſpect of their Duty to their Sovereign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left ſuch an Example of Loyalty to their Poſterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Vertues and Honour ſhall endure.

The Management of this Riſing cenſured by many.

General *Monk* in *Scotland*, was ſo much prevailed upon, by the report of Sir *George Booth*'s proſperous Succeſs in his Enterprize, and the Importunity of his Brother *Nicholas Monk*, that he reſolved to march into *England*, in purſuance

Gen. *Monk* preparing to have marched into *England*, and joyn'd with Sir *G. Booth*.

ance of *Booth's Declaration*, which was very ſutable to his own Inclinations.

He conſulted in this Matter, beſides his Brother, only Major *Ralph Knight*, Major of his own Regiment of Horſe, Captain *Jeremiah Smith* likewiſe of his own Regiment, Dr. *Samuel Barrow* Phyſician to the Army, Dr. *John Price* his Chaplain, and Dr. *Thomas Gumble* then Chaplain to the Council of *Scotland*, in regard he had many Seditious Officers in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Actings, and therefore was obliged to be very wary and circumſpect in his Proceedings; inſomuch, that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royaliſt of his antient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him, about the ſame Errand that his Brother did, *Monk* (for fear of awakening the Jealouſie of the Factious about him) durſt not ſhew him any Countenance or Reſpect, but rather the contrary, ſending him away ſomewhat diſcouraged: When all was ready for his March, and a *Declaration* to that end prepared, he demurred for two days, upon the ſtop of the *Engliſh* Packet, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom he two days after received the fatal News of the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*.

Is diverted by the News of his Defeat.

The King receives news thereof at St. *Maloes*.

The King, being ſtill at St. *Maloes* in preparation of a Veſſel to tranſport him into *England*, had the firſt Notice of theſe Misfortunes from Mr. *Brett*, an *Engliſh Benedictine Monck*, which in a while after was confirmed to him by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who came to him from *Paris*, with Particulars of it: The King (always preſent to himſelf in the moſt difficult Accidents of his Life) diſcovered not much alteration at this, though it ſeemed a Croſs that might very well no leſs ſenſibly affect him, than what ever had yet hapned to him improſperous, and giving Check to his Fortune; becauſe hereby all his hopes became deſperate, of his being ever reſtored to his Subjects, without ſuch Foreign Force, as ſhould be able to afford Aſſiſtance and Supply to their Endeavours for him, by holding his Enemies ſo long in Play, till by acceſſion of his Friends, they might be ſtrong enough to reſiſt their greateſt Power and Force: yet even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind, for that many late Succeſſes of the *Engliſh* in *Flanders*, had made them ſeem invincible to to thoſe, from whom his Majeſty was to expect Aſſiſtance. But ſince nothing now but Foreign Aid could viſibly raiſe his Hopes, he reſolved ſeriouſly to apply himſelf to the Treaty now in Agitation upon the Borders between *France* and *Spain*, about a Peace betwixt thoſe two Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal *Mazarini*, and *Don Lewis d' Haro*, the two chief Miniſters of the two Kings; to which his Majeſty had an Eye long ſince, not doubting but he ſhould be in ſome meaſure comprehended in it, ſo as to receive Aſſiſtance from thoſe Princes his Allies, as ſoon as they ſhould be freed from their Embaraſments; and in proſecution hereof, he had commanded Sir *Henry Bennet*, a Perſon of great Prudence and Addreſs, his Embaſſadour Reſident in *Spain*, not to fail to attend *Don Lewis d' Haro* to the Treaty, and be preſent there to negotiate his Affairs. The Treaty being near Concluſion, his Majeſty, for fear it ſhould be ended before he came thither, made all poſſible haſt to repair to thoſe Parts; and in order thereunto, took his Journey forthwith from St. *Maloes* to *Reimes*, where he met Sir *George Carteret*, and after ſome ſmall ſtay with him, went from thence to *Naunts*, and there his Company divided, till they met again at *Thoulouze*; from thence he went by the Paſſage of *Oleron*, over the *Pyrenean* Hills, to *Saragoſa*, the chief City in *Aragon*, and there he continued eight or nine days, and diſpatched Mr. *Oneale* to *Fontarabia*, to inform himſelf of what paſſed at the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after ſome Conference with *Bennet*, they agreed to haſt away Mr. *William Dungan*, an *Iriſh* Gentleman, to the King, to let him know, the Treaty was prolonged, and that his Preſence would very much quicken and advance his Affairs. His Majeſty then immediately haſting by Poſt to the Treaty, continued *incognito* (as he had done all this Journey) till he came within three Leagues of *Fontarabia*, where he was attended by *Bennet* with Coaches, to augment his Equipage; and from thence he reſumed his State, and went in Publick.

He begins to derive his chiefeſt hopes from the peace between *France* and *Spain*.

Sir *Henry Bennet* Negotiates for his Majeſty at that Treaty.

His Majeſty repaires thither himſelf

He was met by the Baron of *Batteville*, a Perſon of great Honour and Civility (Governour of *Fontarabia*) with a Troop of Horſe, a mile and a half without the Town; and when he came near it, all the Guns were diſcharged, and *Don Lewis* himſelf met him within the Gate. During his ſtay there, he was entertained in as ſplendid a manner as the time and place would handſomely admit. And during the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences with *Don Lewis d' Haro*, and was every day viſited by him.

And is Honourably entertained by the *Spaniard*.

The Governing Power in *England* imployed at the ſame time to attend on Cardinal *Mazarini* at this Treaty, and to promote their Concerns, *Lockart*, who had continued ever ſince *Oliver's* Death Extraordinary Embaſſadour in *France*. The Cardinal lay at St. *John de Luz*, the neareſt Town to *Spain*, on the *French* Borders, where he ſhewed ſo much Countenance and Reſpect to *Lockart*, that the King thought it not decent to give him a Viſit; but he received many from divers of the *French* Nobility.

Lockart at the ſame time Agent at this Treaty for the *Engliſh* Common-wealth

Is countenanced and favoured by Cardinal *Mazarini*.

General *Monk* was inwardly very much troubled at theſe Diſaſters; and the more, becauſe he found himſelf every day more and more incapable to remedy them: for the Houſe diſplaced Colonel *Daniel*, the Governour of St. *Johnſton*, and many other Officers whom he much truſted, and were about to remove the reſt: ſo that ſeeing which way things were likely to tend, and thinking it better to reſign of his own accord, than to be worm'd out of his Command, or at leaſt remain but like the Image of a General, and ſerve only for a property to other Mens Deſigns, he ſent a Letter upon the Third of *September*, to *Lenthal* the Speaker, to be communicated to the *Parliament*, to deſire a Diſmiſſion from his Command; pretending, *That he was infirm in his Health, and had long continued in that remote Country; And therefore requeſting, now that all Inſurrections,*

Gen. *Monk* ſends a Letter to the Houſe, ſignifying his willingneſs to be diſmiſt from his Command.

Insurrections, which threatned Disturbances to the Peace of the Nations, were allayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet.

This *Letter*, though it was not sent to *Clarges* to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that Resolution of his, and been very backward and dilatory in the delivery of the *Letter*; yet Mr. *Nicholas Monk* giving him Intimation of it, and the Matter was so ordered, that the *Letter* came to his hands, and by him delivered to the *Speaker*, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from *Scotland* to contradict it: Yet *Clarges* was put to great perplexity in this Business, for *Vane*, *Salway*, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private Advice of this *Letter*) often call'd to have it read; And had not earnest and dextrous prevention been used to divert the House with other Business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by *Clarges*, he had by this Despondency rendred himself incapable of doing that, for which he seem'd by *Providence* especially chosen and markt out.

The said Letter, through *Clarges* his perswasion, is kept off by the *Speaker* from being read.

The Army begin to contrive the recovery and advancement of their Power.

The Defeat of Sir *George Booth* and his Party, heightned much the Spirits of the chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late lessened by the *Parliament*, and in Designation to be wholly subjected to them. To effect this, there was a strict and private Correspondence held between some of the Officers at *London*, and *Lambert*, and those with him in *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to ingage the inferiour Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependence on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the *Speaker*) to obviate this. It was advised, to attempt nothing at the General-Council of Officers in *London*: but to begin with those of *Lamberts* Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune, and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible Advantages of Power. These therefore were all conven'd, to the number of Fifty, at *Derby*, the 16th of *September*. The first thing on which they began their Debate, was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the *Parliaments* unwillingness to prosecute the *Proposals* of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially insinuated into the Minds of the inferiour Officers, who were easily enough drawn to an Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

Consultations among the Officers of the Army, promoted by *Lambert*, in dislike of some miscarriages of the *Junto*.

However, these Matters were at first only Treated of in Generals, It being moved and agreed, that Colonel *Zanchy*, Colonel *Michel*, Major *Creed*, and some few others, should meet as *Committees* for the rest, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. *Lambert* himself went privately to *London*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*, a great Creature of his, presently followed, to acquaint the General Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after the whole Matter being Digested into the Form of a *Petition*, was sent up in a *Letter* inclosed to Colonel *Ashfield*, Colonel *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to *Fleetwood*, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: And at the same time, when this was sent to *London*, an Officer was dispatched with a Duplicate of it to General *Monk*, and a Letter with it, to desire his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might joyn with them: which Letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief Officers imployed under *Lambert*.

Their Desires concluded to be drawn up into the Form of a Petition.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* had secret Intimation of these Consultations at *Derby*; and the next day after the *Petition* came to *London*, which was on the 22 of *September*, he moved the *Parliament*, at their first Sitting, against it, exclaiming with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the setting up a Single Person over them.

Haslerig vehemently opposeth the Armies proceedings.

This put the House into a Jealousie of *Lambert*; to whom, in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Contrivance; and though he outwardly appeared passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed *Cromwel*: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose in his own Person, he would set up *Fleetwood* to be General of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less Envy, to compass his Ends. For *Fleetwood*, they said, was of an easie nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing *Lambert* the Power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.

And possesseth the House against them. The *Junto's* Censure of *Lambert*, in reference to this Business.

Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition, but seemed much perplexed at *Haslerigs* laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justifie their Innocence, as intending nothing less than what was alledged; but all he said could not allay the heat raised by *Haslerig*, insomuch, that they Ordered, That *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfield*, whom he affirmed to have the Original in their hands, should that afternoon attend the House with it, and appointed *Fleetwood* to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. *Monk* made no Progress in *Scotland* in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were *Anabaptists* attempted privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the severe Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the Afternoon,

Fleetwood endeavours to justifie the Officers of the Army, but in vain.

Aſſheld, Culpet, and Duckenfield attend upon the Houſe with this Petition.

noon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their *Petition*: And becauſe it was *That*, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference betwixt the Remnant *Parliament* and *Army*, which Ended in the Diſſolution of both, and was never yet Printed, We have thought it material enough to be here word for word inſerted.

To the Supreme Authority of theſe Nations, the Parliament *of the* Commonwealth *of* England, *&c.*

The Humble Petition and Propoſals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedition.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

The Tenour of the Armies Petition and Propoſals.

THat whereas we, with others who deſire to fear the Lord in theſe Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for deſtruction) have been again ſaved by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old; in the beholding of whoſe gracious Footſteps, as we cannot but rejoyce, ſo our ſelves tremble, leſt the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his People long earneſtly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance: We therefore preſent unto your Honours Conſideration theſe enſuing Propoſals, *which we humbly lay before you:*

1. *That the* Humble Petition and Addreſs *of the* General Council of Officers *at* Wallingford-Houſe *to the* Parliament, *which was ſo unanimeuſly and chearfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greateſt Confuſions, may not be laid aſleep, but may have freſh life given unto it; It being upon farther and clearer grounds ſtill upon our hearts, as the beſt and only Expedient yet offered (notwithſtanding many Eſſayes) to a happy and durable* Settlement, *being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the ſecuring the Civil and Spiritual Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unwearied in travel, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as We have often ſeen, and lately had a clear evidence of) is ready to attempt the ruine and deſtruction of the ſame.*

2. *That whereas God having given a ſpirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Intereſt of his People, and Our good Cauſe; when many who had been Friends were either* Apoſtates, Malignants, *or* Neuters, *Joyning with the old Enemy, leaving the* Parliament *and* Army, *and their few active Friends ſingly to conflict with their late difficulties; And having now no ſuch hopeful way like to prevail to ruine and fruſtrate what we have ſo long Conteſted for, as by working Diviſions in the Army, making breaches, begetting miſunderſtandings, and diſſolve its Unity, wherein, under God, its greateſt ſtrength lies: We do therefore, as the moſt effectual means for the maintaining the Diſcipline and Conduct thereof, and preſerving its Unity inviolable,* Humbly Propoſe, *That his Excellency the Lord* Fleetwood *may be ſettled Commander in Chief of the* Armies (*his Commiſſion expiring within a few Months;*) *that the Lord* Lambert *be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the* Army *next, and under him; And alſo, that the Lord* Desborow *be the chief Officer of the Horſe under them: And that General* Monk *be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Perſons under whoſe Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, We have had Eminent Succeſs, Victory, and Deliverance, in the days of greateſt Straights, and have been ſignally bleſſed and owned by the Lord; to Whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.*

3. *That having had very ſad experience of a grand Apoſtatizing ſpirit gone through the Nations, and amongſt many of thoſe who were intruſted for the Safety thereof, very few acting or appearing in ſeveral Counties, for the preventing the Plots, and ſuppreſſing the power of the Enemy in the late Rebellious Deſign, and many others not only flattering, but falling in with them, whereby a totall ruine was threatned, and had been effected, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented:* We therefore humbly Propoſe, *That there may be a diligent enquiry in all parts, by faithful men imployed to that purpoſe, what intruſted perſons have been guilty of any Contrivance, and acted againſt the* Common-wealth-*Intereſt, and that they may be proceeded againſt accordingly. And likewiſe what perſons upon wicked purpoſes have been Neutral in ſuch a diſtracted day, when their Aſſiſtance, according to their Imployments and Truſts, would have been not leſs uſeful than ſeaſonable; and that all ſuch may be removed from their Places and Imployment, Civil and Military; and that ſuch who on the contrary in this Juncture of the diſcompoſed Affairs, declared their owning of this Intereſt, either in the County Troops, or Militia Volunteers, or otherwiſe, may be looked on as Friends, encouraged, ſatisfied their* Arrears, *protected from* Injuries, *countenanced by you, and as they are capacitated, inveſted with Authority in their ſeveral Countries.*

4. *That in the late* Inſurrections, *ſome conſiderable Corporations have not only aided, abetted, and countenanced the Enemies Deſign, but have alſo made uſe of the Arms lodged with them, and themſelves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly receiving the numerous acceſſion of all engaged therein:* Therefore We humbly Propoſe, *That ſuch* Corporations *may be diſcountenanced, and that You would be pleaſed to give Your Signal mark of diſavour againſt them; As alſo for the future, ſo to regulate* Corporations, *That ſuch perſons well Qualified according to the* Government *of a well Conſtituted* Common-wealth *may be intruſted with Authority of* Magiſtracy *in every of the ſeveral Towns;* That ſo the Footſteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, *That all Perſons whatſoever,* Magiſtrates, Miniſters, *or others, who have openly or ſecretly ſtirred up or provoked the* Inhabitants *of theſe* Nations *to War and Commotions againſt the* Parliament, *and particularly to the late* Inſurrections, (*of which is viſibly apparent, many of them have not only been abettors, but in their perſons appeared with Inſtruments and Weapons of War, as ſome of Us know*) *may be proceeded againſt, as You in your Judgment ſhall think fit.*

The House signifie their displeasure, and vote against the effect of the Petition.

After the reading of this Paper, the *House* adjourned till the next Morning, and Ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene; And at their meeting, they Voted, *That to have any more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common-wealth*; *and that* Fleetwood *shall acquaint them with this Resolve.*

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

Fleetwood the next day, at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the *Parliaments* displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the *Petition* and *Proposals*, and they thereupon resolved to decline the insisting thereon; but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled, *The Common Enemy*) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the *Common-wealth* against all Disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of *September*, in the Chappel at *Somerset-House*.

The Officers resolve upon more moderate Proposals.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared and brought into the General Council by those to whom the care of framing it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many Proposals far different from what was expected by many that were then present; for there seemed at their former meeting, to be a general sense and opinion, that they should humble themselves for what they had before done without the permission and consent of their Masters, and make some Declaration of their intention, never to interpose more in matters of Government. But contrary to this, they arraigned them for what they had done against the Petition of *Lamberts* Brigade, and for what (they said) had been groundlessly and without cause alledged against them; and were so far from acknowledging their offences, thereby to recover the good opinion of the House towards them, that they justified their own Proceedings with a kind of Reprehension of those that misinformed the House concerning it. Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Hacker*, Colonel *Sanders*, Major *Daberon*, Major *Barton*, and Major *Breman*, with many others, did much oppose the carrying on of this Representation, which retarded the Progress of it. And some of the dissenting Officers writ to General *Monk*, and sent him a Copy of what was brought in, with all the debates thereupon, desiring him to imploy his Credit with *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, to put a stop to it; as *that which would, if not prevented, put an irreparable breach betwixt the Parliament and the Army.*

Monk writes his sense of it in a Letter to *Fleetwood*.

Monk was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he writ to *Fleetwood* a curteous Letter of his opinion of the whole Affair, but insisted chiefly on that part of the Petition wherein it was proposed, *That no Officer or Souldier should be cashiered or dismissed from their Places, without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own consent, except in case of reducement or disbanding*; desiring they would add (after the words, *Court-Martial*) *or by order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the place*, alledging, *That although the removing or displacing of Officers or Souldiers, otherwise than by sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practised: yet if a General, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more inferiour Officers and Souldiers to affront the Superiour, and the General himself, and would in time make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.*

Monk offers himself to march in to the assistance of the Parliaments Party.

This Letter came not to *Fleetwood*, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House. But *Monks* intention was to make his advantage of this division, and to that end, sent his Brother *Nicholas* to *London* to *Clarges*, to authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members, as he thought most fit, *That if they would assert their own Authority, he would march into* England, *to justifie it against any opposition.*

During this Debate at *London* of the General Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time; but they were by much over-numbred. And the Petition was Signed by 230. Commission-Officers of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, who were then in and about *London*.

Orders made by the *Juno* of Commons, for the incouragement of the Souldiers, the better to ingage them to their Interest.

The leading Members had from time to time notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, They made many Orders concerning Pay of the Souldiers, and Mariners, and Provision for the Maimed Souldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were killed in their Service. To the Souldiers they Ordered, That all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia Troops and Companies, should be paid out of the Moiety of such Monies as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquents Sequestred, and to be Sequestred upon the late Insurrection, and out of one Moiety of Money to be raised by the sale of Forests and Chaces, excepting *New Forest*, and the Forest of *Deane*. And excepting such Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Common-wealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, They ordered the other Moiety of the Money to be raised upon Delinquents Estates. And also that *Hampton-Court* House, Parks, and *Somerset*-House (except the Chappel which was reserved for a *French* Congregation) and all other Mannors, Parks, Houses, and Lands contained

Orders for the sale of *Hampton-Court*, *Somerset-house*, &c.

contained in the ſeveral Acts for ſale of the King and Queens Lands, ſhould be ſold, and the Money go to that uſe. And for the maimed Souldiers, Orphans, and Widows, of ſuch as were ſlain in their Service, They ordered the Committees formerly conſtituted for inſpections into the Publick Treaſuries, to pay two months Pay to them, and to take care to put ſuch of their Children to be Apprentices as were fit for it. They likewiſe, to gain themſelves the more general Eſteem, conſidered of ſome way to ſatisfie part of the Debts contracted to raiſe Arms againſt the King, at the beginning of the War, upon the Publick Faith of the *Parliament*, which had been long neglected; And in order thereunto, They ordered, that the other Moiety of the Money to be raiſed by the ſale of the Foreſts (except as aforeſaid) ſhould be imployed towards the payment and ſatisfaction of thoſe Debts. The Houſe imagined that theſe their proceedings would ſo far ſatisfie the Generality of the Officers of the Army, as to divert them from the delivery of their Petition; and many of the moſt active members in credit with the leading men did what they could to hinder it, but could not prevail. And upon the 5th of *October*, Colonel *Desborow*, with many others, came to the door of the *Parliament*, and ſent the Serjeant to inform the Speaker, that he, with ſome others of the Officers of the Army, attended with ſomething to be preſented to them, whereupon he was called in with thoſe in his Company, and in the name of the reſt, ſpoke theſe following words.

The Remnant indeavour in vain to divert the delivery of the Petition.

Desborows words at the delivery thereof.

"I Am Ordered by the General Council of the Army, with the reſt of theſe Gentlemen, to wait upon you, to preſent unto you their *Humble Repreſentation and Petition*; and they humbly deſire you would accept it, as that which proceeds from the Hearts of thoſe who deſire nothing more than that the Lord would ſtrengthen your hearts, in carrying on that good Work of ſettling theſe Nations upon the Foundation of a free Common-wealth, whereby the Religious and Civil Liberty of the good People thereof may be preſerved and ſecured.

Having ſaid this, he and thoſe with him withdrew, and the *Petition*, being delivered by the Serjeant at Arms attending into the *Speakers* hands, was by his direction read. The Title was,

The Humble Repreſentation and Petition of the Officers of the Army, To the Parliament *of the Common-wealth of* England.

The ſubſtance of the Armies humble Repreſentation and Petition

In the *Preamble* they ſet forth, "That having had by their Order ſome late *Votes* of *Parliament* Communicated unto them by Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* their Commander in Chief, occaſioned by a Debate in Parliament upon the *Petition* and *Propoſals* of the Officers under the Command of the Lord *Lambert* in the late *Northern* Expedition; They have inquired diligently into their hearts and ways with reference thereunto, and finding nothing amongſt them but Faithfulneſs and Integrity to the Parliament and Common-wealth, They are ſenſible that there have not wanted ſome Perſons who have endeavoured to beget miſ-underſtanding betwixt the Parliament and the Army, and to that end have repreſented their Actions and Intentions ſo, as it is taken for granted, that there hath been irregularity amongſt them, at which they fear they have taken offence; Whereas if there had not been an anticipation, they are perſwaded it would have appeared to all unprejudiced ſpirits, that neither they (who for the generality of them were ignorant (*for ſo they pretended*) of that whereat the offence was taken) nor their faithful Brethren of the *Northern* Brigade who ſigned the ſaid Petition and Propoſals, did deſign or intend any thing tending to the Interruption of the *Parliament*, the prejudice of the Peace of the Common-wealth, or any other by or ſiniſter reſpect not becoming the Truſt repoſed in them. Wherefore being ſenſible of the Evills that perſons abroad may make from the leaſt apprehenſions of difference betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that they may, as much as in them lies, remove all occaſions of ſurmiſe, juſtifie their own Innocency before them, and fruſtrate the expectations of any, who by blowing up the Coals of diſſention, hope to warm themſelves thereby; They have thought it their Duty to preſent their naked Thoughts to them, hoping they will find ſo much of Integrity and approved Faithfulneſs in them, for the welfare of the Common-wealth, as may continue a firm confidence of them, and engage their Zeal againſt all ſuch as ſhall go about to reproach their Faithful Army, or any member thereof for the future, eſpecially conſidering that the peace of theſe Nations depends much upon a Cordial and Affectionate Union of the Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good underſtanding of each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that theſe men could think this their manner of Proceeding ſutable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiours, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they ſeemed to avoid; namely, a Breach betwixt their *Parliament* and them: But a clearer manifeſtation of this, was apparent in their *Propoſals* annexed to this *Preamble*, uſhered in with Four bold declaratory Aſſertions; of all which we ſhall inſert the words themſelves as they were preſented. Where they ſay,

We do humbly and plainly declare,

The Armies *Propoſals.*

1. *That notwithſtanding what any perſons may ſuggeſt or ſay to the contrary, We are not for, but againſt the ſetting up of any Single Perſon whatſoever in Supreme Authority: And for a demonſtration hereof, We may appeal to your own Judgments, upon our late Actings, wherein ſince*

our Declaration *of the Sixth of* May *laſt, We have with all Induſtry and Faithfulneſs endeavoured to render our ſelves ſerviceable to you and the* Common-wealth, *and have chearfully obſerved your Commands, ſome of Us with our Lives in our hands in your late Service; wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the* Good Old Cauſe, *for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this* Parliament *to the diſcharge of their remaining Truſt, We did with ſimplicity and plainneſs, in our* Humble Petition and Addreſs *preſented to you, manifeſt our Hearts and Deſires, and that with much unanimity and fulneſs of conſent, which we apprehended was well accepted by you.*

2. *That we have not ſince changed our Principles, leading to a well regulated Common-wealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully ſecured, and Perſons of known Integrity, Piety, and Ability imployed in Places of Truſt and Concernment; but reſolve by the Aſſiſtance of God to remain conſtant to them: And make it our humble Prayer to God, That he would incline your hearts effectually to proſecute the ſame, and make you Inſtrumental in bringing forth ſuch a Foundation of Government, whereby all the good People of theſe Nations may rationally expect that ſuch Liberties and Rights ſhall be preſerved to them and their Poſterities. And We can truly ſay, That it is in our hearts earneſtly to deſire, that God would Crown you with the Honour of making theſe Nations happy by ſuch a* Settlement, *as may not be liable at every Change of Governours to have the Peace thereof diſturbed by introducing new Governments.*

3. *Whereas a* Petition *and* Propoſals *were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade that (under the Command of Major General* Lambert) *hazarded themſelves in your Service with good ſucceſs, whereby through the bleſſing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Friends and Servants, the Peace of this* Common-wealth *is ſtill continued: And the ſaid* Petition *was ſent up to ſome Officers here, to be preſented to the Lord* Fleetwood; *which hath been by ſome interpreted to evill and ſiniſter Ends, and from thence ſuggeſtions derived, as if there were Intentions to violate the* Parliament, *to ſet up a* Single Perſon, *or another* General: *In order thereunto, We do ſincerely profeſs, (whatever the deſign of any perſons may be to promote ſuch Cauſeleſs Jealouſies) We have had no other than Faithfulneſs and Candor in our Hearts and Actions towards the* Parliament; *nor do we apprehend (with ſubmiſſion we may ſpeak it) any reaſon or cauſe of offence to be conceived againſt your Faithful Servants, who lately gave ſo ample proof of their Fidelity and Courage.*

4. *We cannot but eſteem our ſelves unhappy, to have been ſo miſrepreſented to the* Parliament, *as ſhould occaſion ſuch a publick Admonition upon Record; And conſidering what Evil uſe may be made of theſe things by a Publick Enemy, and to the end they may be diſappointed of their hopes, and all ſuch perſons diſcouraged as ſhall go about for the future to promote Jealouſies, or by miſ-information to beget Diviſions betwixt the* Parliament *and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a good underſtanding may be preſerved between them, We humbly Pray,*

1. *That the Officers of the Army, and particularly thoſe who have reaſon to bear the marks of Your Favour for their Faithfulneſs in the late* Northern Expedition, *may ſtand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.*

2. *That whatſoever perſon or perſons ſhall for the future groundleſly and Cauſeleſly inform the* Houſe *againſt your Servants, thereby creating Jealouſies, and caſting ſcandalous Imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Juſtice, and Condign Puniſhment.*

3. *That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and ſubmiſſive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by Your ſelves Aſſerted, allowed and approved of; We cannot but alſo aſſert the ſaid Liberty, and humbly Conceive, that your Faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Freemen, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to ſubmit their humble Deſires to the* Parliament.

4. *That You would be pleaſed to take into Your ſerious Conſideration, the neceſſitous Condition of the poor Souldiers of Your Armies, and that all poſſible care may be taken for their timely ſupply, their Wants being ſuch as earneſtly call for it: And that ſome ſpeedy and effectual Courſe may be taken to provide for the Maimed Souldiers, and the Poor Widows and Orphans, of ſuch as have been ſlain in Your Service, that the Bleſſing of God may be upon You.*

5. *That ſuch who have freely offered themſelves in the ſeveral Counties and Cities of theſe Nations, to own and ſtand by You and your Cauſe in the late Inſurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have Your Encouragement, and be Imployed in Places of Truſt and Command.*

6. *That it being a thing granted by all, that without due execution of* Martial Diſcipline, *the Peace, Union, and good Government of an Army cannot be preſerved; the Diſcipline of the Army may be preſerved inviolable, and in particular, That no Officer or Souldier of the Army may be Caſhiered or Diſmiſſed from their Places without a due proceeding at a* Court-Martial, *or by his own Conſent, except in caſes of Reducement or Disbanding.*

7. *That it being judged neceſſary by the* Parliament, *for the keeping of the Army under ſuch a Conduct as may render the ſame Serviceable to the* Common-wealth, *to appoint a* Committee of Nominations *for the propoſing of Officers to the* Parliament *for their Approbation; We humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but ſuch as ſhall firſt come under the Conſideration of the ſaid* Committee, *and be by them preſented.*

8. *The Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of ſo great Concernment to the Peace of this* Common-wealth, *and his Commiſſion at preſent (as we conceive) expiring within a few months, We humbly pray, That the Conſideration of that matter may come before you, and ſome ſuch effectual courſe taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army to Confuſion.*

9. *And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and, againſt all diſcouragements whatſoever,*

ſoever, proceed in the carrying on of that good Work intruſted in your hands, for the Glory of God, and advantage of theſe Nations. In the proſecution whereof, through the help of our God, We ſhall be found (notwithſtanding all endeavours to the contrary) faithful to You and this Commonwealth.

The Inſolency of theſe *Propoſals*, gave our preſent Senatours reaſon to ſuſpect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the *Army* diſſented from the Repreſenting and Propoſing Party, they imagined the reſt would not be very haſty to make a Rupture: Therefore they reſolved to aſſert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto, they had many ſharp Debates about this *Repreſentation* and *Petition*; but in the end they concluded with moderation, and directed their *Speaker* to call the Petitioners into the *Houſe*, and acquaint them, "That the Par-
"liament had read their Repreſentation and
"Petition, and taking notice of the good Ex-
"preſſions therein of their Affections and
"Faithfulneſs to this Parliament and Common-
"wealth, had Commanded him to give them
"the Thanks of their Houſe for them; and
"to let them know, That they had already ta-
"ken into conſideration the Relief of the Poor
"Widows, Orphans, and maimed Souldiers,
"to whom Penſions had been formerly allow-
"ed; and had alſo ſettled a way for ſatisfaction
"of the Arrears due to the Officers and Soul-
"diers, and would endeavour to bring the ſame
"to ſpeedy effect.

The *Junto* diſſemble at firſt their diſtaſte at theſe Proceedings of the Army.

Desborow gives an Accompt of this Anſwer to a General Council of Officers who aſſembled that Afternoon on purpoſe. It was not unknown to them, That the *Houſe* reſented their Addreſs, & that in ſuch a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Conſtitution of the *Army*. To provide againſt this, they thought fit to ſtrengthen their Party, by getting more Subſcriptions to their *Repreſentation* and *Petition*, and immediately they agreed upon the form of a Letter to be ſent to *Ireland*, and another to *Scotland*, and to every Regiment in *England*; for the Signing and diſperſing of which, they nominated from among themſelves a ſelect Number in the nature of a *Committee*. That to General *Monk*, was in theſe words:

The Council of Officers labour to get Subſcriptions to their *Repreſentation*.

Right Honourable,

A Letter from a Committee of the council of Officers to General *Monk*, concerning the Armies *Repreſentation*.

"WE do by Command from the General
"Council of the Officers of the Army
"now in *London*, tranſmit the incloſed to you,
"being a true Copy of the *Repreſentation* and
"*Petition* which was this day by them humbly
"preſented to the Parliament; and the *Votes*
"of the *Houſe* paſſed thereupon: And are
"further to ſignifie as their Deſire, that the
"ſame may be Communicated to all the Com-
"miſſion Officers of that part of the Army
"under your Command, and the Subſcripti-
"ons of all taken to the *Repreſentation* and *Pe-*
"*tition*, that are free to Sign the ſame; Which
"being ſo ſigned, It is deſired you will be
"pleaſed to cauſe them to be cloſe ſealed up,
"and returned to *Thomas Sandford* Eſquire,
"Secretary to his Excellency the Lord *Fleet-*
"*wood*, who is to give an Accompt thereof. As
"we have thus fulfilled the General Councils
"Pleaſure, we are well aſſured you will be
"pleaſed to comply with their Requeſt; which
"is all at preſent from

Your humble Servants,

J. Lambert, Rich. Creed, John Desborow, John Maſon, William Packer.

The General had intimation of this Letter from *Clarges* before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that paſſed upon the delivery of the *Repreſentation*; which made him reſolve to admit of no Subſcriptions in *Scotland*. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Anſwer to it; *That he thought it unfit to have any Subſcriptions made to that, to which now the* Parliament *had given an Anſwer, leſt it ſhould be underſtood to make a Party againſt them.* And in purſuance of this Reſolution, he ſent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbid them to ſubſcribe.

The Subſtance of Gen. *Monk*'s Anſwer.

The *Houſe* a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court General *Monk* very much, as thinking it a matter of no ſmall importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having ſent a Letter to them, (which they received Two days after the delivery of the *Repreſentation* of the Army) to acquaint them with the peaceable condition of *Scotland* in obedience to their Government, wherein he moved ſomething in favour of ſome of his Officers, and commended the temper of his *Army*: They returned him Anſwer the ſame day, with the Thanks of the Houſe, and let him know, *The high eſteem they had of the Services which with ſo much Valour, Prudence, and Faithfulneſs he had performed; and that they had granted the deſire of his Letters, with aſſurance to him and his Officers and Souldiers under his Command, of returns of Favour from the* Parliament *anſwerable to their merit.*

He is Courted by the Parliament Party.

And complemented by Letter, with gratulatory expreſſions for his good Service.

Upon the Tenth of the ſaid Month, they took the *Propoſals* in the Armies *Repreſentation* into Debate:

To the Firſt, they Anſwer,

"That the Officers of the Army have re-
"ceived, and ſhall from time to time receive
"marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and
"countenance anſwerable to their Merit and
"Faithfulneſs.

The *Houſe* takes into Debate, and anſwers, one by one, the Armies *Propoſals*.

To the Second they Anſwer,

"That it is the Duty of all Perſons, eſpeci-
"ally the Members of Parliament, to inform
"the Houſe of any thing, which in their appre-
"henſion may concern the Publick Safety;
"And it is the undoubted Right of the Par-
"liament to receive, and debate thoſe Infor-
"mations, and to Reſolve what they think fit
"thereupon.

To the Third they Declare,

"That every Member of the Army, as "Freemen of *England*, have right of Petitioning the Parliament: but withall, think "fit to let them know, That the Petitioners "ought to be very careful, both in the manner, and in the matter which they desire; "That the way of promoting and presenting "the same may be peaceable; and the things "Petitioned for, not tending to the disturbance "of the Common-wealth, nor to the dishonour of the Parliament: And that it is the "Duty of Petitioners to submit their Desires "to the Parliament, and to acquiesce in the "Judgment thereof.

In Answer to the Fourth Proposal.

"They Order Two Months Pay to be "forthwith paid to the Officers and Souldiers "of the Army in *England*, out of the Six "Months Assessment of Five and thirty thou-"sand pounds a month now due; And that "the Council of State do give Order, that the "same be paid accordingly; And that Two "Months Pay be also issued to the Officers and "Souldiers in *Scotland* and *Ireland*. To that "part of the *Proposal*, To provide for the "Maimed Souldiers, and the poor Widows "and Orphans of such as had been slain in their "Service, They refer the former *Votes* made "in their behalfs.

To the Fifth Proposal they Answer,

"That such Persons as have been Faithful "and Active for the Parliament in the late *In-"surrection*, the Parliament will take care to "give them all due encouragement as occasion "shall be offered.

This Resolute Procedure of the Members at *Westminster*, filled the *Army* with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, If any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as destitute as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such actings. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time deferred their further consideration on the *Proposals* of the *Representation*, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of *Parliament*, Wherein they Enact,

An Act of the Remnant against raising of Money without Consent of Parliament.

That all Orders, Ordinances, *and* Acts, *made by any Single Person and his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of* April, 1653. *and before the Seventh of* May, 1659. *and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed, and Confirmed by this present* Parliament, *should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of* May, 1659. *And that no Person or Persons shall after the Eleventh day of* October, 1659. *Assess, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Custome, Impost, Excise, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Tallage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this* Common-wealth, *without their Consent in* Parliament, *or as by Law might have been done before the Third of* November, 1640. *And that every person offending contrary to this* Act, *should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfeit and suffer as in case of Treason.*

A Letter to *Okey*, the chief cause of the speedy putting forth of this Act.

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a *Letter* which had been communicated to them, under the hands of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, *Barrow*, and *Creed*, directed to Colonel *Okey*. It was much to the same Purport with that sent to General *Monk* before mentioned, and in the same Form: This *Letter* was by accident delivered to *Okey*; for there being many *Letters* signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by *Fleetwoods* Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to *Okey*; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and he to the House; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but respited the Consideration of it till the next Morning, which was the twelfth of *October*.

Mr. *Monk* arrives from *Scotland*, with private Orders from the General to *Clarges*.

That Night Mr. *Nicholas Monk* arrived (after not above four days Journey) from *Scotland*, and had Orders from the General, to tell *Clarges*, *That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it; and if required thereunto, march into* England *in their Defence.*

Clarges, early the next Morning, communicated this to *Walton*, *Haslerig*, and *Scot*, who were so much encouraged by it, That at the first sitting of the House, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered, That the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfield*, *Cobbet*, *Packer*, and *Barrow*, who subscribed the said *Letter*, should be void.

The Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, and others, voted void.

They had it in Motion, to Declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them: And before they parted, they made an Act, appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the ACT *Constituting* Charles Fleetwood *Lieutenant-General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and to be raised by Authority of* Parliament, *within* England *and* Scotland, *and all Power and Authority therby given; And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners, in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General.* These Commissioners were, *Fleetwood*, *Monk*, *Ludlow*, *Haslerig*, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Overton*, who were impowered *to execute all and*

An *ACT* appointing Commissioners for Government of the Army, and removing *Fleetwood* from the chief Command thereof.

and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th *of* October, 1659. *to the* 22 *of* February, 1659, *&c.*

They likewise Ordered the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for Discharge of the said Officers Commissions, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because *Lambert* was the most considerable Person, and the next Officers to him were men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately Ordered *Camfield*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that *Skepper* the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain *Bradshaw* to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these, lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the *Speakers* Chamber at *Westminster*, and Ordered Colonel *Morley*'s and Colonel *Mosses* Regiments, as a guard to the *Parliament*, who possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and the Great Hall: *Lambert*, on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that Rate, as they were begun against him, thought best to play his Game, while it was in his power to prevent; and to that end drew some Regiments together, who marched to *Kings-Street*, and possessed themselves of all Avenues to the *Parliament*.

Lambert removed from his Regiment, and the Officers under him successively advanced.

Col. *Morley* and *Moss* ordered with their Regiments to Guard the House.

Lambert, with the Reg. that adhere, stops the Passages to the Parl. House.

In the Morning, the *Speaker* came with his Coach towards the House; but at the Entry into the *Palace-Yard*, he was stop'd by Lieutenant-Colonel *Duckenfield*; and after a little Expostulation was forced to return. The Souldiers on both sides kept their Station till towards the Evening, in a Posture of Hostility, ready to have fired one against the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onset; so that it was verily thought the Business would have come to a sharp Conflict between them: but they were better advised, insomuch, that the Council of State meeting at *White-Hall*, and ordering all of them to draw off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed thereunto, and marched away that Night: However, *Lamberts* Party obtained their Desire forasmuch as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future, *Fleetwood* took care always to keep good Guards at the Door of the *Parliament-House*, to prevent them from Meeting. The next Day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at *White-Hall*, and chose Ten Persons as a Council, for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the *Common-wealth*, till further Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Desborow*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham*, and *Archibald Johnston* a *Scotchman*, commonly called the Laird of *Warreston*; And at *Walling-ford-House*, the same Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, That *Fleetwood* should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; That *Lambert* should be the next chief Officer under him; and *Desborow* Commissary General of the Horse; and that all the Officers, to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by Sir *Henry Vane*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*; but in especial manner they took care for the preparing of *Articles of War*, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necessary for their Consistence. In this they were very industrious; and in all the time since the first modelling of their Armies, their Discipline was so exact, that the Carriage of their Souldiery was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Government, less obnoxious to Vulgar Censure. Some mentioned General *Monk* to be considered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not hearkned to; and those that opposed it, assured the rest, That he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he disagreed to their Counsels, he might be easily displaced: They had not yet received his Resolution concerning the Subscriptions, about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their *Representation* and *Petition*, and therefore were ignorant of his Dissent from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Concurrence, they dispatched Colonel *Cobbet* to him, with a large *Narrative* of the Reasons of their Proceedings.

The prevailing Party of the Army no great Favourers of Gen. *Monk*.

The Speaker forced to return.

Lambert and his Party dissolve the Remnant Parl. by hindering the Members from coming into the House.

A Council of Ten Army-Officers appointed to be Managers of the State-Affairs *pro tempore*.

The Lord *Mordant*, and some others of the Kings Friends, lying at *Callais*, immediately upon the News of these Disorders in *England*, dispatched Mr. *Nicholas Armorer* to his Majesty, who was then at *Fontarabia*, industriously soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large Promises from the *Spaniards*; and for the defraying the Expenses of his Journey, he received from *Don Lewis d' Haro* a Present of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majesty had once a purpose to have gone directly to *Madrid*; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. *Armorer*, in hopes that something might fall out in *England* to his Advantage, he chose to return to *Bruxels*. The Earl of St. *Albans* coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Dissolution of the Treaty, met his Majesty at *Bayon*, in his Return from *Fontarabia*; Cardinal *Mazarini* being before departed from St. *John de Luz*, not having received any Visit from his Majesty before his Departure.

Mr. *Armorer* sent by the L. *Mordant* to the King at *Fontarabia* to inform him how matters went in *England*.

The King returns from *Fontarabia* toward *Bruxels*, meeting the Earl of St. *Albans* by the way.

The Earl of St. *Albans* conferred much with the King whilst he staid with him, which was not long, and then he went to *Paris*, whither the King followed him *incognito* by easie journeys; and after some stay there, went from thence to *Bruxels*.

At this time such of the Kings Friends as had opportunity were very active in his Service, amongst whom the endeavours of Mr. *Evelyn*, of *Says-Court* near *Deptford* in *Kent*, is not to be omitted, who having some acquaintance with Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whose Birth, Education, and Interest in his Country rendred him unlikely to be cordially inclin'd to prostitute himself to the ruine of his Country: he attempted with just and honest Arguments to draw him to the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater credit than any of his Party in *Sussex*, where he lived, in case his Majesty should Land there, and having

also

also a good influence upon the Fleet, and two of the Army-Regiments.

Morley, after some Hesitation, was perswaded by Mr. *Evelyn* to return to his Allegiance, and he desired him to intercede with the King for a Pardon to himself, and some few others of his Relations, (which he named) and then departed into his Country, and gave him notice how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers consult about a Frame of Government.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meetings at *White-Hall*, and a *Junto* of the wisest of them were in deep Consultation, how to make such a Frame of Government as should be durable and lasting, against all Attempts whatsoever. They found most of the Gentry in *England* to be some way or other involved in the late Endeavours for the King, and were advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and divide them amongst their own Party; whereby the Riches of the Nation, the most powerful of all Interests, would be absolutely changed into the Hands of Persons irreconcileable to *Monarchy*. This was such Advice, as if it had succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been subverted.

A certain number of Persons called to take upon them the Government, under the Title of a *Committee of Safety*.

The General Council, on the 26 of this Month, nominated 23 Persons, to be intrusted with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom they called a *Committee of Safety*; and the next Day they invited them to sit, and gave them Powers and Instructions; of which, the chief were,

Their Instructions.

1. *To Execute all the Powers of the late* Council of State, *together with Authority to call all* Delinquents *to Accompt, that were in the late* Insurrection, *and to proceed to a bringing them to* Justice, *and to give* Indemnity *to all Persons that had acted for the Service of the* Common-wealth, *since the Year*, 1649.

2. *To oppose and suppress all* Rebellions *and* Insurrections.

3. *To treat with* Forein States *and* Princes.

4. *To raise the* Militia *in the several* Counties.

5. *To dispose of all* Places *of* Trust *that are void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.*

6. *To make Sale and Compositions for all* Delinquents Estates.

Their names

The Names of these Governours were, *Bulstrode Whitlock*, lately made Keeper of their Great Seal, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Steel* Chancellour of *Ireland*, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salway*, *Walter Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Alderman *Ireton*, *Tichborn*, *Hewson*, *Clark*, *Beunet*, Colonel *Lilburn*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Henry Brandriff*, and *Robert Thompson*.

They likewise published a *Declaration*, in the Close whereof they Declare, That

The substance of their Declaration.

"They think themselves obliged, for preventing the manifold Evils and Inconveniencies, which must necessarily fall upon the other *Good People* of the *Nation*, as well as themselves, by reason of the several *Orders*, *Acts*, pretended *Acts*, or other *Declaration*, or any of them, Enacted, made, or past on *Monday* the tenth of this instant *October*, and on *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* then next following, to declare them, and every of them null and void to all intents and purposes: And likewise all *Acts*, *Orders*, and *Proceedings* thereupon had or done, in as full and ample manner, as if the said *Orders*, *Acts*, pretended *Acts*, or *Declarations*, and every of them, had never been: All which they publish and declare, that all persons concerned may take notice thereof, and no person whatsoever suffer any further prejudice thereby, hoping that all peaceable, well-minded, and unprejudiced persons will acquiesce in the Necessity and Justice thereof.

"They further Declare to the World, that it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Liberty may be assured to all the *Free-born People* of these *Nations*, both as Men and Christians; That a full and through *Reformation* of the *Law* may be effected; as also, that a faithful, godly, and painful *Gospel-Preaching-Ministry* may be incouraged and provided for, by some certain Way that may be less troublesome to them, and less vexatious to the *People*, than that of *Tythes*. And further, that they have no Aim or Ends to set up a *Military* or *Arbitrary Government* over the *Common-wealth*: But have already provided, That the Civil and Executive part of Government shall be lodged in a *Committee of Safety*; and they obliged in a short time, to prepare such a *Form* of *Government*, as may best suit and comport with a *Free-State* and *Common-wealth*, without a *Single Person*, *Kingship*, or *House of Peers*; And that they shall, to the utmost of their Endeavours, labour to obtain those desirable things so often declared for; and to maintain and preserve the *Peace* of these *Nations*, in their several Stations and Places, and shall hope, That God for his own Glory, and the good of his own *People*, will give a blessed end of these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon the Principles formerly declared for; and which have been, and still are, so earnestly breathed after, by all those that truly fear his Name.

And then to Cajole the Godly Party (as they called them) they proceed to tell them;

"They doubt not, but such being truly sensible of the many *Temptations* besetting them on every Hand, the great *Difficulties* they laboured under (and know not what further Streights a Day may bring forth) will say on their Behalfs, *Who are sufficient for these Things?* And out of former Experiences being taught, That the Lord is a present help in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them before the *Throne of Grace*, That the LORD himself may appear, and carry on his own Work in their Hands: And if it shall please him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear his Name to be instant on their behalf, they shall not fear what evil man can do unto them.

These

The Exorbitancy of their Actions somewhat restrained by the mixture of some moderate men among them.

These unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Insinuations, to silence all Gainsayers, and to make the People believe, they could Frame any Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Confidence was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Constitutions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Actings: yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard *Vane*, *Whitlock*, and *Salway*, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, assisted in their Councils.

Whitlock, indeed, was much Censured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise men, that marked his Demeanour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrained the Exorbitancy of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

The substance of Gen. *Monk*'s Letters to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*

That which put the greatest Check to their Carrear, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good Men, was the Arrival of *Letters* from General *Monk* in *Scotland*, to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to them the 28 of *October*, in the Evening. He complained therein, *Of their Violation of Faith to the* Parliament; *and declared his Resolution, to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.*

Clarges dispatched away into *Scotland* by the Grandees of the Army, together with Col. *Talbot*, to solicit *Monk* to a Treaty.

Fleetwood, *Lambert*, and *Desborow* immediately met at *White-Hall* in much Confusion; and about Twelve at Night they sent Major *Haynes* to desire *Clarges* to come to them; who when he came, after some question of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wary Answers) They desired him to go into *Scotland* with Colonel *Talbot*, (whose Regiment was then at *Edinburgh*) to prevail with *Monk* for a Treaty of Mediation, to prevent the effusion of Bloud. They said, they chose *Talbot* to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges was very glad of this Opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse Treated) and they were so pressing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

Monk well inform'd of all passages in *England*.

In the mean time, *Monk* in *Scotland* had by an Express from *Clarges*, which came to him the 17th of *October*, received exact Information of the Interruption of the *Parliament*; and at several times before, he had Notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no less, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what hapned.

What Forces he had, and how dispersed.

He had in *Scotland* at this time Ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of a Thousand Souldiers, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into *England* a little before upon the Alarm of Sir *George Booth*'s Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, *viz.* his own, and Colonel *Philip Twistleton*'s and one Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Major General *Morgan*: The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at *Edinburgh*, and two of them at *Dalkeith*, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel *Talbot*'s Regiment was quartered in *Edinburgh*; Nine Companies of Col. *Wilks* his Regiment were in the Cittadel at *Leith*, and one of them in the Castle at *Edinburgh*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Read*'s Regiment were at *Sterling*, and the Tenth in *England*; Eight Companies of Colonel *Overton*'s Regiment at *Dundee*, and two of them in *England*; Colonel *Daniel*'s Regiment lay at St. *Johnstons*; Colonel *Sawries* Regiment at *Aire*; Colonel *Coblets* at *Glasgow*; Nine Companies of Colonel *Fairfax*'s Regiment at *Aberdeen*, and the other in *England*; and part of Colonel *Smith*'s Regiment at *Innerness*; and the rest of the Garrisons in the *Highlands*: The Horse and Dragoons lay in several places near the Foot-Quarters; but at such distances, as might not incommode the Country.

Monk keeps in those Officers whom the *Commissioners* had displaced.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilest they sate at *White-Hall*, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments, both of Horse and Foot, which raised great Discontents amongst them: They had given Colonel *Daniel*'s Regiment to *Peirson*, his Lieutenant-Colonel, an *Anabaptist*; They had also displaced *Hubblethorn*, who was Major to Colonel *Talbot*'s Regiment; *Hughes*, who was Major to *Wilkes*, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one *Knottes* an *Anabaptist* to his Command; *Johnson*, the Eldest Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, and many more (too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none of those New Officers chosen at *White-Hall*, to supply the Places of those removed, were yet come into *Scotland*: So that General *Monk* taking that Opportunity, to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus disobliged before, thereby intirely depend on him.

And removes those whom he himself distrusted.

Having resolved to stand upon his Guard, and Declare against the Army in *England*, the first thing he did, was to Consult which way was best to secure these Regiments, and the several Garrisons, with least hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution than Counsel, he made very little Hæsitation in what he intended to Act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Absence in the *Dutch* War, had been so transformed, that most of the Officers were become *Anabaptists*) and the three Regiments in *Glasgow*, *Aire*, and St. *Johnstons*.

The first Minute that he had Notice of the Disorders at *Westminster*, which was on the before-mentioned 17th day of *October*, he sent Captain *Jeremy Smith* of his own Regiment of of Horse, to *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to signifie his Pleasure to Major *Hubblethorn*, Major *Hughes*, and Captain *Johnson*, to have them come to him to *Dalkeith*: The first was Major to *Talbot*'s Regiment of Foot; the other, to that of *Wilkes*, quartered at *Leith*; and *Johnson*

commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horſe.

The General ſignifies his Reſolution to ſeveral of his Officers, to march into *England*, to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament, and hath their conſent and incouragement.

Theſe came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain *Morgan* of his own Regiment of Foot, and *Miller* of *Wilkes* his Regiment, who had the Guards of *Dalkeith* Houſe: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiment, were both *Anabaptiſts*, and at that time abſent; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry*, of *Read*'s Regiment, was by chance there, and was adviſed with. The General communicated his Intelligence to them, and his Reſolution to march into *England* with a part of his Army, to re-eſtabliſh the Parliament; To which they all freely conſented: *Hubblethorn* gave him perfect Aſſurance of all *Talbot*'s Regiment, of which he had now the Command; becauſe the Colonel, and *Pownel* the Lieutenant-Colonel, were both in *England*: And indeed much muſt be attributed to the Courage and Diligence of that Gentleman, whoſe Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Souldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at *Edenburgh*, gave a great Reputation to the whole undertaking: For although ſome in all the Regiments, and many in moſt, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all apter to follow in any Deſign (as moſt naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain *Johnſon* had been by the Nominators at *London* removed from his Troop, but was now by the General reſtored to it; and as he was Eldeſt Captain of the Regiment, by the abſence of Major *Knight*, he had the Command, under the General, of all his Regiment of Horſe, and was well-beloved by them: Major *Hughes* gave him hopes of making all Colonel *Wilkes* his Regiment at his Service: *Hubblethorn* (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at *Edenburgh*, and to let all the Musketeers have Matches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; And *Johnſon* was Commanded to be ready in *Edenburgh* at the ſame time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain *Symnel*'s, an honeſt ſtout Officer: *Hughes* was appointed, in the abſence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were ſent for the next Morning to confer with the General, to ſecure the *Cittadel* at *Leith*: He had, upon ſome kind of Expectation of Change, kept Captain *Witter* (of the Regiment lying at St. *Johnſtowns*) and Captain *Robſon* (of the Regiment at *Aire*) both at *Edenburgh*, and had ſent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, One to ſecure the *Cittadel* at St. *Johnſtowns*, and the other at *Aire*; which were very difficult Service to perform, in regard that moſt of the Officers in thoſe Regiments were very ill-diſpoſed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the ſending an Expreſs to Major *Knight*, who was then in *York-ſhire* at his own Houſe, to haſten him to his Command.

Great Preparations in *Monk*'s Army, for the fortifying themſelves againſt the prevailing Faction in *England*.

The next day after dinner the General marched to *Edenburgh*, with only Captain *Smiths* Troop of Horſe, having before diſpatched away *Witter* and *Robſon*. *Morgan* had been ſent before to *Edenburgh*, to draw up his Regiment, but had Orders to give them neither Match, Powder, nor Ball: As ſoon as he came into the High-ſtreet, and found the Regiments in that order he expected, He retired a little into his Quarters, to model his own Regiment, and ſent for *Morgan* to him, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain *Nicholas* he promoted to be Major, and at the ſame inſtant diſplaced all whom he knew to be diſaffected to him, and ſuch of them as were dangerous, he impriſoned: which done, he march'd with both the Regiments to the *Gray-Friers* Church, where he called together the Officers, and told them, *That the Army in* England *had broken up the Parliament out of a reſtleſs uncontroulable diſpoſition of being pleaſed with nothing that tended to the welfare and happineſs of the People; that though they had lately taken ſhame to themſelves (in their publick Declaration) for their former Apoſtacies, yet now, finding the Parliament unapt to humour them in all their Extravagancies, they were weary of them: He ſaid he was reſolved to make the Military Power ſubſervient to the Civil, and that, ſince they had their Protection and Entertainment from the Parliament, it was their Duty to ſerve and obey them againſt all oppoſition; which ſhould be his Practice, and he expected their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance to joyn with him. But if any were diſſatisfied, and would declare it to him, they ſhould have free liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Paſſes to go home.*

The General marches to *Edenburgh*, and there orders all things to his beſt advantage.

His Speech to his Officers.

Upon this, Colonel *Wilkes* and his Lieutenant-Colonel, with all that were preſent, unanimouſly declared to live and die with him; Captain *Johnſon* was then diſpatched to *Barwick*, to ſecure that Garriſon, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Mayers*; and he did it very effectually, and it was a Service of great advantage to *Monks* Deſigns; Captain *Hatt*, and Captain *Dennis*, two well approved Officers of Colonel *Cobbets* Regiment, being both at *Edenburgh* when theſe tranſactions were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at *Glaſcow*, and to march with it to *Edenburgh*, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head-Quarters, and privately conſulted with ſuch of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publickly diſcovered their Orders: Lieutenant Colonel *Young*, who was there in chief in the abſence of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppoſe it; but he being preſently ſecured, *Hatt* and *Dennis* performed their inſtructions, and immediately marched the Regiment to the General.

Capt. *Johnſon* ſecures *Barwick*.

Capt. *Hatt* and *Dennis* bring off Col. *Cobbets* Regiment to the General.

Captain *Witter*, as ſoon as he came to S. *Johnſtown*, drew up two Companies, whom he moſt confided in, upon the Sands before the Cittadel, and propoſed to them what he had in charge from the General; whereupon they all ſhouted in conſent to it, at the noiſe whereof, the Souldiers coming in confuſion out of the Cittadel, he marched with the foreſaid Companies

Capt. *Witter* takes poſſeſſion for the General of the Cittadel of S. *Johnſtown*

panies into it, and took poſſeſſion thereof; He made Lieutenant Colonel *Keine*, and Major *Kelke* Priſoners; the firſt whereof was afterwards, upon his conſent to joyn with the General, releaſed from his Impriſonment, but *Kelke* was ſtill detained. Of this Regiment at *St. Johnſtown*, *Witter*, for his handſome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

And is made Major of the Regiment.

Robſon gets poſſeſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*.

Robſon at *Ayre* was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders; he dealt ſo with the Officers, that moſt of them, except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to *Carliſle*, and ſecured that Garriſon for the Army in *England*; The Colonel temporiz'd a while, but finding his Arts ſucceſles, and thereupon flying away into *England*, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to *Robſon*, for his good Service, and ſent into *England* for Colonel *Daniel*, who had been a little before diſplaced, (and *Pierſon* his Lieutenant-Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Command of Colonel thereof.

And is made Col. of the Regiment.

The ſettlement of theſe two Regiments gave much incouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his Deſign; and the rather, in regard he himſelf had look't upon it as none of the eaſieſt works to compaſs.

He made no alteration at firſt in thoſe Companies which belonged to Colonel *Overton* at *Dundee*, becauſe he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garriſon at *Hull*, then under his Command; and in regard they were on that ſide of the River *Tay*, they could not have done much if they had oppoſed. He ſent to Colonel *Fairfax*, who quartered with his Regiment at *Aberdeen*, to haſte with it to *Edenburgh*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Cloeberry* was ſent to *Read*, his Colonel at *Sterling*, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men, except two Companies, which were to be left for the ſafety of the Town and Caſtle. And at the ſame time, he ſent a Commiſſion to *Innerneſs* to Colonel *Man*, to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of *Smith*, (who adhered to the Army in *England*) and appointed him to ſend three of his beſt Companies to *Edenburgh*. He diſpatch'd alſo ſome truſty Officers to the Horſe-Troops, and then went himſelf to *Leith*, to ſettle the Cittadel and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his firſt coming, he diſplaced *Knolles*, and confined him, and reſtored *Hughes* to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewiſe ſome other *Anabaptiſt* Officers were put out, and others placed in their Rooms; Captain *Clifton*, who with a Company of this Regiment from *Leith*, had the Command of *Edenburgh* Caſtle, upon promiſe of faithfulneſs and ſervice to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Truſt and Confidence. And thus theſe three Regiments of Foot at *Leith* and *Edenburgh*, were in one Afternoon pretty well ſettled, till more time could be allowed to refine them.

Smith's Regiment at *Innerneſs* given to Colonel *Man*.

The General marcheth to *Leith*, to ſettle the Cittadel, and Regiment there.

Upon the 21. he marched ſome Companies of Horſe and Foot to *Linlithgow*, intending to go thence to *Glaſcow*, to ſettle *Cobbet*'s Regiment, of which he was in ſome doubt; but he there received Intelligence of what was done by *Hatt* and *Dennis*, and therefore went no further.

And thence to *Linlithgow*.

He there alſo had notice of the ſubmiſſion of the Cittadel at *Ayre*, and that *Barwick* was rendred to him, where Colonel *Cobbet* was ſtayed and detained in Priſon, as he was coming into *Scotland* with his Regiment, and it was ſeaſonably done; for if he had been permitted to paſs, the opinion which was had of him by the Souldiers, might have much hindered the Generals Proceedings. He was brought with a Guard to *Edenburgh* Caſtle, and kept there, the General being much incenſed againſt him, upon private advice that he had Inſtructions to have ſeized him, if he had not agreed to the Armies Actions in *England*. At *Linlithgow* at a Council of Officers, it was adviſed that ſome way ſhould be uſed to draw off the *Independent* Churches in *England*, from favouring the *Engliſh* Army, which would have much weakened that Party, if it had ſucceeded, for moſt of the inferiour Officers were of that perſwaſion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was framed, agreed to, and publiſhed and diſperſed all over *England*: And at the ſame time, another *Declaration* was alſo made to ſatisfie the Kingdom in general, with the reaſon of his taking Arms, alledging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of *Parliaments*.

Col. *Cobbet* detained Priſoner at *Barwick*.

Two Declarations publiſhed by the General, in vindication of theſe proceedings of his.

Two Expoſtulatory Letters were alſo writ, the one to *Fleetwood*, and the other to *Lambert*, blaming the violence of their Proceedings againſt the *Parliament*, and another to the *Speaker*, to be informed of the Condition wherein the Houſe then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right underſtanding between the *Parliament* and the *Army*, he would be ready, in caſe the Army perſiſted to diſobey their Orders, to aſſiſt them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this time, Major *Knight* was returned out of *England*; for hearing of the diſorders at *London*, and that ſome Jealouſies had been entertained of him, upon an Information that he had been ſome Months before engaged with the Lord *Caſtleton* in Sir *George Booths* Riſing, he thought beſt for his own ſecurity, to make all poſſible haſt down to his Command; his Arrival fell out to be three days after the General had firſt Declared; *Morgans* Regiment of Dragoons, was made a Regiment of Horſe; and Major *Farmer* was ſent with a Troop to ſecure *Carliſle*, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as *Johnſon* did into *Barwick*; but ſent in to treat with the Governour, and was ſo long doing it, till *Elton*, that Commanded the Town, had fixed the Souldiers to a Reſolution of keeping him out; Moreover, *Monk* conſidering that his Army could not be got together in ſix weeks time, to march into *England*, he therefore to amuſe the Faction there, ſent Major *Knight* with four Troops of choice Horſe, and ſix Companies of Foot, to ſurprize *Newcaſtle*. The Horſe-Troops

Maj. *Knight* arrives in *Scotland*.

Maj. *Farmer* ſent by the General to poſſeſs *Carliſle*, is kept out by the Souldiers.

Maj. *Knight* ſent with a Party to ſeize *Newcaſtle*, is prevented.

were Commanded by *Knight*, *Johnson*, *Wilmot*, and *Simnell*, and the Foot by *Miller*, *Mansfield*; *Collins*, *Winter*, *Seymor*, and *Belchams*, all gallant and well-resolved men. But being come as far as *Morpeth*, he had advice, that some Forces were got into *Newcastle* before him, which being intimated also to the General, he presently countermanded him and his Party to *Anwick*, where he staid for some time; The not taking *Newcastle* was no discouragement to the General, or his Army; for upon more deliberate Consideration, he thought the miss of it rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, since if he had taken it, it would in all probability have been immediately besieged by *Lambert*. And then he must have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole design.

Monk invites Lieutenant Gen. *Ludlow* in *Ireland* to a conjunction with him.

The General, at the same time that he sent the before-mentioned Letters to *London*, did likewise send a Messenger with Letters to Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, who Commanded the Army in *Ireland*, to move him to joyn with him, or at least to represent to him so fair an accompt of his Actions, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his undertakings.

Col. *Lilburn* in *Yorkshire* makes all possible opposition against Gen. *Monk*.

Colonel *Lilburn*, who lay at *York* with some Forces, upon the first Rumour of *Monk*'s Declaration, drew what Forces together he could, and without staying to be well informed of the Reasons of *Fleetwood* and *Lamberts* breaking up the *Parliament*, He drew all the Officers in those parts to enter into an Association against *Monk*, and to joyn with the Army at *London*, in whatsoever they designed.

He indeavours to seduce the Generals Secretary from his Service, but prevails not.

He also writ to Mr. *Clarke*, the Generals Secretary, who was an active useful Instrument in his affairs, to seduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greatest part of *Clarkes* Estate was in *England*, and he was a man of so civil and ingenuous a Conversation, that he might have been the better excused in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his Interest did direct him to it. But he was resolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the Generals Bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, which were both used by *Lilburn* to him, be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which his fidelity and constancy, at this time, he was ever after so much esteemed by the General, that he trusted him with his most secret transactions.

He intercepts the Generals Letters to Maj. Gen. *Morgan*

Major General *Morgan* had lain long sick of the Gout at *York*, and began about this time to recover his health. The Letter which *Monk* sent to him was intercepted by *Lilburn*, which *Morgan* a little resented, but thought it advisable so far to conceal his passion (till he might have convenient opportunity to get into *Scotland*) as to seem to *Lilburn* rather to dislike than approve of the Generals proceedings.

Talbot and *Clarges* arrive at *Edenburgh*, and are well received by the General.

Colonel *Talbot* and *Clarges* came not to *Edenburgh* till the second of *November*; they were both very well received by *Monk*, but especially *Clarges*, being his Brother-in-Law, with whom he had that night much Conference in private. The General wondred that *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* would send him, and thought it a good *Omen* to his success that he had him to assist his designs. *Clarges* frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in this Enterprise? telling him, that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted after this Rupture if he patched up a Peace with the *English* Army, and withal acquainting him that he observed a great Consternation in the Officers and Souldiers as he passed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

He discovers to *Clarges* some glimmering of his intentions.

The General (as the most reserved man then living) was in some trouble to be pressed to discover his Intentions, and at that time opened himself no further than to let him know he was resolved to endeavour to free his Native Country from the slavery it was under, and to effect it, he thought it one of the best Expedients would be to restore the *Parliament*; but in their Admission to sit (if it were by his Arms) he would make no difference betwixt them; but let in as well the Secluded Members as others. Having said this, he Conjured *Clarges* to secresie, being very sensible, that the jealousie had on him by the Army was so great (it having been often cast in his dish, by some of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Designs) that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beget a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

The present condition of *Monk* for money and Ammunition.

As to the present Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thousand pounds in money, part whereof was already in his Treasury, and the rest would in a short time be paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well stored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries, and that he had in part modelled his Army fit for his purposes, and should in a while perfect it. *Clarges* let him know, that the wants in *Fleetwood* and *Lamberts* Army were very great, and that upon *Lamberts* Expedition they were not able to advance one months Pay for his Army, which would make them by free-Quarter be very burthensome and distasteful to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could protract time, his business might be done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the overture of a Treaty from *Fleetwood* and *Lambert* might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a months time draw his men together. And that his sending *Knight* with a Party to Lodge at *Anwick*, was to make them think him in greater readiness than he was, the more thereby to distract their Levies. The General then resolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning summoned his chief Officers together, to nominate Commissioners, and to resolve upon Instructions for them. He chose to advise with his Officers in all these matters to free them from suspicion. Colonel *Talbot* was very glad his Journey was so successful to obtain a Treaty so easily. The General and his Officers met, and at the first Proposition they consented to the motion for a Treaty, and when he put them to name fit Persons to be Commissioners, they referred it to him.

Lambert's Army in great want of money.

Gen. *Monk* takes hold for his advantage of *Lambert*'s Overture for a Treaty.

He

Mr. *Knight*, Col. *Cloeberry*, and Col. *Wilks*, made choice of to be the Generals Commissioners in this Treaty.

He then appointed Major *Knight*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Cloeberry* to be two, and put it to them to name a third, and they proposed Colonel *Wilks*, who was reputed to be a good Religious man, and acceptable to *Fleetwood*, and the Officers in *England*. They then came to consider of Instructions, and were so hot in debate, that the Question was not without much contest carried for allowing them a fortnights time for the Treaty. The General was perplexed in his mind at this, for he would not have them limited to time, because that was the only thing he wanted, yet he discovered no displeasure: however, in the rest of the Instructions, he so invented matter to confound their debates, That they had no power given them to conclude any thing; and they were to insist on the restoring the *Parliament*: But if the Members should refuse to sit, then to debate of some other Form of Government. They were likewise to provide for an Act of Indemnity for all Acts done since the first of *October*, and to take care that the Arrears of such part of the *English* Assessment as was appropriated to the Pay of the Army in *Scotland*, should be forthwith paid; And that a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent maintenance, and other incouragements, should be continued in the Three Nations; the like regard being had to Schools and Universities, with many other matters sufficiently remote from the present Affair. Moreover, it was particularly inserted, That they should provide, that the Acts of the Army in *England*, should not be deemed the Acts of a General Council of the Army, without the Concurrence of the Officers of the Armies of *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Their Instructions.

They meet *Lambert* at *York*, and began the treaty there. But not agreeing, they set forward to *London*.

These Commissioners were hasted away, and *Lambert* was so far advanced with his Army, as to meet them at *York*, where he told them he had full power from *Fleetwood*, the Officers of the Army, and the Committee of Safety, to treat, and conclude with them of all differences. They seemed not averse to it, but when they began to enter upon the matter, and proposed the restitution of the *Parliament*, he told them, *Fleetwood* and the Officers at *London* had agreed with him and his Officers not to conclude of any thing concerning that matter, without the common consent of all, and so they went forwards towards *London*. Nevertheless, as a thing previous to the Treaty, it was by both Parties accorded, That the Forces of neither should advance from their Quarters, and that there should be a free uninterrupted intercourse of Letters during the Treaty.

Monk's Army Inferiour to *Lamberts* in number, but better paid.

The Army of Horse and Foot with *Lambert* did amount to near Twelve thousand, and *Monk* had not above half the Number; nevertheless he had this advantage, that he paid all his Men, and the other did not. The way he had for providing Money, was very accidentall: The late *Parliament* (so called) about the latter end of *June* (as is before expressed) had made a short *Act* to authorize the payment of a years Tax upon *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, appointed to be raised by one of *Cromwel*'s *Parliaments*: And they in that *Act* directed *One Moyety of the money to be paid the First of* August, *and the other the Tenth of* October *following*. The Proportion for *Scotland* to pay of this Tax was Six Thousand pounds a Month; and in regard the Country was poor, and burdened with many other Payments, the General writ to all the Commissioners of Shires, and indulged them so far as to grant them forbearance of payment till the Tenth of *October* for the first Moyety, and Two months after for the rest, which they readily undertook to do, and performed it for the most part: And this he had represented so effectually by *Clarges* his Agent to the *Parliament*, that he got Twenty thousand pounds in Money to be sent into *Scotland* towards the Pay of his *Army*, till that money could be Collected. And that was the bulk of all the Money he had in this Undertaking; but it was increased by *Excise* and *Custome*, and other Duties; for after he declared, he seized on all. And of this we make the more particular mention in this place, because some, Ignorant of these Transactions, have published, That the General had an *Assessment* raised for him at a Convention of the Nobility of *Scotland*; which was first invented by the Seditious in *England* to his prejudice, and afterwards, because uncontradicted, believed for a Truth.

Major Gen. *Morgan* takes his Journey into *Scotland* to G. *Monk*.

Lambert was informed by his Confident *Lilburn*, That Major General *Morgan* (who had been sometime sick of the Gout in *York*) was dissenting from General *Monk*'s Proceedings, and that he would be willing to go to him to diswade him from the pursuit of them; and therefore he deals with him to take a journey thither (on pretense of repairing to his Charge, which was then in *Scotland*) to use the credit he had with him to an Accommodation betwixt them: *Morgan* (who waited only for an occasion to get away) was glad of this Overture, and undertook to do his part in this business, so that at a days warning he began his Journey from *York* towards *Edenburgh*. He had with him one *Troutbeck* a Chirurgeon, (upon pretense of taking care of his health) a very subtile Intelligent Person, Excellent in his Profession, and withal of great discretion, and much beloved by the Souldiers of both *Armies*, and of considerable Interest amongst them. These got safe to *Edenburgh* about the seventh or eighth of *November*; And the coming of *Morgan* was a good Accession to *Monk*'s Party, and a great encouragement to all the Officers and Souldiers: For he was esteemed by them to be, next the General, a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the Three Nations, having been near Forty years a Souldier, and present in the greatest Battels and Sieges of Christendom for a great part of that time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he Commanded a Brigade of Foot, he acquitted himself to the Astonishment of his Enemies, and the admiration of Marshal *Thurene*, and all the *French* Commanders in that Service with him. At his first coming to the General, he asked him aloud, merrily, *If he would lay down his Arms, and be friends with* Fleetwood *and* Lambert? To which he was answered by him, *If they would restore the* Parliament *he had little more to say; and if he pleased, he might let them*

His joyning with *Monk*, a matter of much Importance.

The Discourse between the General and him, at their first meeting

them know as much. Morgan Replied, *I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortunes in all your undertakings; You know I am no States-man; I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you in all your Actions, and submit to your Prudence and Judgment in the Conduct of them.*

This generous Friendship was kindly received by *Monk*, and it was the more valuable, in that it was done at a time when the *Army* in *England* was at its greatest height; and that in *Scotland* very inconsiderable in respect of the other, and not yet well settled; for a day or two before, one of the Troops of *Morgan*'s own Regiment ran over *Tweed* to *Lambert*.

He privately delivers a Letter to the General from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*.

In the Evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister of *York*, a very eminent Man of those Parts, and of great Credit with my Lord *Fairfax*, and many others of good Note in that County. (*Clarges* being yet at *Edenburgh*, and Consulted with in the business.) The Letter imported, *That the Lord* Fairfax, *and many others of good Interest in* Yorkshire, *were willing to joyn with the General, but that they disapproved of his* Declaration *which was restrained to the restoring of that Part of the* Parliament *only which sate after the Seclusion of the rest; and was filled with many Protestations for the asserting of no other than a* Common-wealth *Government.* To this the General answered, *That* Clarges *could witness his Intentions in those Particulars, That what was Printed in his Name, was not (at that Conjuncture) to be regarded as the Result of his own Reason, because his Writings were drawn by other hands; and till his Affairs had a firmer Consistency, and he more Power in his hands, it was unseasonable for him to Contradict what was done, since all that was writ, could scarce prevail with the Army to believe he had not a Design to set up the King in his Government.* The Conclusion of this, was to send *Clarges* to *Fairfax*, *Rossiter*, and several others, to engage; it being thought expedient, at the same time, to imploy all possible care to amuse the *Parliament* and *Army*, till the General could get a Power in his hands to Justifie other Counsels. *Clarges* was dispatch'd to *Bowles*, with a Letter of Credit to him, to cause a belief in him of what he should acquaint him with, on the part of the General; and another Letter to the same purpose to my Lord *Fairfax*, from whom he was to have an Address to *Rossiter* in *Lincolnshire*.

The effect of the Letter.

Clarges sent to *Fairfax Rossiter*, and others, to engage them to General *Monk*.

Talbot knew nothing of these Traverses, but carried himself with much moderation all the time of his stay, and with so much profession of respect to the General, That he assured him, *If he would go to* London *and be a Neuter, he would preserve his Regiment for him:* Which he promised to do, but was afterwards by the importunity of *Lambert*, prevailed upon to act contrary to that Engagement, and (some think) to his own Inclinations; for he was esteemed by all that knew him to be a Person not averse to a better and more Just Government than he at that time lived under, and was obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that needed his assistance and help.

Col. *Talbot* prevailed upon by *Lambert* to take part with him.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fears; for the same Week that *Talbot* and *Clarges* were sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he had any return from them, Captain *Dean*, one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. *Caryll* the Minister, with Colonel *Goff* and *Whaley*, were sent to the General on the same Errand: Likewise Mr. *Hammond* and Mr. *Barker* were deputed in the name of the Independent Congregations in and about *London*, to mediate a Peace betwixt the two Armies.

Capt. *Dean* Mr. *Caryll*, Col. *Whaley*, and *Goff* sent by *Fleetwood* to Ge. *Monk*.

Mean while, *Clarges* and *Talbot* took their leaves of the General to return home. The pretence of *Dean*'s coming into *Scotland* before *Caryll* and *Whaley*, was to look after his Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he travelled, to seduce *Monk*'s Souldiers from him, bringing him withal a Letter from *Fleetwood*, which contained an Offer of what Command in the *Army* he should desire, upon the least private intimation of his inclining to take part with him: This made the General to believe there were some Jealousies betwixt *Lambert* and him; which he might have improved to the breaking of one of them; but he chose the more Generous way, and refused the Offer, Letting him know, *He sought not himself, but the good of the Nations; and when that was obtained, he would rather lay the Command, he had, down, than seek to enlarge it.*

Fleetwood by Letters courts *Monk* to side with him.

Lieutenant Colonel *Barret* came at the same time from *Ireland* with a Letter from Sir *Hardress Waller*, *John Jones*, and the ruling people of that Country (for *Ludlow* was then in *England*) declaring their Refusal to joyn with the General; Letting him know by their said Letter, bearing date the fourth of *November*.

The ruling Faction in *Ireland* declare their resolution not to joyn with Gen. *Monk*.

That at a General Meeting of the Officers of the Irish *Army, they Unanimously resolved not to approve of the Resolution he had taken, which tended* (as they alledg'd) *to the Engaging of part of the Armies of these Nations against their Brethren, or the dividing of them in Interest or Affection; being well assured, that such a Practice would be found in the Issue to be nothing else but the opening of a door for the Common Enemy to come in, (whatever Umbrage should be put upon it) and destroy those very Persons and Authority, on whose behalf their affections inclined them to undergo very great difficulties.* Adding, *That they held it a Duty incumbent on them towards him (as their honourable Friend of whom they had a very high esteem) in the behalf of all the people of the Lord in these three Nations, to bear their Witness against any such Resolution or Practice, and to improve their utmost endeavours to prevent the same.*

The General was not at all discouraged at this return to his Civil Letters and Declaration sent thither, having at the same time received advice from Cornet *Monk* by another hand, *That Sir* Charles Coot, *Sir* Theophilus Jones, *and a very considerable part of the Army, were resolved to Assist him; That Sir* Hardress Waller *himself might in time be drawn*

Another Party in *Ireland* inclinable to the General.

drawn to joyn with them, and that he doubted not in a short while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

Dean and *Barret* sent back into *England* with a check.

But in the mean time, upon notice that *Dean* and *Barret* were Active to withdraw the affections of the Souldiers from their Duties, they were thereupon sent away from *Scotland* with a severe Rebuke; The General being unwilling to punish them by Imprisonment or any severer course, because they came to him on publick Business.

These Men did much mischief amongst the Souldiers, who were many of them by their inveiglements seduced; Two Troops of *Twisleton*'s Regiment of Horse, Commanded by *Ashley* and *Dean*, refused to Joyn with the General, and Thirty three of them were dismounted, disarmed, and cashiered, and Foot-Souldiers put on their Horses; But Forty of *Dean*'s Troop with their Colours ran into *England*; And two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from St. *Johnstouns*, being Quartered at *Dunbar*, had like to have been betrayed to *New-castle* by one Captain *Guillim*, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was discharged; This *Guillim* procuring leave to go into *England*, came to *Dunbar*, where he made the Souldiers believe that he was by the General restored to his Command, and had order to secure Captain *Thompson* who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to *Berwick*; Some of the Sergeants so far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon *Thompson*, whilest he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was so earnest in it, that he would have taken any, though never so leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men into some Jealousie, insomuch, that they desired to see his Orders; whereupon he leap'd upon his Horse, and ran away.

Capt. *Guilim* endeavours to betray Two Companies of the General's men, but is found out.

At *Sterling*, a Troup of Colonel *Sanders* his Regiment was in the like Disorder, and about thirty of the men dismounted, and others put in their places. This obliged the General to be more circumspect in the reforming his Regiments; so that he discharged all the Officers whom he any way suspected, and sent them into *England*. In Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment eighteen Officers were displac'd; and in most of the rest, some were put out, in all, to the number of sevenscore Persons: Those Regiments wherein least alteration was made, were *Talbots*, and *Reads*; the first, through the diligence of *Hubblethorn*, who a while after deservingly, upon *Talbot*'s joyning with *Lambert*, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Person that always loved and esteemed the General.

The General takes care to reform his Regiments.

Lambert was much troubled when he heard that *Morgan* had deserted him, and when *Talbot* and *Clarges* came to *York*, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by *Clarges* better satisfied: for he assured him, he heard him move General *Monk* to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuse to do his Duty, in staying there where his charge was, since the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that Degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the same by his Presence, than Absence.

Clarges excuses Major Gen. *Morgan* to *Lambert*.

Clarges, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord *Fairfax*, from the General, and some Instructions to *Rossiter*, and several others; about which he was secretly to confer with *Bowles* the Minister at *York*, to whom also he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he should propose to him; *Bowles*, with whom he had much Discourse, desired to be fully informed of the Generals Intentions, and was by *Clarges* so well satisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethel*, and several others in *Monks* behalf; and for Evidence of it, he advised him to stay privately in *York*, till he went to confer with the Lord *Fairfax* at his House at *Nunn-Appleton*, six miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to send into *Scotland*) which he accordingly did. And at his Return, acquainted him, That *Fairfax* would rise by the midst of *January*, and he might be confident *Bethel* and *Smithson* would joyn with him, who were men of good Interest, and well-beloved of the Souldiery in *Lamberts* Army: On the other side, *Bowles* pressed to know what Expectations the General had from other places, and was by *Clarges* informed, that Col. *Whetham* at *Portsmouth* was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the first Opportunity he could, to declare with that Garrison for him; which he liked very well, for *Whetham* was a moderate man. He told him likewise, that Colonel *Hacker* with his Regiment would raise some men in *Nottinghamshire* and *Leicestershire*, and Colonel *Hutchinson*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig* would joyn with them; and that *Okey* was labouring to make Disturbances in *London* amongst the Regiments there. *Bowles* at first was not well pleased that he should make use of these Aids: But when he was acquainted by *Clarges* with the Reasons which induced him to it, he was satisfied.

Clarges's Conference with Mr. *Bowles*.

The first thing the General design'd was to break *Lamberts* Forces, to make himself Master of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requisite to refuse no help, since the Major Part of the whole would be such as he could make use of to model the rest, to any purpose he should imploy them in. Then they found out a secret Messenger to send with intimation of this Conference to *Monk*; And *Clarges* went towards *Lincolnshire* to pursue his Negotiations: but about *Doncaster* he had so grievous a fall from his Horse, as he was riding Post, that his Life was despaired of; but after a little stay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt *Tuxford* and *Newark*, where he was forced to stay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheless, in the mean time he sent Expresses several ways, and by the means of one *Bristow*, a Confident of Colonel *Rossiters*, he had opportunity to send to him, and had his Answer; which was, *That he would joyn with* Fairfax, *and do what he should direct*. When he came to *Leicestershire*, he heard nothing of *Haslerig*, but that he had, in despair of doing

Clarges's Negotiations retarded by a Mischance that befell him.

any

Haſlerig having promiſed Aid againſt *Lambert* withdraws for fear of giving incouragement to the Kings Party.

any thing, retired to *Woodſtock*; and the Reaſon he gave for it, was, *That if he ſhould raiſe Forces in his County, it might give occaſion to the Kings Party to Arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cauſe; and that therefore it would be better to cloſe with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with ſo much danger to oppoſe it.*

Clarges deals with the Members of the late Council of State, to abet *Monk*'s Deſigns againſt *Lambert*.

Clarges was ſomewhat troubled at this Diſcouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon ſent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them privately to *London*, to aſſiſt with their Counſels, in promoting the Reſtauration of the *Parliament*; which he did upon Obſervation amongſt the Souldiers of *Lambert*'s Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of *Monk*, for reſtoring that Authority, and were only diverted from joyning with him againſt *Lambert*, upon a Jealouſie of the Kings being in the Bottom of his Deſign; which was often inſinuated by the Council of Officers at *London*, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance *Monk*'s purpoſe of ſubduing the *Engliſh* Army, than to beget a Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

A Conference between *Monk* and the Commiſſioners of the *Independent* Churches.

This Practice prevailed ſo far, as to get the Council of State together in *London*, where they had many private Meetings: But in the mean time, the Commiſſioners for the *Independent* Churches, which were ſent into *Scotland*, were ſolicitous to divert *Monk* from the proſecution of the War; and ſo far the Buſineſs proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at *Haly-rood-houſe*, where were preſent to treat with them, General *Monk*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Syler*, Doctor *Barrow* the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. *Gumble* one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. *Collins* an *Independent* Miniſter (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in *Scotland*) was admitted to be preſent as a Neuter.

The effect of Mr. *Caryl*'s Speech in the name of the Churches.

Mr. *Caryl* was the firſt that ſpoke, who in a long and ſtudied Speech declared, *That the Commiſſioners had deſired him to ſpeak for them; That they all came, not to deliver their own Senſe of the Generals Proceedings, but the Senſe of the Churches*, (for ſo upon every occaſion he called the *Independent* Congregations) *That the Churches had not given them Commiſſion to enter into the Merits of the Cauſe, nor to Debate whether* Lamberts *Action of turning out the Parliament were juſtifiable or not; but only to preſent it to his Lordſhip, as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be juſtified, yet his Lordſhip had not a Call to appear againſt it, in that manner that he then did; That his Lordſhip had only in Charge to keep* Scotland *in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that ſhould happen in* England. (*Nor indeed could it reaſonably be expected of him, he being in a place where he could not be ſuppoſed to have ſuch true and timely Information, as was neceſſary in a Buſineſs of that Concernment*,) He proceeded to ſhew Reaſons, why the General ſhould go on no further, telling him, *That it would put a ſtrife amongſt thoſe that hitherto had been Brethren engaged all along in the ſame Cauſe, Partakers in the ſame Dangers, and the ſame Succeſſes, amongſt thoſe that ſtill in their Papers, and all their Addreſſes, called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unſeaſonable time, whileſt the* Canaanites *and* Perizzites *were in the Land*: And thereupon he took occaſion, to inlarge himſelf upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for ſo he called his own Party) might run into; And at laſt, by way of Aggravation, he told the General, *That what Inconveniencies ſoever ſhould happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to have been the Beginner of the War.*

The General's Anſwer

At this the General, in a little heat, interrupted him, ſhewing, *That the War was already begun by* Lambert *and his Party, who had offered violence to thoſe, from whom they had all received their Commiſſions*; not ſparing freely and at large to lay open *their reſtleſs Inſtability, which would not ſuffer the Three Nations to enjoy any ſettled Government at all, but kept them in a perpetual Circumvolution, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine*; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, *That if they continued in that Courſe, he was reſolved to oppoſe them to the uttermoſt, and would* (to repeat his own words) *lay them on their Backs.*

Caryl and his Fellow-Commiſſioners endeavoured to excuſe that Expreſſion of theirs, which ſtirred up the Generals Anger; and *Barrow*, one the Generals ſide, did qualifie and mitigate his Anſwer. not thinking it meet wholly to diſoblige ſo conſiderable a Party as the *Independents*, as things ſtood at that time; and ſo by degrees Expreſſions came to be very calm on both ſides, both being in Expectation of the Iſſue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commiſſioners of the Army of *Scotland*, and thoſe of the Army in *England*; but after this time there was no more Meetings, for upon News from *England*, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, theſe Commiſſioners thought their Buſineſs done, and made haſte to return to *London*.

The Treaty ended between the Commiſſioners of the two Armies.

Clarges, diſabled by his Fall, could not get ſoon enough to *London*, to prevent the haſty Concluſion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the fifteenth of *November*) although he endeavoured by ſeveral Letters to Major *Knight*, one of the Commiſſioners, to prevent it, foraſmuch as the reſt of them were ſo prevailed on by the Importunity of the *Engliſh* Officers, or elſe ſo terrified with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the ſpeed of it: As he came to *London*, he paſſed by *Cambridge*, and ſettled there a Correſpondency with Mr. *Pradman*, one of the Fellows of *Kings-Colledge*, by whoſe Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed ſafe to *Scotland*, when all the ordinary Ways were obſtructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very Night he arrived at *London*, the Treaty betwixt the Commiſſioners on both parts was concluded, he ſeriouſly expoſtulated with the Commiſſioners

about

about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the midst of *January* there would be in many Places such strong Diversions made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends: That his Money would last till the begining of *February*, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lye still, *Lambert*'s Army by their great wants (which made them insupportable to the Country) must break of themselves.

Knight was very sensible of his Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, That in their *Letter* of the sixteenth of *November*, to the General-Council of the Officers of the Army in *Scotland*, giving them an Accompt of the Conclusion of the Treaty, They confess, they had exceeded their Instructions, out of a Suspicion, as the Posture of Affairs then stood, That the Issue of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brethren of *England*, but of the Common Enemy.

The *Agreement* it self consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, *Viz.*

The Articles of Agreement between the *Commissioners* of the two Armies.

1. *That We will, to the uttermost of our Powers, in our several Capacities, oppose the Interest and pretended Right of* Charles Stewart, *in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any share therein; together with, under, or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by vertue of his or their Descent from the same Line with him.*

2. *That we will not give our Consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any* Single Person *whatsoever, in the Place of, and for the Chief Magistrate of these Nations; and will endeavour to our utmost, That the Government of these Nations may be settled in the way of a* Free-State, *or* Common-wealth, *without a* Single Person, Kingship, *or* House of Lords.

3. *That no Form of Government shall be determined of, and asserted by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this* Common-wealth, *and the Territories thereunto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a* General-Council *of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this* Common-wealth; *which* General-Council *shall consist of two* Commission-Officers *for each respective Regiment, chosen by the* Commission-Officers *of the said Regiment, or by the major part of them, who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governours of Garrisons, as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be called to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; And that the* Quorum *shall be Thirty one, and the Day of their Meeting to be the Sixth of* December *next at* White-Hall *in the Old Council Room.*

4. *That a* Parliament, *or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this* Common-wealth, *be with all possible speed Constituted and Summoned in such manner and form, as shall be by the aforesaid* General-Council *agreed unto; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord* St. John, *the Lord* Warriston, *Lieutenant-General* Ludlow, *Sir* Henry Vane, *Lord* Whitlock, *Sir* James Harrington, *Major* Salway, *Colonel* George Thompson, *Colonel* Berry, *and Mr.* Scot; *together with the Lord* Steel, *Colonel* Barrow, *and Lieutenant-Colonel* Dobson, *as* Commissioners *for the Army in* Ireland; *and three* Commissioners *for the Army in* England, *to be appointed thereunto; with the three* Commissioners *for the Army of* Scotland, *whereof the* Quorum *to be Nine.*

5. *That the Proportian of Money out of the* Assessments *of* England, *formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of* Scotland, *be duly paid, and no further stop upon the same, but that it may be returned by* Bills of Exchange, *or otherwise with all convenient speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.*

6. *That the Case of Officers of the Army of* England *and* Scotland, *that are suspended or displaced, or that have laid down their Commissions since the Eleventh of* October *last, only by reason of of the precedent Differences, be determined by fourteen Commissioners of the Army in* England *and* Scotland, *or the major part of them; the one half of the said* Commissioners *to be chosen by the* Council of Officers *in* England, *and the other half of the* Council of Officers *in* Scotland; *and that forthwith the said* Officers *be discharged from their Imprisonments or Confinements. The Day of Meeting of the said* Commissioners, *to be the first Day of* December *next, and the place of their Meeting to be at* Newcastle *upon* Tyne.

7. *That no Officer, or Souldier, or other Person of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences betwixt the late* Parliament *and the* Army, *or between any of the Forces of this* Common-wealth, *for or against each other, relating to any Difference, since the tenth of* October *last, be questioned for the same, but fully Indemnified, and all Unkindness to be put in perpetual Oblivion.*

8. *That a Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with competent Maintenance, and other Incouragement, be continued in the Three Nations; and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so Countenanced and Reformed, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.*

9. *That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of* England *and* Scotland, *that have been drawn forth by reason of the late difference, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the Common-wealth against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference or appearance of difference amongst Us.*

We the Commissioners hereunto appointed and authorized by General Monk, *and the General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *do this fifteenth of* November, 1659. *in the name, and on the behalf of the said General* Monk, *and General Council of Officers in* Scotland, *fully Consent and agree to the aforementioned Agreement, and*

and every part thereof, and do engage our ſelves and every of us to the full performance of the ſame.

Preſent as Witneſſes, *Signed,*
Tim. Wilkes,
R. Barrow, R. Brown, R. Knight,
Edw. Swift, Jo. Cloeberry.

Signed as the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at Wallingford-Houſe *the fifteenth of* November, 1659. *And I do for my ſelf, and in the name of the ſaid General Council, conſent to the aforementioned Agreement, and every part thereof, and do Engage to the full performance of the ſame.*

Witneſſes, *Signed,*
R. Barrow, Edw. Swift,
Bry. Leavens, Ro. Brown. Ch. Fleetwood.

Wallington and *Lloyd*, Two Captains of the *Engliſh* Army at *London*, were ſent with this Agreement to General *Monk* to put it in execution; and as they went, Major *Cambridge* of *Lambert*'s Army was ſent by him in their Company. But *Clarges* was careful to ſend a Copy of it to him ſome days before they arrived; and the General was in much perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which diſtracted his Deſign almoſt paſt recovery; he was reſolved not to accept of it, but could not well tell how to decline it.

The General Conſults how he might with the handſomeſt pretenſe refuſe his Aſſent to theſe Articles.

To take any pretenſe from thoſe Articles which excluded the Kings Government, would confirm the ſuſpicion which was fomented of his ſecret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his diſſent from the Subſcription of the Commiſſioners, where they aſſume an authority (which they never had) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement for the General and all his Officers, would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them: That which was moſt plauſible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, *That all the Officers diſplaced by General* Monk *might be in a Capacity of being reſtored to other Commands; and all thoſe put by him in their places* (wherein his ſtrength conſiſted) *be removed*; He called together a few of his Confidents to adviſe what to do; Theſe were Major General *Morgan*, Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Lydcott*, Doctor *Barrow*, and Mr. *Gumble*; *Lydcott* was admitted, becauſe he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of *Cobbet*'s Regiment, and therefore by intereſt ſuppoſed to be averſe to this Agreement. The General and theſe Gentlemen having had much diſcourſe of the Buſineſs, They all thought it fit to diſapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the manner; but at laſt it was by *Barrow* propoſed, and agreed to by the General and the reſt, That they ſhould not declare a poſitive diſſent to what their Commiſſioners had done; but urge, That there was ſomething untreated of, further to be agreed upon; and ſome of thoſe things conſented to by their Commiſſioners, which without further explication, could not ſtand with their Declaration or Inſtructions; and that therefore it ſhould be deſired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commiſſioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more abſolute period to their differences.

Lloyd and others ſent with a Letter to the Officers at *London*.

The ſame Evening, *Wallington*, *Lloyd*, and *Cambridge* arrived; and the next morning at a General Council of Officers at *Edenburgh*, when the *Agreement* was communicated to them, they were ſo artificially prepared, that they unanimouſly diſrelliſhed it, and a Letter was framed, which they all ſubſcribed, to the ſame purpoſe with what was agreed on the day before, and *Lloyd* and thoſe with him went with it to *London*.

Mr. *Atkins* and Colonel *Markham* ſent by the General with a Letter to the City of *London*.

The City of *London* was very much diſcontented at the *Committee of Safety*, and *Fleetwood* became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General *Monk* ſent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. *Atkins*, and Colonel *Markham*, about the 17th or 18th of *November*: Wherein he acquainted them,

The Effect of the ſaid Letter.

That at the firſt notice he had of the Force upon the Parliament, *he had ſent a Letter to them, declaring his Reſolution to endeavour their Re-eſtabliſhment, and that his Army was very Unanimous to concur with him in it; but that Letter miſcarrying, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were conſtant to their firſt Reſolution; and were the more confirmed in it, for being informed that the Authors of that Force had proceeded ſo far, as to null and make void ſome* Acts of Parliament, *(which the King when he was at the higheſt never attempted to do, and which no true* Engliſhman *can endure to ſee done by any but* Parliaments *themſelves) and after they had ſubverted the Foundation of an ancient Government, were contriving by their own Power and Authority to ſet up a new Government over the Nations.* Adding, *That if this ſhould be ſuffered, he knew not to what purpoſe ſo much Blood had been ſpilt, ſo much Treaſure ſpent, and ſo many Engagements made; They muſt take upon themſelves the Guilt of all, and look upon this Slavery they had brought upon themſelves, as a Judgment upon them for their Murthers, Rapines, and Perjuries*: He proteſted to *aim only at the reſtoring* Parliaments *to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Juſt Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be ſure of their Aſſiſtance. As to Religion*, he told them, *he intended not that thoſe that truly feared God ſhould be abridged of their Worſhip, but he ſhould be unwilling that ſome under Pretenſe of maintaining that Liberty, ſhould endeavour the overthrow of National Miniſtry, and by conſequence leave the greateſt part of the People to utter Ignorance and Atheiſm*: Concluding nevertheleſs, *That Religion was not that about which he did at preſent contend, being deſirous to leave that to the Conſideration of the* Parliament, *for the Defence whereof, he and thoſe with him were reſolved to venture to the utmoſt; and if he ſhould miſcarry through want of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their*

own

own strength to assert their Freedom: And if he succeeded, it would be dishonourable for so Famous a City, and so much Concerned, that its Liberty should be asserted without its own help; inciting them *therefore now whilest so great an Army is waiting on him in the* North, *to use their Endeavours in the* South, *&c.*

The Letter look't upon as fictitious, and the Messengers imprisoned.

This Letter was dated the 12th of *November* at *Edenburgh*, and did so much incense the *Committee of Safety*, that the Gentlemen who delivered it were put into Custody: And the more to aggravate the business, *Monk*'s Commissioners were either so imprudent, or so unsincere, as to declare, *That they believed the Letter was fictitious*; Which made the City less Active in pursuance of the Contents of it.

Whilest things were thus traversed in *London*, *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and all the Officers in *England*, could not dissemble their Confusion of Mind, upon *Monk's* refusal to ratifie the Treaty, and sending for a Blank Pass to insert new names of additional Commissioners; and many Expostulatory Letters passed betwixt them about it, but more especially betwixt *Lambert* and his Officers, and him; for they were very apprehensive, that this Motion of a Blank Pass for adding to their Commissioners, or the naming of new ones, was only meant to gain time; but at last they did consent to it, though it never came to any effect, as shall be hereafter discovered.

Nine of the Old *Council of State* meet

Nine of the old *Council of State* met privately in *London* the 19th of *November*, they a little resented, that General *Monk*'s Commissioners did not Communicate their Counsels with them, yet omitted not to give him all the encouragement they could; And in order thereunto, one Captain *Elms*, with *Horton* a Servant of Sir *Arthur Hasterig*'s was sent with a Letter to him to *Scotland*; Wherein they signified,

And send a Letter to the General.

That his Faithful Actions in discharge of his Trust and Duty to that Parliament, *and for the good of the Three Nations and Posterity in these times of so great Hypocrisie and Defection, was most gratefully acknowledged by them; and they assured him, his Service was exceedingly well resented by all sober and interessed person, that love a* Common-wealth; *and that he might be Confident, that they would adhere to him, and to their utmost promote the good Cause which he had hitherto with so much Wisdom and Courage highly owned, and that it was their Resolution to stand and fall with him in defence thereof; and that they would, as occasion should offer it self, the Lord enabling, be assisting to him according to his Declaration for removing the Force from this* Parliament, *that so they may Sit with Freedom, and, by Gods blessing, lay a Foundation of a happy and lasting Settlement.*

This Letter was Subscribed by

Tho, Scot, President,	*Arthur Hasterig*,
Herbert Morley,	*Valentine Walton*,
Robert Reignolds,	*Anth. Ashley Cooper*,
Robert Wallop,	*Josias Berners*,
Henry Nevill.	

This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in *Scotland*; for the wisest of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at *London*, that their Party was increased in *England*, Imagining that otherwise they durst not have so openly acted.

The Parliament Party begin busily to appear against *Lambert* and his Faction.

Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth* was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General *Monk* with that Garrison; And Colonel *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Hasterig* went privately towards him to Treat about it: But before they went, The *Council of State*, at another meeting before the time appointed by *Parliament* for their Continuance was expired, framed a Commission, wherein they Constituted General *Monk* absolute Commander in Chief of all the *Armies* in *England* and *Scotland*, which was Dated the 24th of *November*, Sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of *Clarges*, till a safe Messenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as *Fleetwood* had received General *Monk*'s Letters against the Ratification of the Treaty, and his desire to have Two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at *New-Castle*, *Wilkes*, *Cloeberry*, and *Knight*, the Commissioners, had their dispatch, and a Pass to licence their repair thither; But before they got to *New-Castle*, at a Meeting of all *Lambert*'s Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel *Zanchy* to General *Monk*'s Officers, and one from *Lambert* to the General himself.

The Effect of a Letter from *Lamberts* Officers to *Monks*.

In that from the Officers they write, *That they had advised their General to acquaint General* Monk, *that if he pleased to appoint two Commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already in* England, *and signifie their names to him, a safe Conduct should be forthwith given to them; but withal, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consentaneous to what is already concluded; And that the General Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at* London) *to meet upon the sixth of* December, *may accordingly hold their meeting.* And in a Postscript to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel *Cobbet*, who, they said, was a publick Messenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Priviledge accordingly, except by some miscarriage he had forfeited the same. Colonel *Zanchy* was very kindly received by General *Monk* and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenient haste to give him his dispatch; acquainting him, *That they should not disown any thing in that Agreement that was conformable to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explained; As to the third Article, mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded.* And concerning *Cobbet*, they alledged, *That he came not to* Scotland *as a publick Messenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, (the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General* Monk; *And that the General had intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a*

The Conference of *Monk* and and his Officers with Colonel *Zanchy*.

design to seduce the Army from their obedience, if not to seize on his Person. This Letter was signed the 7th of *December* at night, and the next day Colonel *Zanchy* was to have returned with it to *Newcastle*; but upon Intelligence received, that a Party of *Lamberts*, consisting of three Regiments of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, with two Drakes, was marched into *Northumberland*, and that sixty Dragoons had possessed themselves of *Chillingham* Castle, near the *Scotch* Borders, the Colonel was staid; and the General, at three of the Clock the next morning, marched out of *Berwick*, and sent order to draw his Forces together towards *Cold-stream*, a very convenient Pass upon the *Tweed*, where he settled his Head Quarters. A little before this, his own Commissioners were come to him to *Berwick*, where he confined Col. *Wilkes* for discovering, or at least not pursuing some private Instructions; but after a while he was released, upon satisfaction that what he did was out of Ignorance, and not malice.

Col. *Wetham* at *Portsmouth* declares for *Monk.*

Colonel *Whetham* at *Portsmouth*, very generously declared for General *Monk* with that Garrison, after he had secured Captain *Peacock*, and Captain *Brown*, and some other refractory Officers, that he was jealous of.

Commissioners from the several Shires and Boroughs of *Scotland* wait upon the General at *Barwick.*

Commissioners from the several Shires and Boroughs of *Scotland*, being summoned to wait upon the General, and he having appointed them to be at *Barwick* the thirteenth of *December*, he came on that day thither to meet them accordingly, releasing *Zanchy*, and sending by him a Letter to *Lambert*, wherein he acquainted him, he would by the next Post more fully inform him of his Resolutions.

The *Scotch* Commissioners appointed five to attend the General, and treat with him, which were the Earls of *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, *Weam's*, and *Eglinton*, and Mr. *Alexander Bruce*. These presented a Paper to the General, consisting of five Proposals.

Their Propositions.

1. *That the Lord General may be pleased to appoint a Committee in each Shire, for regulating the Affairs thereof, in order to his Lordships Commands, and their own preservation.*

2. *That his Lordship will allow each Shire presently to raise (for securing the Peace, and their own safety) some small proportion of Horses, under the Conduct of such Persons as his Lordship shall think fit to trust.*

3. *That his Lordship will declare, for the greater Encouragement of the Shires, at the return of their Commissioners, if the Treaty shall break up, and take no effect, immediately upon the notice thereof, that he did authorize the Shires to put themselves in the best posture they can for his Assistance, and their own defence.*

4. *That for the said effect, his Lordship will be pleased to furnish each Shire with some proportion of Arms, upon payment of just Rates thereof, within one Months time after the Receipt of them.*

5. *That all Gentlemen who are free to comply with his Lordships desires, may for themselves and Servants, have liberty to carry their Arms.*

The General, upon the receipt of this Paper, advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it (*viz.*) Colonel *Fairfax*, Major *Jeremiah Smith*, Colonel *Lydcott*, Colonel *Read*, and Doctor *Barrow*. And the chief Question debated on was, whether they should permit the *Scots* to Arm for their Assistance? Colonel *Read* was for Arming them, He Argued, That it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The General himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrisons, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to *Lambert*, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put *Scotland* out of *English* hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrisons, he should well enough defend himself against *Lambert*. The General advises with his Officers about them.

Others were of opinion, That although they should not imploy whole Troops, or Companies of *Scots*, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the *English*. But Doctor *Barrow* was against all motions of Arming the *Scots* at that time, believing if it were done, many of their own men might desert them; But if the General would take any opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of *Lamberts* Quarters, so that they might once come to *Bloud*, that the division being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what Accessions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading men of the *Scotch* Gentry, to try if they would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses, on which the General might mount *English* to reinforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article, in the Generals name.

The Generals Answer to the *Scots* Propositions.

1. To the First, *That he would authorize the Noblemen and Justices of the Peace of each County, with the Advice and Consent of the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.*

2. To the second, *That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the* High-Lands, *viz. to the County of* Dumbarton *and* Sterling, *Forty men to bear Arms; To the County of* Perth, *Forty men in Arms; To the County of* Forfar *and* Kinkardine, *Forty men in Arms; And to the County of* Aberdeen, *Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove farther out of* Scotland: *And he would allow the Heretors of the above named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said respective Guards; They giving Security to the Governour of the next adjacent Garrison, for their* Fidelity *and good behaviour, in Six hundred Pounds* Sterling.

3. To the third, *His Lordship deferr'd his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended*

intended between him and the English *Army.*

4. To the Fourth, *That he would furniſh them with fit means for their defence, whenſoever he ſhould apprehend their Peace and Safty to be in eminent danger.*

5. To the Fifth, *Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as ſhould ſubſcribe to live peaceably, and act nothing to the prejudice of* England, *ſhould have liberty with Paſſes to wear their Swords, and have four Servants Armed for their Attendants.*

Glencarn's Arguments to the General, for arming the *Scots* to his aſſiſtance.

At a Conference with the *Scotch* Commiſſioners, upon the delivery of theſe Anſwers to their Propoſitions, they ſeemed unſatisfied with them, and the Earl of *Glencarne*, in the name of the reſt, told the General, *Since they were willing to hazard their Perſons and Eſtates with him, They hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Aſſiſtance, and their own ſafety, ſince if he ſhould engage and be worſted, they ſhould be expoſed to great ruine for their Affection and reſpect to him, from which otherwiſe, by a Neutrality, they might be ſecure.* To which he anſwered, *That if that ſhould happen, they ſhould then Arm to what numbers they pleaſed.* To this the Earl replied, *That the Country were now willing to riſe in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage: But if his force ſhould be defeated, they would not be perſwaded to it. And beſides, they could not under ſix weeks time make their Levies. And if permiſſion were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their bowels, before they ſhould be in a poſture of Defence.*

The *Scotch* Nobility depart home from *Barwick.*

The cautious General would not be prevailed on with theſe Arguments, and ſo they departed, he returned to *Coldſtream* to his Quarters, and the *Scotch* Noblemen and Gentlemen to their ſeveral Countries.

They had abſolutely refuſed the raiſing any Horſe to mount *Engliſh*, yet this came to no breach between them and the General, in regard, before they left *Barwick*, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from *England*, of the diſtractions in the *Engliſh* Armies and other affairs, which made them to fear leſs than before their own Peace at home, and ſo all parted with mutual reſpect.

The General prepares to make defence againſt *Lambert*, if occaſion were.

After this meeting, the General was contriving how to break off the Treaty with *Lambert*, which he had hitherto not without great Artifice delayed; but he conſidered, that as ſoon as that ſhould be done, *Lambert* would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occaſion ſhould urge him to it. In order to which, he ſent an expreſs to *Clarges*, to provide him ſome good Horſe-Officers, and ſend them by Sea in a nimble Barke. Mean while, in *Northumberland* the *Oagles* raiſed him two compleat Troops, and more Horſe were raiſing. He increaſed his number of Pikes in each Company, to be equal to his Muſquets, as thereby to be better able to make defence againſt Horſe, in which *Lamberts* greateſt ſtrength was placed.

What advantages he had againſt *Lamberts* Army.

Coldſtream was nine miles from *Barwick* upon the *Tweed*, and he had Quartered all his men ſo conveniently, that he could draw them all together in ſix hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the *Scotch* than *Engliſh* Borders. And if *Lambert* marched towards him, the Villages in *Northumberland* being thin, he muſt have Quartered at ſuch diſtance, that his men would have been expoſed to great hazard of being often diſturbed in their Quarters. And if he had marched to fight; the General, being upon the defenſive part, could have brought as many hands to action as he. Or if he had marched to *Carliſle*, to have invaded *Scotland* that way; *Monk* would then have marched directly to *London*, and ſhould have been two or three days march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have preſently fallen on the neareſt part to him. In this poſture he lay at *Coldſtream*, when he received Intelligence from *Clarges*,

Differences between the City of *London* and the Armies Party there.

" That there were many great differences in " *London*, betwixt *Fleetwood* and the City. " That the Apprentices, and ſeveral others in " favour of him, had many Conſultations to " make diſturbances; That they were framing " a Petition to the Lord Mayor and Common- " Council, to preſs their Interpoſition for the " reſtoring of the *Parliament*, and preſerva- " tion of Magiſtracy, which was endeavoured " to be ſuppreſt by the Committee of Safety, " who emitted a Proclamation to prohibit all " gathering of hands to Petitions, which in- " cenſed the young men ſo much (being fo- " mented by wiſer heads) that they roſe in " many places in a tumultuous manner. And " thereupon, Colonel *Hewſon* was ſent into " *London*, to ſuppreſs them, whereby a rumour " was raiſed, that the Souldiers came to plun- " der them, and all Shops were ſhut up, and " many reproachful words paſſed in the " Streets, between the Souldiers and Appren- " tices, to that heat of paſſion, that two of the " Apprentices were ſlain, and about twenty " wounded, and the reſt for that time diſper- " ſed. But the Souldiers were ſo vilified, " ſcorn'd, and hiſt, that they were aſhamed to " march, and many Officers, when they went " into the City, durſt not wear Swords for " fear of affronts, and That many of the Pri- " vate Souldiers, eſpecially the Horſe, wiſh'd " themſelves with him. Captain *Izod*, and " others, being active to draw them from " *Fleetwoods* Party. That he had ſent Captain " *Goodwin* with ſome Horſe-Officers to him by " Sea to *Barwick*, and that *Goodwin* had his " Lordſhips Commiſſion for Commander in " Chief, of all the Armies in *England* and " *Scotland*. And that he had treated with " Mr. *Philip Howard*, who had vndertaken to " raiſe an hundred Gentlemen well Armed and " mounted in *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, " on Condition to Command them for his Life- " Guard, which he had promiſed his Lord- " ſhip ſhould conſent to; but that juſt as he " was preparing for his Journey, he was taken " with the Small Pox, but his Elder Brother " in the mean time, had writ and undertook " to promote the Levies of the men; That he " had treated with Colonel *Redman*, a gallant " Horſe-Officer, and Colonel *Brat*, who had " been both by *Ludlow* removed from their " Commands, to draw off the *Iriſh* Brigade

The Souldiers affronted by the Apprentices not without ſome bloudſhed.

Oppoſitions from all parts increaſe againſt *Lamberts* faction.

" from

" from *Lambert*, many of the men having been " before Commanded by them, and therefore " eaſily perſwaded; and that Colonel *Morley*, " Sir *Arthur Haſlrig*, and Colonel *Walton*, " were active in *Portſmouth*, and all the Foot " which were ſent to beſiege that Town, had " ſeized on their Officers, and carried them " Priſoners into it, and five Troops of Colonel " *Rich* his Regiment, and two of Colonel *Ber-* " *ries* were come in to them; That thoſe of " *Berries* were Commanded by Colonel *Crooke*, " who was lately their Major, and is ſent into " the Iſle of *Wight*, where his Forces are in- " creaſed to Seven hundred: And at *Taunton*, " and ſeveral other places, there was great " defection amongſt all the Souldiers; That " Sir *Michael Liveſey* in *Kent* had raiſed two " Regiments, and Colonel *Gibbon* was joyned " with him, and Vice Admiral *Lawſon* had " with Two and Twenty Sail declared for the " *Parliament*, and was come into the *Hope*, " ſtopping up the River of *Thames*. And the " *Block-houſes* near *Graveſend*, on both ſides " the River, had alſo Declared; That the Lord " Mayor and ſeveral Aldermen, have had ma- " ny ineffectual Treaties with *Fleetwood*, and " the Chief of the Army and Committee of " Safety; the City demanding the manage- " ment and Conduct of their own Militia, and " and the inſtant reſtauration of the *Parliament*, " or the calling another, which are refuſed to " them, and the diſcontents thereby much " augmented.

A Letter of Advice from *Monk* to *Lambert*.

Upon Receipt of theſe Letters, the General writ to *Lambert*, by Major *Banniſter*, one of the Officers at *Barwick*, acquainting him, *That ſince his laſt by* Zanchy, *he had certain Advice That three of the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament, for the Government of the Army, were now in* Portſmouth, *acting by vertue of the ſame Authority, upon which he Acted, and declaring for the ſame ends; And that he and the Army were thereby obliged in Honour and Duty, to take their Advice and Conſent in all Affairs that relate to the Cauſe they are now engaged in, which he doubted not, but he would judge reaſonable and neceſſary; and therefore he deſired a ſafe Conduct for the Major, to acquaint them with what had paſſed in the ſeveral Overtures betwixt them; but withall, he told him freely, he could not think it adviſeable to proceed further in Treaty (and he expected the other Commiſſioners would be of the ſame mind) till he remanded all thoſe Troops he had ſent into* Northumberland, Cumberland, *and* Weſtmerland, *during that time.*

The Treaty between *Monk* and *Lambert* broke off.

Lambert upon advice with his Officers, would not let *Banniſter* paſs, but ſent him back to *Barwick*; for he now began plainly to perceive, that the General intended nothing leſs than to treat further; whereupon both ſides prepared for War: But *Lambert* was ſo daily Alarm'd with the ſucceſs of the Commiſſioners at *Portſmouth*, and the daily ſubmiſſion of ſeveral Troops and Companies of men, That he thought it more neceſſary to march *Southward* to aſſiſt his Friends in *London*, than hazard Battel with General *Monk*.

Lamberts Party daily decreaſe upon the appearance of the *Portſmouth* Commiſſioners.

Fleetwood, and the reſt of the Committee of Safety were in no leſs diſorder than *Lambert*, but that which moſt amuſed them, was the Declaration of *Lawſon* with his Fleet for the Parliament (*which was chiefly tranſacted by the endeavours of* Colonel Streater, *an active Inſtrument for the King in all theſe Revolutions, who was forc'd to fly thither upon diſcovery of a deſign he had to ſeize on the Tower*) for they thought themſelves ſure of *Lawſon*, and by his defection (added to the reſt) their Authority came to be generally deſpiſed, even by their own Souldiers, ſo that they abandoned all; and *Fleetwood*, with great contrition and ſubmiſſion, in behalf of his Confederates, ſent to the Speaker to deſire him to ſend to the reſt of the Parliament Members, and with them to return to the exerciſe of their Truſt and Power for the Government of the Nation; acknowledging, That *the Lord had blaſted their Counſels*, and (to repeat his own words) *ſpit in their faces.*

Fleetwood ſubmits, and deſires the Members to ſit again.

Several Regiments, being drawn up in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, declare for the late Members.

Upon this, ſeveral Members met privately in the *Speakers* Houſe, and gave Colonel *Okey*, Colonel *Markham*, Colonel *Allured*, and Colonel *Moſs*, orders to draw the Regiments about *Weſtminſter* to a Rendezvouz in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*; which being performed accordingly, the Souldiers declared to live and die with the *Parliament*, and marched down *Chancery-Lane*, where at the *Rolls* they made a halt till the *Speaker* came to them, and received their acknowledgments, and from thence by his Orders, they went to their Quarters, having firſt from him received the *Word.*

They take their Seats again in the Parliament-Houſe.

And two daies after, that is to ſay, on the 26th of *December*, in the Evening, the *Speaker* and the Members of *Parliament*, reſumed the Government, and ſate in the *Parliament-Houſe*, having met firſt in *White-Hall* in the Council-Chamber, from whence they went on foot through *Chanon-Row* (the Mace being carried before the *Speaker*) to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where as they paſs'd, the Souldiers upon the Guard ſtood in Ranks, and made acclamations.

They order ſeven Commiſſioners for the management of the Army.

At their firſt meeting, They Ordered Colonel *Alexander Popham*, Col. *Thompſon*, Mr. *Scot*, Colonel *Okey*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, Colonel *Matthew Allured*, and Colonel *Markham*, *or any three of them, to order, direct, and Conduct the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces, and to Command the ſame to ſuppreſs all Tumults, Inſurrections, and Rebellions, and all ſuch Forces which ſhall oppoſe or reſiſt the Command of the* Parliament, *and to obſerve ſuch Orders and Directions as they ſhould receive from time to time from the* Parliament, *or the Commiſſioners appointed by Act of* Parliament, *to Command the Army, or any three of them, till they ſhall come to* London *or* Weſtminſter, *or untill the* Parliament *ſhall take further order.*

From theſe Commiſſioners an Order was ſent to *Lambert* to diſperſe his Forces, but they were upon breaking before notice thereof came to him.

We made ſome relation of a Treaty betwixt Mr. *Evelyn* and Colonel *Morley*, which at this time Mr. *Evelyn* thought to bring to ſome advantageous iſſue, for *Morley* upon this change had his Regiment reſtored, and with it the Government of the Tower conferred on him, and

and his Brother Colonel *Fagg* had also a Regiment; Mr. *Evelyn* had done for him towards his Majesty, all he desired, for Pardon of him and his Friends; but when he came to him with the report of it, he was very reserved, and would not entertain any discourse with him of that matter, and after one time would rarely admit him into his company, which made him suspect he had altered his intentions, and put him to the hazardous experiment of a sharp and expostulatory Letter; but he was newly involved with General *Monk*, and Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper* in intrigues of the like nature, which he durst not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the things which Mr. *Evelyn* proposed, nor was he assured of his Officers and Souldiers in the Tower for such a Service: But it is most certain he received such impressions from Mr. *Evelyn*'s former discourses, that he was one of the forwardest of his Party to embrace all occasions for the Kings Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous, and hazardous opposition in Parliament, shortly after their sitting, to that impious Oath of abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned.)

The *Irish* Brigade brought off to *Monk* by *Redman* and *Brett*.

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and *Lambert* in his declension; The *Irish* Brigade submitted to *Redman* and *Bret*, and was brought off by them; and at the same time, the Souldiers of two *Dunkirk* Regiments, then with *Lambert*, were in Mutiny for the General, who scarce had received Information of these actings, when Captain *Campbell* also arrived at *Coldstream* with Letters from Sir *Hardress Waller*, and others from *Dublin*, with Intelligence of the Surprizal of *Dublin* Castle by Captain *Joyer* and Captain *Bond*, which was thus performed; One of *Bonds* men softly knocking at the Gates, the Sentinel opened the door, and as he opened it, the rest presently rushed in, and on a sudden surprized them within, and seized on Colonel *John Jones*, *Miles Corbet*, Colonel *Matthew Thomlinson*, Colonel *Richard Lawrence*, Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Jones*, Mr. *Standish* the Treasurer, and *Tombes* the Store-Keeper: The Design was chiefly managed at *Dublin* by Sir *Theophilus Jones*, *Trevor*, the three *Warrens*, Colonel *Bridges*, *Thompson*, *Liste*, *Worder*, and *Temple*, having been two months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, because but in one of Five Foot Companies that Quartered in the City, they could repose any Confidence; neither durst they Communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and some few Officers of Horse, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and so much they differed about the time of putting the business in execution, that till the night before the Action, they had not resolved it: The pretext made use of for the Business, was their meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council; which so dazled the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and several others of his Confidents, that they suspected no other thing to have been intended. And that which in the Execution was most remarkable, is, that not one drop of Bloud was shed. The next day after, the City of *Dublin* drew out their *Militia*, and declared with them; and although they had but eight hours notice, there appeared above two thousand Foor, besides Horse.

The manner of Surprizing *Dublin* Castle.

Cornet *Monk* was privy to the Design, and sent to *Wexford*, *Waterford*, and those Parts, to incline them to joyn in it: But Sir *Charles Coot* and his Brothers had the hardest Task in the Province of *Connaught*; but they overcame all difficulties, and in a very short time brought the whole Souldiery and Garrison there to obedience, and in less than a Weeks space, *Limrick*, *Clonmell*, *Youghall*, *Ross*, *Kilkenny*, *Drogedah*, *Dundalk*, *Antrim*, and many other Places declared their Concurrence.

Sir *Charles Coot* reduceth all *Connaught* to a Compliance with the present Design.

The General, always carrying an even temper in his behaviour, seem'd not much exalted with this News; yet since it was likely to prove of no small Concernment to himself, he presently dispatch'd Captain *Campbell* back, with great acknowledgments of these Services, and desired to be supplied by them with six Troops of Horse with all convenient speed: This good news was seconded with advice from *Bowles* of the Lord *Fairfax*'s Rising in *York-shire*, which was somewhat sooner than his Promise, but very seasonable to make a diversion to *Lambert*'s Forces, with whom Colonel *Lilburn*'s Regiment joyned by means of Major *Smithson*, who was a great Lover of General *Monk*, and Colonel *Redman* came in to them with the *Irish* Brigade; Colonel *Bethell*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*, Captain *Strangwaies*, and Mr. *Arthington* also joyned with them: The said Messenger also informed him, That the *Parliament* was again Sitting, and that *Fleetwood* had submitted to them; which made the General immediately March, (for he heard that *Lambert* kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppose the Lord *Fairfax* and his Friends, and having quitted *New-Castle*, was marched towards them;) wherefore on the Second of *January* at night he advanced with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, and marched to *Wooller*: He had the day before sent Colonel *Knight* with three Troops to *Morpeth*, to whom he that night sent Orders to seize on *New-Castle*, which he did by six of the Clock the next morning. Major General *Morgan* was left sick, and Colonel *Read*, who commanded the Rear of the Army, marched the next day with two Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, with which his whole number amounted in all to five thousand Foor, and two thousand Horse. By that time he came to *Morpeth*, he had information that *Lambert*'s whole Party was of themselves dispersed into several Quarters in Submission to the *Parliaments* Orders. And to Assure him of the *Parliaments* Sitting, he received a Letter from the *Speaker*, dated the 27 of *Decemb.* of Thanks for his Service; wherein the restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care, and Courage.

The Lord *Fairfax*, and several of *Monk*'s Party joyning with him, rise in *York-shire*.

Gen. *Monk* begins his March into *England*.

He receives a Letter of thanks from the *Speaker*.

The knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the most fatal accidents that could happen to him; for by their over-hasty resumption of Power, back'd with a great Army newly return'd to their Obedience, he despaired of doing the good he intended to his Country, and thought

no

no longer of Continuing in Arms than till a fair Opportunity should be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; *For he expected they would not have thought their Sitting safe, till his arrival at* London *with his Army, and then he would have restored all the other Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the Differences betwixt them.*

He receives an Address at *Morpeth* from the City of *London* by their Sword Bearer. As likewise from the Gentry of the Country in all Parts as he marcht along. He is visited at *York* by the Lord *Fairfax.*

When he came to *Morpeth*, Mr. *William Mann*, the Sword-Bearer of *London*, came to him, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of *London*; To which he made a Civil Return the next day from *New-Castle*, and thence he marched with continued Journeys to *York*, where he continued Five days, and all the way as he marched from *Cold-stream* he was met by the Gentry, and saluted by all the People as he passed, with great Acclamations of Joy. Colonel *Waters* the Sheriff of *York-shire*, met him betwixt *Allerton* and *Topcliffe*, several of the Gentry having attended him the day before at his first entrance into the County. At *York* he was Visited by the Lord *Fairfax*, whom he received with much Kindness and Respect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. *Bowles* his diligent and industrious acting in his Concerns; There he modell'd *Lambert*'s and *Lilburn*'s Regiments of Horse, and gave the first of them to Colonel *Bethell*, and the latter to *Smithson*, and chang'd most of the other Officers.

The new restored Members begin very Actively in settling their Affairs; and on the Second of *January* they name One and Thirty to be of the *Council of State*, passing an *ACT* for their Constitution, and several Instructions for them to Act by: Amongst which it was provided, That none should Sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family, and Government.

The Names of the intended Counsellors of State were;

The Names of the Persons nominated for the Council of State.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig*,	Mr. *Henry Nevill*,
Colonel *Morley*,	Colonel *Fagg*,
Mr. *Wallop*,	Mr, *John Corbet*,
Mr. *Scot*,	Mr. *Tho. Challoner*,
Mr. *Love*,	Mr. *Say*,
Mr. *Weaver*,	Sir *Anthony Ashly-Cooper.*
Colonel *White*,	General *Monk*,
Mr. *Reignolds*,	Lord *Fairfax*,
Mr. *Robinson*,	Vice-Admiral *Lawson.*
Mr. *Rob. Roll*,	*Josias Barners*,
Sir *James Harrington*,	Serjeant *Terrill*,
Colonel *Thompson*,	*Slingsby Bethell*,
Sir *Tho. Widdrington*,	Alderman *Foot*,
Colonel *Dixwell*,	Alderman *Love.*

The *Oath* was in these following words: *viz.*

The form of an Oath of Abjuration to be taken by all the Members of the *Council of State* and *Parliament.*

I do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stewart, *and the whole Line of the late King* James, *and of every other Person as a Single Person pretending, or which shall Pretend, to the Crown or Government of these Nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be True, Faithful, and Constant to the* Parliament *and* Common-Wealth, *and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any* Single Person, *or* House of Lords, *and every of them, in this* Common-wealth.

This *Oath* being stricter than any that had ever been imposed, was by many disliked; However, the Leading Men that promoted it in *Parliament*, affirmed, *That without this, they could have no certain Assurance of Power; And that the* Hollanders, *and those of the Confederated Provinces could never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of* Spain. And to that height this business was brought, that not thinking it enough for the *Council of State*, They drove on to have it ordered, That every Member in the *House* should also take the said Oath: This was strongly opposed by Colonel *Feilder*, *Weaver*, *Dove*, *Hutchinson*, both the *Puries*, *Ingoldsby*, and many more of the Soberer sort, *Who alleadged it would be a Confining of Providence to make such an Oath, a Snare to many good men, and a terrour to such as were truly Conscientious, who might suspect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Consciences.* Of these more moderate sort of men, *Feilder* and *Ingoldsby* only were thought favourers of the Kings Party, but the rest were such of whom they had no manner of Jealousie at that time; Though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the Secluded Members, and well disposed to Monarchy: So that when the *Act* for the *Council of State* came to be executed, in that part of it which was the administration of the Oath, Mr. *Weaver*, Colonel *Morley*, *Oliver St. John*, Colonel *Fagg*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and many more, even a third part at least of their number refused it, and were therefore not admitted to Sit, and Act.

The Oath opposed by several of the *House.*

Whilest the General staid at *York*, he had Intimation, that *Overton* was taking Beds into *Hull*, breaking the Ice in the Grafts, and making such Preparation as if he took him rather for an Enemy than a Friend; wherefore he sent Major *Smith* to him, one well known in that Garrison, to inspect into the Condition of it, and writ a Letter to *Overton*, to expostulate with him about the Matter: Who returned in Answer to him, *That he perceived Rumour had rendred* Hull *as doubtful to him as it had his Design dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their present Constitution, against the re-admission of the Secluded Members, a free Parliament, or Single Person, one of which had been continually charged upon him by the Common Cry of the Army.*

The Leading Members of *Parliament*, finding this difference growing amongst themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contrived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order thereunto, *Scot* and *Robinson*, two of their Members, were sent to meet him upon the Way to gratulate his Return, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to *London*, before he took his place in the *Council of State.*

Scot and *Robinson* sent from the *House* to Complement and attend General *Monk* upon his Journey.

Or

Of these their Instructions *Clarges* having timely notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General *Butler* a List of all the Quarters in *London*, for a purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

He disposeth of several Regiments and Companies as he came along.

On the Twelfth of *January*, the *House*, to testifie their Confidence in the General, passed a *Vote*, *To approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament*; and Ordered their *Vote* to be Printed: When he removed from *York*, he sent one of the *Dunkirk* Regiments of Foot, Commanded by Colonel *Clarke*, and Major General *Morgans* Regiment of Horse, into *Scotland*, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Consideration thereof. He left Colonel *Fairfax* his Regiment at *York*, and Disbanded some Companies of *Ashfield's* Regiment, and mingled the Private Souldiers thereof amongst his Regiments to fill up the Companies: And then having given the *Council of State* an Accompt of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards *London* with four Regiments of Foot, *Viz.* his Own, Colonel *Reads*, Colonel *Lydcotts*, and Colonel *Hubblethornes*; And Three Regiments of Horse, his Own, Colonel *Knights*, and Colonel *Clowberries*, which made his Number in all 5800 besides Officers; that is, Four Thousand Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horse; He came the 19th of *January* to *Nottingham*, where *Clarges* came to him the day following, on which day also, *Scot* and *Robinson* arrived at *Leicester*; and because the next day was *Sunday*, they rested there, and met the General upon the Road betwixt *Leicester* and *Nottingham* the 22th.

Clarges gives the General an Account how Affairs stood at *London*.

At *Nottingham*, *Clarges*, having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at *London*, and that they had there two thousand Horse, and eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; That the Horse were the Regiments of *Okey*, *Haslerig*, *Rich*, and *Desborow*; and though they had newly given the last to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, yet all the Officers under him were of the same Mould as the Former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by *Ayres*, *Markeham*, *Srteater*, *Fitch*, *Moss*, *Fleetwood*, *Morley*, and *Fagg*; of all which, he could have no Assurance but of the two last: For *Morley's* men were firm to him, deserted their Officers in the *North*, and declared for him; And *Faggs* was a new Regiment, raised about *Portsmouth* in his behalf. He told him, That except he could get all these Horse and Foot out of *London*, (except *Morley's* and *Fagg's* Regiments) and disperse them into several Quarters, and march his own men thither, and be Master of *London*, he could never expect to do any good for his Country; since in all these times, it had been experienced, That to what ever was done at *London*, where they had Nine or Ten Thousand Men to justifie their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And gives his Advice as touching the Regiments that were quartered in *London*.

And if his distinct and absolute Command in *Scotland* had not hapned in a Conjuncture when *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, the two chief Officers of the Army, were in a Jealousie of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have stood against them; and although there was that Jealousie, and the Principles on which he declared were such, as most of these in Command favoured; yet how slowly did *Ireland* and the Fleet joyn with him? And even the *Council of State* themselves (who had the Temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear till they saw a Distraction in the others Counsels; for fear, as some of the Chief of them alledged, lest the King's Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any: These Considerations took such impression in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about, till *Clarges* told him, there were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his Wishes; which he proposed thus: He told him, The *Council of State* consisted of such only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; And till he should take that, they would be so diffident of him, that whatever he desired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied; That the Major Part in Parliament were against the Oath; And therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himself to them, and therefore that his best way would be to write them a *Letter* to this purpose, *That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that so many of the Souldiery now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against them, should be trusted with their Guards, till the present Officers by them placed upon them, should have by Discipline reduced them to perfect Obedience.* To which the General Answered, *That he approved of the Advice, but if they should offer to have an equal Number of his Regiments with the other, that Objection would be removed; and besides, he believed he had not men enough to supply the Guards, which these now in* London *kept.*

To this *Clarges* replied, *It was worth his Attempt to endeavour this; and that the same Reason for not mingling the men, might hold as for not trusting them intire; but as concerning their Guards, that he had brought with him a List of all their Quarters, and did believe his Three Regiments of Horse, being in number, within two hundred, as many as the four now there, they might do the same Duty; And that his four Regiments of Foot, now full as they were, might well keep the same Guards as six of theirs.*

The General, *in fine*, approving of all he said, *Clarges* drew the *Letter* to the *Parliament*, for him to sign, in these words:

Right Honourable,

The General's Letter to the House.

I *Have lately acquainted the* Council of State *with what Forces I have sent into* Scotland, *and more are necessary to be sent thither, to reinforce them, and secure the Peace of that Country, which I presume they have been pleased to report to you; I am now marched in Obedience to your Commands thus far on my way towards* London, *with four Regiments of Foot, and two Regiments of Horse;*

each Regiment of Foot containing a thousand, and each Regiment of Horse Six hundred; so that by a List which I have sent to me from the Quarter-Master-General of the Horse and Foot in London, *I have disposed of these Regiments which march with me; And I humbly offer, That all those now in* London, *except Colonel* Fagg's *Regiment, and Colonel* Morley's, *may be sent to the several Quarters by me assigned; for, with Submission, I conceive it not for your Service, that those Souldiers now in* London, *lately in Rebellion against you, should mingle with these your approved faithful Regiments, till the present Officers by you put upon them have by Discipline reduced them to a more assured Obedience to You. The Three Regiments of Horse with Me, are as many in Number as those now in* London; *and my Four Regiments of Foot near as full as the Six I remove, so that your Numbers are not lessened: In this* Letter *I send two* Lists; *in one of them the Quarters are set down for these* Regiments *which March with Me into* London; *and in the other, the several Quarters of those to March out, Which I did not appoint, but upon much Consideration of the present Posture of your Affairs, and intelligence of the Distemper'd Condition of the Places to which I assign them. I have sent a faithful Servant of yours, to receive your Commands in this Business; because on Your Forces under Me will be drawn to* Barnet; *And if on that Day those in* London *March out, We may supply their Places: But I humbly desire your Pleasure may be so early communicated to Us, that I may send the* Quarter-Masters *to make Provision for the Men; Which is all at present from, &c.*

A List of all the Quarters that were assigned the Souldiery that marched out of London upon their marching in.

The General approved of the *Letter*, and signed it; and they agreed, that it should not be sent till he came to St. *Albans*; That those in the House, of the Faction for the Oath of Abjuration, might suppose it came with the Privity of *Scot* and *Robinson*; and seeing him Master, be less apt to oppose his Desires: It was Midnight before thus much was Resolved; but in regard he was to March the next Morning, he resolved fully to settle the whole Affair before he went to bed; and therefore sent for the Books of Maps, for the better assigning the Quarters of those that were to March out: And by the Quarter-Master-General's List he disposed the Quarters of his own Men; Colonel *Knight* was one in whom he had great Confidence, and he was sent for to assist in this Assignation of Quarters, but strictly enjoyned to Secrecy.

The Regiments of Horse to march out were ordered thus: *Okey*'s Regiment, To *Bedford* one Troop, *Buckingham* one Troop, *Alisbury* one Troop, *Peterborough* one Troop, and *Northampton* two Troops.

Hasterig's Regiment; To *Reading* one Troop, *Oxford* two Troops, *Gloucester* one Troop, *Worcester* one Troop, *Hereford* one Troop.

Ashley-Cooper's Regiment; To *Basingstoke* one Troop, *Bath* one Troop, *Bristol* two Troops, *Salisbury* two Troops.

Rich's Regiment; To *Ipswich* one Troop, *Colchester* one Troop, *Norwich* two Troops, *Bury* one Troop, *Yarmouth* one Troop.

The Foot were disposed as followeth:

Colonel *Ayrs* his Regiment; To *Sandwich* one Company, *Dover* two Companies, *Canterbury* five Companies, *Rye* two Companies.

Colonel *Markeham*'s Regiment; To *Ipswich* three Companies, to *Colchester* five Companies, and to *Sudbury* two Companies.

Colonel *Streater*'s Regiment; To *Buckingham* three Companies, to *Northampton* five Companies, and to *Newark* upon *Trent* two Companies. The Confidence the General had of Colonel *Streater*, in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdom, afterwards proved a good Expedient at the breaking out of *Lambert*.

The Regiment belonging to *Fleetwood*; To *Hereford* two Companies, to *Oxford* four Companies, to *Worcester* four Companies.

Col. *Mos*'s Regiment; To *Cambridge* five Companies, and to *Ely* five Companies.

Col. *Fitch*'s Regiment; To *Chichester* five Companies, and the rest to *Winchester*.

The Disposition of those to be in London *were in this Order:*

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the *Mews*, and in the *Strand*.

Col. *Knight*'s Regiment; To have four Troops in *Kings-street*, and *Tuttle-street* in *Westminster*, and two Troops in *Holburn*.

Col. *Clowberrie*'s Regiment; Two Troops in *Southwark*, one in *Bishops-Gate-street*, and three in *Smithfield*.

The General's Regiment of Foot in S. *James's*, and Parts adjacent.

Col. *Read*'s Regiment in *Somerset-house*, the *Strand*, *Long-Acre*, *Covent-Garden*, and St. *Martins Lane*.

Col. *Lydcott*'s Regiment in *Thanet-house*, *Peter-house*, and Parts adjacent.

Col. *Hubblethorn*'s Regiment, in *Holborn*, *Smithfield*, and Parts adjacent.

Col. *Fagg*'s Regiment in *Southwark*.

Col. *Morley*'s Regiment in the Tower, and Parts adjacent.

The next Morning the General marched towards *Leicester*, and he met *Scot* and *Robinson*, the *Parliaments* Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him till he came to *London*.

At *Leicester* the General expected to be attaqued about the *Oath of Abjuration*, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him, *He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them*; which was, *That he heard many men of undoubted Integrity had refused the Oath; and till he came to* London, *to hear the Reasons on both sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence resolve it.* This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. *Scot* and *Robinson* at their first Interview told him, *That the Parliament had Ordered a Thousand Pounds a Year for ever to be settled on him, and appointed them to acquaint him with it; and to let him know the sense the Parliament had of his great Services, and that they were providing Monies for his Arrears, and were glad to hear of his repairing to London.*

The General's Answer concerning the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot and *Robinson*'s Message to the General.

The General was never more put to it than in this Journey to diſſemble his Inclinations; For theſe men watched every moment of his time: At *Harbrow* Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent*, and Mr. *Bromfield*, met him as Commiſſioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and at the ſame time, Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northamptonſhire*, welcomed him into their County.

Commiſſioners from the City, met the General at *Harbrow*.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. *Bromfield*, in a handſome free Speech, after the enumeration of the ſeveral Calamities it lay under, as the beſt Remedy, propoſed the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, that the *Parliament* might be made full and free. *Scot* was ſo impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to anſwer them. He told them, *Now the Parliament had ſubjected the Military Power, to a due ſubordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Caſe of the Secluded Members, it did not become them to inſiſt on their re-admiſſion.* *Fowke* Endeavoured to qualifie what *Bromfield* had propounded, by ſaying, *He conceived they were not obliged by their Inſtructions, to deſire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, ſince it was unreaſonable, that they ſhould be Governed by a Parliament, where they had not their Repreſentatives.*

They propound the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members.

Scot ſtifly oppoſeth them.

This Diſcourſe, on all ſides, was managed with ſome heat; and the General was forced to comply with *Scot* and *Robinſon*, in their Extravagancies, to preſerve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him ſomewhat unſatisfied, and ſo they continued, till he ſent *Clarges* privately to give them a better underſtanding of his Intentions. But Sir *John Norris*, and the *Northamptonſhire* Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at *Northampton* with an Addreſs, were ſo much diſcouraged, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor *Barrow* requeſted Mr. *Philip Howard*, to adviſe them to proceed in their Intentions, and to aſſure them, *That though they had not a ſatisfactory Anſwer, they might be ſure it would produce a good Effect.* At *Northampton* Sir *John Norris* delivered his Addreſs; and as he marched to St. *Albans*, ſeveral of the ſame nature were preſented to him from the Gentry of *Buckingham-ſhire*, *Oxford-ſhire*, *Norfolk*, and almoſt all Counties, which did all agree in the ſame Matter (*viz.*) *For the Reſtitution of the Members Secluded in the Year*, 1648. *and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or elſe for the calling of a full and Free Parliament.* All which were anſwered with much reſpect by him, although he durſt not diſcover his Approbation of their Deſires: And it is very obſervable, That in all the Counties, ſo much Caution was obſerved, That no Gentlemen ſigned any of theſe Addreſſes, that had ever been engaged in his preſent Majeſties, or his Royal Fathers Cauſe, nor ſcarce any of the Sons of ſuch.

The General ſeems to comply with *Scot* and *Robinſon*.

Sir *John Norris*, and the Gentlemen of *Northamptonſhire*, make an Addreſs to him.

Several other Addreſſes, pleading for a Free Parliament.

At *Dunſtable* the General conſulted Major *Knight* and *Clarges*, about the filling up the Blanks, in the Letter prepared at *Nottingham*, having had Thoughts to ſend it by *Clarges*, *Knight*, or *Clark* his Secretary: But upon further conſideration, it was thought convenient not to part with *Knight*, becauſe his preſence would be requiſite with his Troops, if any Diſorders ſhould happen upon their March to *London*; as for *Clark*, he was ſo neceſſary to be with the General, for the iſſuing out Orders, that he could not be ſpared: and for *Clarges*, it was judged more expedient, that he ſhould be ſent before, to prepare a Party in the Houſe; ſo that *Lydcott* was choſen to be ſent, as one very gratetul to the Speaker, to whom he was near ally'd, and *Friday* was the Day inſerted for his March into *London*: And upon the next Days Conſultation, which was *Saturday* in the Evening, the 28 of *January*, he was diſpatched away: And on *Monday* the Letter was delivered, which cauſed a long and violent Debate: *Haſlerig* told them, the *Council of State* had before agreed, that four Regiments of thoſe in *London* ſhould march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he ſaid againſt the Generals Letter: So that after a Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Reſult was in theſe words.

Lydcott made choice of, for the carrying of the General's Letter to the Houſe, about the ſending of their Souldiers out of the City.

Monday, January 30. 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from S. *Albans*, from General *Monk*, Dated the 28 of *January*, 1659. and two Liſts therein,

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Parliament, That the Parliament doth agree with the Diſtributions of the Souldiers, according to theſe Liſts.

The Houſe conſent to the General's Deſire.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Parliament, That it be referred to the Commiſſioners of the Army, to ſee the Souldiers forthwith diſtributed accordingly.

Lydcott returns to the General with the welcome News of theſe Votes, as well might it be ſo to him; for from the moment of the execution of them (which gave him the poſſeſſion of *London*) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain *Cuff*, an Agent from Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland*, had attended the General, in all his March from *Newcaſtle* to *London*, and given him, from time to time, an account of all *Occurrences*; by which means the General kept a ſtrict Correſpondence both with him, the Lord *Broghil*, and ſeveral others of the chief Officers there; Who, although they had reduced all that Kingdom to the Obedience of the Parliament, were nevertheleſs ſuſpected by them; and *Scot* inſinuated to the General, *That notwithſtanding all their Pretenſes he had good grounds to believe, they had ſome other Intereſt in their Aims, than that of the preſent Parliament.*

The General hath conſtant Intelligence of all Affairs in *Ireland* by means of Capt. *Cuff*.

The General diverted this Jealouſie, with aſſurances of their Fidelity, and that he

would undertake for them; which allay'd the Suſpicion for that time, or at leaſt ſo raked it up in Aſhes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

The Regiments that were to march from *London*, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay aſſigned them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their departure, eſpecially thoſe that Quartered at St. *James*'s and *Somerſet*-houſe, which was not without great Induſtry of the Officers appeaſed: Upon which followed about Midnight an Inſurrection in the City, where about ſix or ſeven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a Free Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Souldiers joyn with them; but two Troops of Horſe ſuddenly diſperſed moſt of them, and took the reſt (about Eight and Thirty) Priſoners, which were the next Morning committed to *Lambeth* houſe: This Inſurrection, together with the Diſorders of the Souldiers, ſo frighted the *Council of State*, that in the beginning of the fore-going Night, they had ſent to the General to march with all haſte into *London*; but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew not near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all marched out, Tumults quieted, and all both within and without in a great Calm, He marched with his Army by *Grays Inn-Lane* into *Holborn*, and from thence down *Chancery-Lane*, and ſo through *Temple-Bar*, along the *Strand*, to *White-Hall*. The Three Regiments of Horſe marched firſt, and He in the Head of them gallantly mounted, with his Trumpets richly Habited before him, and ſeveral Led-Horſes after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and ſeveral Perſons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot: The Speaker of the Houſe met him in the Street near *Somerſet-houſe*, where they Complemented each other: After which the General marched on to *White-Hall*, and the Speaker went to the *Rolls*: As ſoon as the Souldiers were Quartered, and all the Guards ſet, the General was viſited by ſeveral of the *Council of State*; and being invited to take his place there, he went in Compliance with them: But when the *Oath of Abjuration* was tendered, he refuſed it, for the Reaſons before-mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he returned to his Appartment. The next Day was ſpent in Viſits to him, from all the Members of Parliament, and many other Perſons of the higheſt Quality: Mr. *Scot* told him, *The Parliament did intend on* Monday, *publickly in their Houſe, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he ſhould there make publick Profeſſions of his Affections to their Intereſt and Authority, and his Diſlike of the Addreſſes to him, for the Secluded Members, and a Free Parliament.*

A Mutiny among ſome of the Souldiery, that were to depart out of the City.

A Riſing in the City, diſperſed by the Souldiers.

Gen. *Monk* marcheth with his Forces into the City of *London*.

He refuſeth the Oath of Abjuration.

Scot inſtructs him how to receive the intended Gratulations of the Houſe.

He made little Anſwer to him, but that he was much obliged to them, for the Honour of ſo great a Reſpect, and ſhould endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his juſt Reſentments of it.

It is obſervable, That from this time, in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commiſſioner *Monk*, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had ſuperſeded the Commiſſion of Commander in Chief, ſent to him by the *Council of State*, they allowed him no Authority, but conjunct with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the ſole Exerciſe of the Command of the Army. He was ſomewhat perplexed, how to behave himſelf in the Parliament, in reference to the great Profeſſions and Proteſtations they expected from him, of his Averſions from the King and his Party, to balance his refuſing the *Oath of Abjuration*: But he reſolved to act in that occaſion, as moderate as the Seaſon would bear, and yet to temper his Speech ſo, as not altogether to fail their Expectations.

The Stile given him in their Orders, not General, but only Commiſſioner *Monk*.

On *Monday*, which was the Sixth of *February*, he was brought to the Court of Wards by *Scot*, *Robinſon*, and ſome other Members; after which, *Scot* acquainted the Houſe with his being there: Whereupon the Serjeant with his Mace being ſent to attend him, carried it before him, *Scot* and *Robinſon* conducting him into the Houſe, to a Place on the left Hand within the Bar, where a Chair faced with Velvet was ſet for him to ſit on.

He is conducted with much Ceremony into the Houſe.

As ſoon as he had made Obeyſance, the Speaker bid him ſit down; but he deſiring to be excuſed, and ſtanding behind the Chair, the Speaker expreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words:

The Speakers Speech to him.

IT hath been a common Obſervation, that the lighter Paſſions have a loud Voice, but ſuch as are of greater Magnitude are always ſilent: As it is in Paſſions, *ſo in* Actions *alſo*; *Thoſe of a leſſer* Dimenſion, *are often magnified above their Meaſure, but* Hiſtorians *do commonly fail in the* Expreſſions *of Noble and Great* Actions, *and ſuch are frequently leſſened; and ſo it may well be in thoſe of this* Days Remembrance: *The* Infallible Author *tells Us*, That in *Judea* is GOD known, and his Name is great in *Iſrael*; *That Knowledge and Greatneſs of* GOD *is verified in the Inſtance of* Martial Affairs, That the ſtout-hearted are ſpoiled, they have ſlept their ſleep, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. *This is verified this Day amongſt Us here preſent, that both We and You might acknowledge, that it is* GOD, *not* Man, *that hath performed this Great Work; that We his Creatures here may neither aſcribe it to our Wiſdom, or Your Valour, but that it was* GOD *alone, and none elſe. But yet I have always obſerved, that albeit the Glory appertains to the* LORD, *yet the Influence of that Glory*

Glory extends it ſelf to the Inſtruments *in his hand; and thereby thoſe Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an eſpecial* Inſtrument; *not as a* Merit, *but as a* Reward *upon Your Prudence and wiſe Conduct. The Knowledge of what hath been done in this our* Reſtitution, *is not unknown in theſe* Nations; *I believe, to this Part of the* World, *how our Friends (as we conceived) left Us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Truſt. The Face of this Land was covered, with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole* Nation *left, in the Judgment of Man, to the uttermoſt of Ruine: But, in that Condition, We did as the* Prophet, *in the greateſt Miſery of* Iſrael, *eſpy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an inſtant, become the Refreſhment of the whole* Nation: *That little Cloud was diſcerned afar off in your Hand, and by the Prudence of Your wiſe Conduct, it diſperſed the Miſeries of theſe* Nations, *and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This* Houſe *hath a true Reſentment of Your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I muſt not end here, for they have alſo a full Senſe of thoſe Noble Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty, in this Expedition: And as I have returned to You their Thanks, ſo it is their Deſire, that you ſhould return the ſame to Your Commanders, Officers, and Souldiers, who have been Inſtrumental in theſe Actions.*

After he had ended, the General ſtood up and ſpake as followeth:

Mr. *Speaker*,

The General's Speech in Anſwer to the Speakers.

" AMongſt the many Mercies of God " to theſe poor Nations, your peace- " able Reſtitution is not the leaſt; It is " (as you ſaid) his Work alone, and " to Him belongs the Glory of it; and " I eſteem it as a great effect of his " Goodneſs to me, that he was pleaſed " to make me, amongſt many worthier " in your Service, ſome way Inſtrumen- " tal in it. I did nothing but my Duty, " and deſerve not to receive ſo great an " Honour and Reſpect as you are plea- " ſed to give me at this time and " Place, which I ſhall ever acknow- " ledge as a high mark of your Favour to " me.

" *SIR*, I ſhall not now trouble you " with large Narratives, only give me " leave to acquaint you, That as I mar- " ched from *Scotland* hither, I obſerved " the People in moſt Counties in great " and earneſt expectations of a Settle- " ment, and ſeveral Applications were " made to me with numerous Subſcripti- " ons to them; The chiefeſt Heads of " their Deſires were for a Free and a full " *Parliament*, and that you would deter- " mine your Sitting; a Goſpel Miniſtry, " Encouragement of Learning and Uni- " verſities, and for admittance of the " Members Secluded before the year " 1648. without any prævious *Oath* or " *Engagement*. To which I commonly " Anſwered, That you are now in a " Free Parliament, and if there be any " Force remaining upon you, I would " endeavour to remove it; and that you " had Voted to fill up your Houſe, and " then you would be a full Parliament " alſo; And that you had already deter- " mined your Sitting: And for the Mi- " niſtry their maintenance, the Laws and " Univerſities, you had largely declared " concerning them in your laſt Declara- " tion; and I was confident you would " adhere to it: But as for thoſe Gentle- " men Secluded in the year 1648. I told " them, you had given Judgment in it, " and all People ought to acquieſce in that " Judgment; but to admit any Members " to ſit in Parliament without a prævious " Oath or Engagement, to preſerve the " Government in being, it was never done " in *England*.

" But although I ſaid it not to them, " I muſt ſay, with pardon to you, That " the leſs *Oaths* and *Engagements* are im- " poſed, (with reſpect had to the Secu- " rity of the Common Cauſe) your " Settlement will be the ſooner attained " to. I am the more particular in theſe " matters, to let you ſee how grateful " your preſent Conſultations about theſe " things will be to the People. I know " all the ſober Gentry will cloſe with " you, if they may be tenderly and gent- " ly uſed; and I am ſure you will ſo uſe " them, as knowing it to be the Com- " mon Concern to amplifie, and not to " leſſen our Intereſt, and to be careful " that neither the Cavaleer, nor Phana- " tick Party have yet a Share in your " Civil or Military Power; of the laſt " of whoſe Impatience to Government, " you have lately had ſo ſevere experi- " ence. I ſhould ſay ſomething of *Ire-* " *land* and *Scotland*; Indeed *Ireland* is in

an

" an unſettled Condition, and made worſe " by your Interruptions, which prevent- " ed the paſſing an ACT for the Settle- " ment of the Eſtates of Adventurers " and Souldiers there, which I heard you " intended to have done in a few days; " and I preſume it will be now quickly " done, being ſo neceſſary at this time, " when the Wants of the Common- " wealth call for Supplies; and People " will unwillingly pay Taxes for thoſe " Eſtates of which they have no legal " Aſſurance: I need not tell you how " much you were abuſed in the nomina- " tion of your Officers of your Armies " there; their malice that deceived you, " hath been ſufficiently manifeſted; I do " affirm, That thoſe now that have de- " clared for you, will continue faithful, " and thereby Evince, that as well there " as here, it is the ſober Intereſt muſt eſta- " bliſh your Dominion. As for *Scotland*, I " muſt ſay, The People of that Nation " deſerve to be Cheriſhed; and I be- " lieve your late Declaration will much " glad their Spirits; for nothing was to " them more dreadful, than a fear to be " over-run with Phanatick Notions: I " humbly recommend them to your Af- " fection and Eſteem, and deſire the in- " tended Union may be proſecuted, and " their Taxes made proportionable to " thoſe in *England*, for which I am En- " gaged by promiſe to become a Suiter to " you: And truly, *Sir*, I muſt ask leave " to intreat you to make a ſpeedy Provi- " ſion for the Civil Government there, " of which they have been deſtitute near " a Year, to the ruine of many Fami- " lies: And except Commiſſioners for " managing of the Government, and " Judges to ſit in Courts of Judicature, be " ſpeedily appointed, that Country will " be very miſerable.

" I directed Mr. *Gumble* lately to pre- " ſent ſome Names to you both for Com- " miſſioners and Judges; but by reaſon " of your great Affairs, he was not re- " quired to deliver them in Writing, but " I humbly preſent them to your Conſi- " deration.

And ſo concluding, he delivered them the Paper wherein the ſaid Names were contained.

His Speech excepted againſt by him and moſt of his Party.

Scot and ſome others were much offended that he aſſumed ſo much in this Speech, and were once thinking to interrupt him. They complained to their Confidents, *That he was too poſitive in undertaking for the Officers in* Ireland, *of whoſe Affections to the* Parliament *in the preſent Conſtitution of it, there was juſt cauſe of doubt; and that in the whole Speech he ſeem'd to affect Popularity, and gave the* Cavaliers *a poſſibility of being received into the exerciſe of Truſt, with a total Excluſion of the more ſtrict Parliament-Party, under the Notion of* Phanaticks.

The City continue malecontent.

But that which at this time more diſquieted theſe men than the General's Speech, was the diſcontented Carriage of the City; for the *Common-Council* had been in very high Debates about the Government, and were reſolved to pay no Publick Taxes till the *Houſe* were filled up with equal *Repreſentatives*: This they looked upon as drawing towards a Contempt of their Authority, and thought they could not better provide for their own Securities, than by oppoſing in time, and puniſhing ſuch Contumacies; they therefore on the eighth of *February* in the Evening at the *Council of State* Order the General to go into *London* the next Morning with a good part of the Army, and to ſeize upon Eleven of the moſt Active of the *Common Council*, and commit them to the *Tower*, as alſo to pull down the Poſts and Chains, and take down the Gates and Percullices of the City, and Quarter his Souldiers there, till they were reduced to Obedience.

The General ordered to march into the City and pull down the Gates.

The General was ſurprized at this Command, and debated many things with them in mitigation or ſuſpenſion of it, till near one in the Morning the next day, but nothing could divert their Reſolution; ſo that he was forced to obey their Orders, or quit his Command, for he had no longer time to deliberate than that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution; inſomuch, that after three or four hours repoſe to refreſh himſelf, he marched into the City, and pulled down the Poſts and Chains, and took into Cuſtody Nine of the Citizens which he had Orders to ſecure, the other two abſented themſelves: The Nine Impriſoned, were Mr. *Lawrence Bromfield* of *Tower-Street*, Alderman *Vincent*, Alderman *Bludworth*, Mr. *Thomas Brown* of *Woodſtreet*, Mr. *Daniel Spencer* in *Fridayſtreet*, Mr. *Penning* in *Fan-Church-ſtreet*, Mr. *Jackſon*, Mr. *Chamberlain*, and Mr. *Richard Ford*. The City was much Alarm'd at this proceeding: And the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and ſeveral of the chiefeſt of the Citizens applied themſelves to him to moderate his Actions. All the City indeed ſeem'd as People confounded with wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel *Hubblethorn*, and others, the General's own Officers, were many of them ſo much troubled, That they came to him to offer up their Commiſſions, rather than be imployed in ſuch an Action: They told him, *The honour and reſpect they had to his Perſon engaged them never to ſerve againſt him, or diſpute his Orders: But in this, ſince they could not without horrour obey them, they with tears pray'd him to diſpoſe of their Commands to ſome more neceſſary perſons.* He was moved much at theſe their paſſionate expreſſions, but privately informed them of his own diſlike of what was Commanded; and therefore Conjured them to continue their Confidence in him, and execute what he had given them in Charge, as that from which better effects

He obeys their Orders, though unwillingly.

would

would enſue than was convenient at that time to be explained. With this they went away ſomewhat better contented, though not fully ſatisfied. He took his Quarter at the Three Tuns in *Guild-Hall*-Yard, where, notwithſtanding this Accident, he received with much Civility thoſe which came to him: Among whom, one Mr. *Jolly*, a diſcreet Citizen, with modeſty and temper repreſented to him the Inconveniencies of what he had undertaken, and told him, *The Affections of the City to him were ſuch, that whatever he reaſonably could deſire of them, ſhould be eaſier obtained by Perſwaſion than Force. That the Controverſie between Enemies had nothing in it extraordinary; but to be ill Treated by Friends was very grievous. When* Hewſon *marched into the City with a greater Number, he could not Compaſs his Ends, but received Oppoſition with Contumelies and Affronts both to his Perſon and Party: But when he came, a general Calm and Kindneſs was ſeen in the Countenances of the People, And now that he had put his moſt rigorous Orders in Execution, they ſeemed rather amazed with Aſtoniſhment to receive it from his hand, than provoked to reſent the Indignity of it.*

Mr. *Jolly's* Prudent Speech to the General.

This Prudent Speech made great impreſſion on him, inſomuch that he told them thereupon, *That he had Order's to take down the Gates and Percullices as well as the Poſts and Chains, but he would immediately write to the* Parliament *to mitigate their Commands.* And accordingly he writ to acquaint them, *That he had ſecured all the Perſons given him in charge to Impriſon, except Two that were abſent; And that the next Morning the Lord Mayor and Aldermen had appointed a meeting of the Common-Council, where they doubted not that all things would be compoſed to their Satisfaction, and the Aſſeſsments be paid,* (which was the chiefeſt cauſe of his March into *London*) *ſo that thereupon he had forborn to meddle with the Gates and Percullices, till he ſhould receive further Orders, becauſe ſuch ſevere acting would highly incenſe the City, and he hoped by mild means to reduce them to reaſon.* This Letter made them higher than before; for whereas in their former Orders they had appointed him only to unhinge the Gates, and pull down the Percullices; They now Command him to deſtroy both Gates and Percullices: And to prevent the meeting of the *Common-Council*, they ordered, *That the preſent Common-Council of the City ſhould be diſſolved*; and declared them null and void. And without any other Anſwer, they ſent theſe *Votes* to the General.

The General Writes to the *Houſe*, to mitigate their Commands.

They, ſo much the more ſtirred up, ſend more rigorous Orders than before.

Upon this return, he was not a little perplexed in Mind, and very thoughtful what to do; but at laſt he reſolved fully to execute his Orders, that the *Houſe* might not take occaſion from his diſpute of them, in the unſettled Condition of the Souldiers, to vacate his Commiſſion, and thereupon Commanded his Souldiers to Break all the Gates and Percullices in pieces. Which done, on *Fryday* in the Evening he came back to *White-Hall*; but at his return, *Scot* and *Haſlerig*, and ſome others of their Violent Friends were very much moved, as if he had diſobeyed his Orders, by which they ſaid he was to continue with his Army in the City, till ſeveral Deſigns of theirs for the further humbling them to their purpoſes ſhould be effected; and there was a Whiſper as if he were to have been Queſtioned for it. It was alſo artificially contrived, that the ſame day the Gates were pulled down, a *Petition* from a Factious Phanatick Party of Citizens was preſented by one *Praiſe-God Barebone* to the *Houſes* to Countenance the Action, and to preſs an Oath of *Renunciation* to be taken by all that ſhould be imployed in Civil and Military Affairs: Nevertheleſs, to pleaſe the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, They had the Thanks of the *Houſe* for their Moderation in this time of diſorder in the City.

The General Commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

A *Petition* to the *Houſe* from the Sectarian Party of the City.

That Evening *Clarges* privately went to the General, and repreſented to him the ill Conſequences of his Proceedings in *London*; *And that the Influence that City had by Commerce, and other occaſions, all over* England, *would quickly diffuſe the Infamy of the Fact: And all the Cities and Towns would be Alarm'd, believing if that Great City ſhould be made a Village, all their Franchiſes and Priviledges would be quickly Subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a Free Parliament.* The General, though he demurred a little, upon this Counſel, yet he ſeemed very ſenſible of the Contempts they at *Weſtminſter* had put upon him in the whole Progreſs of this Affair, and was reſolved after a day or two's private Conſultation with ſome of his Officers, to do ſomething to regain the Eſteem he had loſt; for the performance of which, he ſaid, *He would take time but till* Tueſday *Morning.* This was the effect of their firſt Diſcourſe. But a while after, Dr. *Barrow* came to *Clarges*, earneſtly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, ſetting forth, *That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was moſt neceſſary to be ſpeedy in the retriving the good Opinion of the City, to manifeſt thereby the greater diſlike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the neceſſity of the time (againſt his own Inclination) preſſed him to.* Whilſt they were in this Diſcourſe, Two Officers of the Army, in whom the General then had much Truſt, came in to them, and they altogether went to him again, and, with the ſame Arguments reiterated, diſſwaded from delay; Adding, *That they had certain Intelligence, that the* Council of State *began to be Jealous of him, for that little Favour he ſhewed to the City in the execution of his Orders, and that he ought therefore in Prudence to provide for his own Safety.* *Barrow* was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could againſt the next Morning; And the General with *Clarges*, *Thompſon*, *Sanders*, and *Barton*, Which two laſt were adviſed with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admiſſion of the Secluded Members, Conſulted what to offer to the *Houſe* as a ground for their March into *London*: At laſt, waving all thought of making any excuſe for marching into the City, They conclude, That Orders ſhould be privately Iſſued for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greateſt Confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the General's Quarters, and for

Clarges Counſels the General to endeavour the ſpeedy recovery of the Cities good Opinion.

Dr. *Barrow* urges the danger of delay in this buſineſs.

The General upon advice with ſome of his Officers, concludes to return immediately

for

for the drawing of ſome men together before *White-Hall*, to be ready to March; And that a Letter ſhould be ſent to the *Houſe* in the Morning ſigned by the General and a Select number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongſt others,

The Subſtance of his Letter to the *Houſe*.

That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, *and ſeveral that Engaged with the late* Committee of Safety; *And that they had permitted* Ludlow, *and ſome others, to Sit in their* Houſe, *that had been by Sir* Charles Coot, *and ſoom of the* Iriſh *Officers, accuſed of* High-Treaſon; *And had Countenanced too much a late* Petition, *to exclude the moſt Sober and Conſcientious both Miniſters and others by Oaths, from all Imployment and Maintenance:* And in Concluſion, to Requeſt, *That by* Friday *next they ſhould Iſſue out Writs to fill up their* Houſe, *and when filled, ſhould riſe at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and a Free* Parliament.

The General, having agreed to theſe Heads, retired to his repoſe, whileſt the reſt penn'd the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the reſt of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers, who had been ſent for to meet at *White-Hall*, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced and read to them, (the General being preſent) and by all of them approved of; whereupon the General Signed it, and with him ſeveral Colonels (*viz.*) *Saunders*, *Read*, *Lydcott*, *Knight*, *Cloberry*, *Redman*, and *Hubblethorn*, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was *Ethelbert Morgan*, who Commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and Six Majors, *Johnſon*, *Barton*, *Smith*, *Banniſter*, *Pryme*, and *Nicholls*; *Cloberry* and *Lydcott* were ſent with the Letter to the *Houſe*, and *Clarges* at the ſame time was ſent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City; and to diſpoſe him and the City to give him a favourable reception.

The Letter being ſigned by the General and ſeveral Officers, is ſent by *Cloberry* and *Lydcott*.

The General having ſent *Clarges* before to the Lord Mayor marches to *Finsbury*.

Theſe things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to *Finsbury*, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he ſhould hear from *Clarges* how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reſerved, and averſe to the General's coming, as terrified with his Actions the day before, had applyed himſelf to Alderman *Robinſon*, and ſome others that he durſt truſt, and acquainted them privately, that the General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not inſtance in the Particulars of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at *Weſtminſter* ſhould receive the *Letter*; Nevertheleſs, *Robinſon* ſends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidents, and with theſe they go to the Lord Mayor to mollifie him, but without any effect for the preſent: Nevertheleſs, *Clarges* told him, the General was reſolved, though he Quartered not in the City, at leaſt to be his Gueſt at Dinner: And accordingly he ſent to the General, to deſire him to march with all his men to *Leaden-Hall-ſtreet*, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While Matters were thus carried on in the City, the Houſe was in great Diſorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized ſo far, as to ſhew no publick Diſtaſte at it, but Ordered,

Clarges finding my Lord Mayor diſtruſtful, applies himſelf to Alderman *Robinſon*.

That the Thanks of the Houſe ſhould be given to the General for his Faithful Service in ſecuring of the City; and that, as to filling up the Houſe, the Parliament *were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the ſame ſhould be diſpatched in due time; and that Mr.* Scot, *and Mr.* Robinſon *ſhould attend him with their* Votes, *in Anſwer to his* Letter.

The Houſe diſſemble their reſentment of the General's Letter, and give him good words

As ſoon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, *He was very welcome to his houſe, but that the City was full of Fears and ſad Apprehenſions of his ſudden Return, after ſuch violent Actions as the Day before his Souldiers had been employed in.* The General told him, *He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours.* Yet was he inwardly ſomewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Coldneſs he found might give to his Deſigns; inſomuch, that he called *Clarges* aſide, and check'd him, as one who had over-haſtily preſſed him on, upon ſo little time of Conſideration, to ſo great an Enterprize. To which, he anſwered, *That he was now too far advanced to go back; and that the beſt Advice he could give him, was, to deſire the Lord Mayor preſently to appoint the* Aldermen *and* Common-Council *to meet him at four a Clock at* Guild-Hall, *and there to acquaint them with his real Intentions, to comply with the Deſires of the whole Kingdom.*

The General troubled at the Lord Mayor's Diffidence of him.

This Motion pleaſing, and the ſaid Requeſt being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately ſent out: but in the mean time, *Scot* and *Robinſon* came to him from them at *Weſtminſter*, with the before-mentioned Anſwer to the Letter.

Requeſts the calling of a Common-Council.

Scot and *Robinſon* ſent from the Houſe to the General, with their Anſwer to his Letter.

Scot made Proteſtations of the *Parliaments* Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of ſtaying in the City: But Colonel *Bridges*, an Officer of *Ireland*, that ſtood by, told them, *The General had no reaſon to credit their fair Speeches, ſince their Words and their Practices agreed not together, as was manifeſt in their Contempt of thoſe his Friends in* Ireland, *who for his ſake hazarded themſelves in their Service; And now when he came from the* Iriſh *Army to impeach* Ludlow *and* Jones *of High-Treaſon, he could have no Juſtice, but was put off from Day to Day, when* Praiſe-God Barebone *could be heard and admitted with a* Seditious Petition *the firſt moment he came to the Door of the Houſe.* And *Cloberry* told them, *The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew Jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them with ſuch as had been their Enemies, which made it high-time for them to conſult for their own ſafeties.*

Bridges and *Cloberry* ſharply upbraids them.

The General cloſed all with Moderation, telling them, *All would be well, if they ſtrictly obſerved the Advice of the Letter, and iſſued out Writs on* Friday *next for filling up their Houſe.*

With

An Act for constituting five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow-Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among Five Commissioners; namely, General *Monk*, Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, the Colonels, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Alured*, and made the *Quorum* of them to be Three.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress: at last, for an Expedient, it was moved, That General *Monk* should always be one of the Three for *Quorum*: But upon putting the Question, 'twas carried in the *Negative*. When word was brought him of this their Ingratitude to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at *Guild-Hall* about Five of the Clock, the General told them.

The General excuseth his late Proceeding in the City, before the Common-Council.

That the Imployment whereon he was sent, at his last being in the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if any thing less than quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Imployment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often desired to lay it down; but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as He, to the Settlement of these Nations; That what he had now to tell them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, *to issue out Writs within seven days, for the filling up of their House; and when filled, to sit no longer than till the Sixth of* May, *to give then Place to a full and a Free Parliament.*

The City joyfully receives the News of a Free Parliament.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bone-fires, and Ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a house in *Cheapside*, to give order for the Quartering of his Souldiers, and went himself to Lodge at the *Glass-house* in *Broad-street*, till *Drapers Hall* could be accommodated for his Reception.

The *Monday* after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, *To desire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.*

To which he the next Day returned Answer,

The General's Answer to the Council of State, inviting him to come and sit with them.

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a bar to him, and many others, from acting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there: And withal, he informed them, *That the Distractions of the City were increased by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of* Phanaticks, *and Persons Disaffected to the* Parliament, *who had* 7000 *lately out of the Stores delivered to them, and were providing more: Wherefore he desired them immediately to recall these Arms; and withal, to excuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the minds of the Citizens were composed.*

The City, and chief Officers of his Army, dissuade him from hearkning to the Parliaments Invitations, to return back to *White-hall.*

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Chief of the Officers (hearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to *White-Hall*) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, That many private Letters were sent from *Haslerig*, and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiery from him, and that certain men were imployed to several Regiments to debauch them: This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel *Alured* came from the Council of State, to perswade him against staying in the City; he acquainted him with what he heard. *Alured* laboured to infuse a Belief in him, of his having been mis-informed in those things. It was answered by the General, *That he put no greater stress on those Reports, than to be vigilant over the Actions and Motions of the several Parties, deferring the belief of them, till time should evince the truth.* But he assured him, *He was advertized from Persons of good Fame, That notwithstanding that* Lambert *was proscribed, and* Vane *put out of this* Parliament, *and ordered to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was connived at, and Sir* Arthur Haslerig, *and several others, corresponded with them both.*

Col. *Alured* solicites his return in vain.

Sir *Arthur Haslerig* writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the admission of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Temper for it; but to prepare them, he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method he so far proceeded, as on the 18th of *February*, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members, were, *St. John*, *Haslerig*, *Morley*, *Thompson*, *Ashley-Cooper*, *Weaver*, *White*, *Feilder*, *Hutchinson*, and *Rawleigh*; *Scot* and *Reynolds* also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of timely Notice they came not. The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Evelyn*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Annesly*, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Trevor*, Colonel *Harley*, Colonel *Norton*, Sir *John Temple*, and Colonel *Birch*. They discoursed of many things, in order to a mutual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their Consent, which could not be known but by Vote: Yet severally all of them who were then present seem'd well satisfied with that Moderation and Temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General is importuned from all Parts to admit the Secluded Members.

He admits of a Conference before him, of the Sitting Members, with some of the Secluded.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done

by Common Consent, he Resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them sit, on condition they would promise to Declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Possession of their Lands, disposed of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, Mr. *Clarges*, Colonel *Cloberry*, and Doctor *Gumble*, were appointed to Treat with some of them, who, when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter;

The Officers of the Army consent to the admission of the Secluded, upon certain Conditions.

Mr. *Clarges*, and others, appointed to Treat with some of the Secluded concerning the said Conditions.

The Secluded Members Declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to Act further than in preparation for a Parliament *to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Summons, but by Writs, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of* England, *by Authority of* Parliament, *they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next* Parliament, *to pass an Act for their Confirmation, and for the time of their Sitting, They were contented it should determine in a Months time.* Cloberry *urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their Publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the Price of their Blood; and though their not disturbing such Possessions in* England, *might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of* Ireland *was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Souldiers.* To this it was Replied, *That they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all Jealousie of their Actions, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should Consult, during the short time of their Continuance.*

When the *Conference* ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the *Secluded Members*, except the not Confirmation of Publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of *Parliament*: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, *Clarges* told the Officers, they could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, *thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests*; he said the greatest part of his own Estate was in *Ireland*, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publick Estates was in that Kingdom: yet he would for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publick Peace. And as to that of Publick Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be, but by an Act.

The Consultations upon what the Members had delivered of their Intentions.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied; upon which, all the rest assented. And it was agreed, That the *Secluded Members*, that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the Four Heads following.

The General and the Officers agree, upon admitting the Secluded Members.

1. *To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.*

2. *For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.*

3. *To the appointing a* Council of State *to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in* Scotland *and* Ireland, *and to take care for the Issuing of Writs for the Summoning of a* Parliament *to meet at* Westminster *the* 20th *of* April.

4. *To their own Legal Dissolution.*

The Chief Heads recommended to their Consultations.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on *Tuesday* following in the Morning, the General gave them a meeting at *White-Hall*; Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with assurance, *That he would impose nothing on them*, they went to take their Places in the *Parliament*; being Conducted thither by Captain *Miller* who Commanded the Guards.

The General meets them at *White-Hall*, in order to their Admission into the House.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about *London*, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a *Committee* to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfie them, *That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free State and Common-wealth*: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as Affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and so many Clerks were imployed, that Copies of it were that Night Signed and dispersed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. It was penn'd in these Words:

Dear Brethren and Fellow Souldiers,

The Generals Letter to all the Regiments, to acquaint them with what he had done.

YOu cannot be Ignorant of the many Endeavours and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations to bring Us to a Settlement; which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave Us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Bloud and Confusion: Which that we might prevent so great Calamities impending,

after

after our earneſt ſeeking God for his Direction and Aſſiſtance, We find no Expedient ſo likely for the ſatisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Common-wealth, *as the re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legal Diſſolution of this* Parliament *by their own free Conſent; and to Iſſue Writs for a future full* Repreſentative *of the whole* Common-wealth of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *under ſuch Qualifications as may ſecure our Cauſe, to Convene on the Twentieth day of* April *next at* Weſtminſter, *for the eſtabliſhing of this* Common-wealth *upon the Foundations of Juſtice and true Freedom. And to take away all juſt Jealouſies from you, We do aſſure you, That we ſhall joyn with you in the maintenance of thoſe Ends, and do expect your Chearful Concurrence with Us; having no intentions or purpoſes to return to our old Bondage; But ſince the Providence of God hath made Us free at the coſt of ſo much Bloud, we hope we ſhall never be found ſo unfaithful to God and his People, as to loſe ſo glorious a Cauſe; but We do reſolve with the Aſſiſtance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchaſed Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reaſon of Our proceeding in this manner may ſeem ſtrange, but if you duly conſider the neceſſities of our Affairs, and the preſent ſtate of things, you will certainly conclude nothing ſo ſafe to ſecure Publick Intereſt, and to engage the Nations peaceably to ſubmit to a* Free State; *moſt of the ſaid Members having given us full aſſurance, that their Seſſion in Parliament ſhall be no longer than abſolute neceſſity will require, to the putting the Government into Succeſſive* Parliaments, *they not being free ſo to Act by the old Writs, as when they ſhall be called upon a* Common-wealth *accompt: And it is the Opinion of the trueſt Friends to a* Free State, *That it cannot be conſiſtent with the perpetual Sitting of theſe Members, being contrary to the nature of ſuch a Government.*

And as We are confident the preſent Parliament *now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this preſent* Parliament, *for Sales, or publick Diſpoſitions of Lands; ſo We ſhall in our Station obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all other* Acts *and* Ordinances *of this* Parliament *whatſoever, and humbly interpoſe with the next Succeeding* Parliament, *not only to paſs a further* ACT *of Confirmation of all ſuch Sales and Diſpoſitions of Lands, here and in* Scotland, *but alſo of the Diſtributions and Diſpoſitions of Lands and Houſes in* Ireland *to the Souldiery, Adventurers, or any other Perſons, made by or in purſuance of any of the* Acts, Ordinances, *or* Orders *of this preſent* Parliament, *or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And We intreat you to ſend up an Officer to give to the Lord General* Monk *an accompt of your Acquieſcence with Us herein.*

And if any diſaffected perſons ſhall take occaſion to make diſturbance of the Peace of the Common-wealth, *either in favour of* Charles Stuart, *or any other pretended Authority, We deſire you to ſecure them till the pleaſure of the* Parliament *or* Council of State *be known in that behalf. You ſhall ſpeedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the leaſt Motive to induce Us to this way of Compoſure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raiſing of Moneys for the Subſiſtence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwiſe have been done (if at all) but with effuſion of Bloud. We have nothing more at this time, but to aſſure you that We ſhall ever remain,*

White-Hall, Feb 21. 1659. Dear Brethren & Fellow-Souldiers,

Your very affectionate Friends,

GEORGE MONK,

R. Knight,
John Cloberry,
Tho. Read,
John Hubblethorne,
Leonard Lydcott,
Tho. Saunders,
William Eyre,
John Streater,
Richard Moſs,
William Farley,
Arthur Evelin,
} Colonels,

John Butler, Quarter-Maſter-General.

Ethelbert Morgan.
James Mutlow,
James Emmerſon,
Joſeph Witter,
Dennis Pepper,
} Lieut. Col.

James Dennis,
Richard Wagſtaffe,
Thomas Johnſon,
Francis Nicholls,
Jer. Smith,
Nathaniel Barton,
Thomas Higgs,
John Clarke,
} Majors.

William Goodwin,
Henry Ogle,
} Captains.

These Transactions were managed with so much Secresie, that the Members that were sitting in the *House* knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surprized, were at first at a demur among themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the *House*; till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a *Commonwealth*, well knowing that it would not be in their power by staying, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the *House*, resolved, since they could not hinder them the partial possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined staid behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to vindicate the honour of their *House*, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all *Votes* whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein: Next, they Order Mr. *Vincent* and Mr. *Bromfield*, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the *Council of States* Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir *George Booth*'s Rising, or for making *Addresses* for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover, they Constituted General *Monk* by *ACT* of *Parliament*, Captain General of all the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and repealed that *ACT* which made him only a Joynt-Commissioner with Colonel *Morley*, *Haslerig*, *Walton*, and *Allured*, for government of the Army.

Upon the Admission of the Secluded Members, divers of the rest quit the *House*.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. *William Morrice*, whom Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, the General's Brother, knowing him to be a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince's Service, and the good of his Country, writ to *Clarges* to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be assistant to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily perswaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was somewhat allied to him. *Clarges* acquainted Mr. *Nicholas Monk* with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the General to Mr. *Morrice*, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the *Parliament*: Where he arrived whilest they were Sitting, and took his place in the *House*; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in Promoting and carrying on of the General's Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The *Parliament* repealed the *ACT* for the former *Council of State*, and the Oath of *Abjuration*; and passed an *ACT* for another *Council* to consist of One and thirty Persons: Which were:

A new *Council* of *State* chosen.

General *George Monk*,
William Pierpoint,
John Crew, Esquire,
Colonel *Rossiter*,
Richard Knightly, Esquire,
Colonel *Popham*,
Colonel *Morley*,
Lord *Fairfax*,
Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*,
Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*,
Lord Chief Justice *St. John*,
Sir *John Temple*,
Lord Commissioner *Widdrington*,
Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*,
Sir *William Waller*,
Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Sir *William Lewis*,
Colonel *Edward Mountague*,
Colonel *Edward Harley*,
Colonel *Richard Norton*,
Arthur Ansley, Esquire,
Denzell Holles, Esquire,
Colonel *George Thompson*,
John Trevor, Esquire,
Sir *John Holland*,
Sir *John Potts*,
Colonel *John Birch*,
Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*,
John Swinfin, Esquire,
John Weaver, Esquire,
Serjeant *Maynard*.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel *Rich* was about St. *Edmonds-Bury*, and, having actually debauch'd Two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life-Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel *Ingoldsby* to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under *Lambert*, and had not been mustered since the Restauration of the *Parliament*, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the General thought fit at this time to modell that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain *Philip Howard*, making Mr. *Robert Harley* his Lieutenant, and his Kinsman Mr. *Henry Monk*, Cornet; who were so Active, that in Six hours time they displaced all of whom they had any suspition, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant men; who immediately marched towards *Suffolk*, to execute the General's Orders upon Colonel *Rich*; but he having notice of the marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and the

The Life-guard modell'd, and conferred upon Captain *Philip Howard*.

Rich his Regiment submit to the General's Orders.

the Regiment quietly received Col. *Ingoldsby* to Command them, who by the General's appointment put out all such Officers as were of froward and seditious Principles in Religion or Government.

The General takes care for the settling of *North-Wales.*

And to reduce *North-Wales* to a more settled Condition, than it was in at that present, the General gave Colonel *Carter* a Commission to be Governour of *Beaumorris* Castle, (the Souldiers whereof had been placed there by Colonel *John Jones*) with authority to raise Forces to reduce *Denbigh* and *Conway*, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in quiet: which he did in a very short time, to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and People in those Parts.

The late *Common-wealth-Parliament* before the admission of the Secluded Members, had given *Desborow*'s Regiment to Colonel *Walton*; but the General disposed of it to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he also made Governour of *Carliste.*

The Parliament levy a new Tax, and proceed to the settlement of the *Militia.*

The *Parliament* passed an *Act of Assessment* for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Month for Six Months, and proceeded with much haste to settle the *Militia* both in the City and all other Parts of *England* and *Wales*, having vacated the former *ACT* made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over *England*, were of Persons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in *London*, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; The *Parliament* by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's Licence, should return forthwith to their last Quarters formerly Assigned, or to such others as should be Assigned them by directions from the Lord General.

They Command all Officers and Souldiers to repair to their several Commands and Quarters.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the *Parliament*, Colonel *Overton* was designing to make Disturbances in *Yorkeshire*; He drew up a Letter to Colonel *Fairfax*, Colonel *Bethell*, and Colonel *Smithson*, which he caused to be Subscribed by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

A Letter of Col. *Overton* and the Officers with him, to one of General *Monk*'s Officers.

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart *doth seem so to shine in the face of Publick Transactions, that many Jealousies and Dissatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithful to the true* Cause *they had contended for, insomuch, that (as it was represented to them) several Regiments had declared their disconcurrence with these present Distractions, and their Resolutions in adhering to the* Cause *God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests, they could not but judge it incumbent upon them to wake in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Instruments Commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expeaite that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their sense, as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publick Cause, so they might (if occasion required) be as conjunctively abetting and assisting to the defence of it; which through the Assistance of God they were resolved to assert and maintain (as the fruits of their Bloud, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God against any design whatsoever which threatned the ruine of their Civil and Religious Rights.*

Many Copies of this Letter were dispersed amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, *This is* Overton's *and the Officers of the Garrison of* Hulls *Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Concurrence of all our honest Fellow-Souldiers who have been engaged in the* Good Old Cause *against the Interest of a* King *and* Single Person.

If Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithson*, and *Bethell* had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers; but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to *Overton* by Colonel *Allured* and Major *Smith*, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the *Council of State* upon his Motion did the like. Major *Smith* was well known and beloved in *Hull*, and, the General having a Design to Remove *Overton*, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel *Fairfax*, (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governour of *Hull*) to draw some Companies to *Beverley*, and Writ to *Overton* to repair immediately to him, his Letter was sent to Colonel *Fairfax* open,

The General sends Col. *Fairfax* to take possession of *Hull.*

open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words:

SIR,

The General's Letter to Colonel *Overton.*

I Have seen a Letter from you and some others at Hull, *dated from that Garrison on the* 28th *of* February *last, and directed to Colonel* Fairfax, *Colonel* Bethell, *and Colonel* Smithson; *wherein you Complain of the present Transactions of the Publick Affairs, as if they tended to the bringing in of the King and a Monarchical Bondage, which (you write) seems very likely to break in anew upon us, and threatens the ruine of our Civil and Religious Rights: All which, you say, is derived to you from private hands, which do not only insinuate their private Jealousies, but inform you that several Regiments have declared their disconcurrence with the present Transactions. I must confess, I am a little Surprized at this your Letter and manner of Proceedings, having so lately sent to you from my Self and the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a full Accompt of the Necessities that induced us, to consent to the return of the Secluded Members to the exercise of their Trust; and our Resolutions to that Cause we have so long contended for, and to the* Parliament *in the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding the Information you pretend to have received) I cannot in my own observation discern any Grounds for such Apprehensions of Affairs here as you seem to entertain: nor has there appeared a discontent in any one Regiment of the Army, except part of Colonel* Rich's *Regiment, which is since reduced: wherefore (although you pretend not to be too precipitate in your proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your Letter before you sent it, may reasonably make me judge otherwise: And if you prosecute the matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as tending to divide the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from the* Parliament, *and consequently to involve the Nations in a new and bloudy War. So that to avoid all occasions of this nature, I desire that within twenty four hours after this Letter comes to your hands, you set forward from* Hull *towards* London, *to give me an accompt of the present posture of that Garrison; And that within Six hours after this comes to you, you signifie to Colonel* Fairfax, *and Colonel* Bethell, *your Compliance herein, and the Day wherein you intend to begin your Journey, and be with me here, where I shall expect you within a Week after your departure from* Hull. *I have written to Colonel* Fairfax *more particularly concerning the Peace and Safety of the* Northern *Parts, and of the Garrison of* Hull; *and if he Communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them,*

Yours,

George Monk.

Colonel *Overton* was surprized at the receipt of this Letter, but finding himself in no Capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of *Hull*, he submitted to it; And sent to Colonel *Fairfax* to acquaint him with that his Resolution; And himself at Eleven of the Clock, the same Night, began his Journey towards *London* to the General.

The Colonel submits to the General's Orders.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. *Clarges* to be Commissary General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and to Mr. *Morrice* to be Governour of *Plymouth*; and to Major General *Morgan* to be Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient authority, till he had this Commission sent to him; and all the Army there submitted there to the General's Actions in reference to the *Secluded Members*, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of *Orkney* Commanded by one *Watson*, which was reduced by Captain *Man*, and *Watson* and his Officers imprisoned, and his Company disbanded.

The Army in *Scotland* well satisfied with the General's Actions.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that sate in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sit; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Sitting of the *Secluded Members*, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of he sent Commissary General *Clarges* to Confer with him.

A Conference between Commissary *Clarges* and a Peer of the Land, about the Sitting of the *Lords House.*

The Earl told him, *The Sitting of the Lords would be very advantageous to the good of the Kingdom, and to the Souldiers in particular; for that they would Joyn in an ACT for the Confirmation of their Estates: And if it should be thought convenient for the good of the Kingdom to receive the* King, *he could not upon any Conditions with so much safety be restored, as such as should be made by* Act of Parliament.

To

To this *Clarges* Replied, *That the General was very well ſatisfied, that the* Parliament *was Diſſolved by the Death of the late King; and that the preſent Sitting of the Members, was a Conſtitution rather taken up upon Neceſſity, than Right, which was but to make way for another* Parliament; *That one great Argument for the Admiſsion of the* Secluded Members, *was their Conſent to a quick Diſſolution; which could not be, if the* Lords *ſhould Sit: For they would then think themſelves inveſted in that perpetuity which ſome fancy is of right in this* Parliament *ſtill.* But that which was moſt convincing, was, *That the Army was not yet in temper for it.*

Every Poſt brought the General *Addreſſes* from all the Regiments in *England*, of their Conſent to his Actings: And Sir *Charles Coot* in *Ireland* had with many other Officers upon the ſame day that the *Secluded Members* were admitted, declared at *Dublin* for them, and had ſecured Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, that had diſſented from him.

An Act propoſed for the ſettling of *Hampton-Court* upon the General.

Thoſe of the former Members who ſtaid in the *Houſe* after the admiſſion of the *Secluded Members*, that they might ingage the General againſt the King, promoted an *ACT* for the ſettling of *Hampton-Court*, with all the Parks and ſome other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which ſo troubled him, that he uſed all the Friends he had to divert it; and at laſt an Expedient was found out, by giving him, by *Act of Parliament*, a Preſent of Twenty Thouſand Pounds in Money, and the Cuſtody or Stewardſhip of that Houſe, and the Parks for his life; They alſo Conferred upon Commiſſary *Clarges* the Hamper-Office: And about the 13th of *March* they Ordered, That the *Engagement*, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament, in theſe words, (*viz.*) *I do declare and promiſe, That I will be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of* England, *as the ſame is now eſtabliſhed without King or Houſe of Lords*, ſhould be taken off the File and made null.

The *Engagement* abrogated.

Scot, *Haſlerig*, and ſome others, (whoſe names we ſhall forbear to mention, becauſe they are yet living, and have repented of the raſhneſs of their former Proceedings) were much Alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognoſtick of introducing the King; and though they ſo much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they choſe rather to have the General take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himſelf than to have the King reſtored: They conſulted privately with ſome of the Officers of the Army, whom they truſted moſt, and theſe approved ſo well of the Expedient, That the General was Treated with about it in *White-Hall*; Where *Haſlerig* told him, *That many of his Friends were much troubled at the* Parliaments *Actions, which tended both to the ruine of him and all the good People of the Nation, ſince it was evident that by what they had* Voted *the day before, nothing was intended but the reſtitution of the King. His overthrow*, they ſaid, *muſt needs ſucceed the admiſſion of the King; for a Merit too great to be Rewarded, could have no recompenſe but death; whereof frequent Examples are to be found in all Hiſtory, and in none more pregnant than our own, where it is Recorded, That the ſame* Stanley *who placed the Crown upon* Henry *the Seventh's Head, had his own Head ſtruck off, upon a very frivolous pretenſe, when the reaſon was only exceſs of Merit.* They told him likewiſe, *They found a* Common-wealth-Government *not agreeable with the diſpoſition of the People, who are always bad Judges of what is beſt for themſelves, and therefore ſince a* Single Perſon *was neceſſary, there could not be one fitter than he for that Office. To which they had very good grounds to believe all the good People of the Nation would concur with them.*

The *Common-wealth* Faction deſire the General rather to take the Government upon himſelf, than to bring in the King.

They Treat with him about it.

The General told them, *He himſelf was not well pleaſed at the late unneceſſary* Vote *of* Parliament *concerning the* Engagement; *but many of the moſt diſcreet Members had been with him, and ſatisfied him, That they had no deſign in it, but to keep themſelves free againſt the next* Parliament; *for in regard* (*they ſaid*) *that he had conſented that the final determination of Government ſhould be referred to that, they were unwilling to anticipate their Counſels by determining of it by that* Engagement; *which would be too great a Snare unto them*: Still urging, *That they knew not any cauſe he ſhould have of fear, for that the very Writ of Summons of the next* Parliament, *did ſufficiently defend the Government, in reſtraining their Debates to it. As for the Government in his own Perſon*, he ſaid, *The experience of* Cromwell's *Fate gave him Reaſons to avoid the Rock on which that Family was ſplit.*

They Replied, *That* Oliver Cromwel *uſurped the Dominion againſt the Suffrage of the Army, and the Conſent of all the good People; whereas he ſhould have it by their unanimous conſent, and under what Name and Title he pleaſed to accept it.*

The General refuſeth their Offer.

The General would by no means hear more of theſe Temptations, reſolving not to loſe the Honour derived to him from as Ancient a Stock of Gentry as any was in *England*, by ſo treacherous a Proſtitution of it.

A little before theſe Men went to the General, Commiſſary *Clarges* had been tampered with by them, to the ſame purpoſe; and obſerving them to go from him to his Lordſhip, he deliberated how to extricate him from further applications of this kind, and puniſh the Inſolency of theſe undertakers.

Commiſſary *Clarges* gives intimation of theſe proceedings to the *Council of State.*

The *Council of State* Sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was Tranſacted; he ſent in to the Council to Sir *Anthony Aſhley-Cooper*, and informed him of what he knew, and what he further ſuſpected: Upon which it was agreed, That as ſoon as the General ſhould depart from them, and come into the Council, he ſhould move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Counſellours, ſhould withdraw, and the Doors be lock'd, and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Deſign in ſome ſeditious perſons who

who were contriving to make Disturbances in the Nation, and that they had proceeded so far as to make some indecent Overtures to him, of which he desired that the Council might receive a full discovery, that thereupon they might apply themselves to prevent the Consequences of it.

The General in favour of those Persons mitigates the matter.

But the General being unwilling to expose those men to ruine, (though they deserved not his favour) because his Purposes were designed to be effected by the most peaceable ways, told the *Council*, *That there was not so much danger in agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, some had been with him to be resolved in scruples concerning the present Transactions in* Parliament, *but they went away from him well satisfied.*

Thus the goodness of the General was abused; for these unreasonable men, when they saw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first, they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by some of them to the General, to oblige him with his Army to declare for a *Common-wealth*, and engage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a *Single Person*; And that he should send to the *Parliament* to joyn with them in this Declaration.

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to Sign.

Commissary *Clarges* and Mr. *Clark*, the General's Secretary, were with him when this was brought to him, and observing great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any opinion of it till the next Morning, because then the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to joyn with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. *Morrice* an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Consultations at such times as these: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers; and one of so good Judgment and Elocution as he, could not but perswade much: So that he had been the fittest Person that could have been thought on, had not his being unused to such Assemblies made him not care to be present at them.

Okey's Speech at the Council of Officers.

The next Morning a great Concourse of Officers met at St. *James's*; And Colonel *Okey* opened the Council, with a long Speech, of the *fears they were in of an Inundation of Evils breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and that if great Care was not used to prevent it,* Charles Stuart *would be introduced: And that the best Expedient that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the* Parliament, *to oblige them to declare and engage for a* Free-State *and* Common-wealth, *without a* King *or* House of Lords: *And if they refused to do it, to take such a Remedy as God should put into their hearts to save the Nation from destruction.*

Commissary *Clarges* his Answer.

Commissary *Clarges* Answered, *That he saw no Cause for those fears that were insinuated; and that if they sent to the* Parliament *in such a manner, they would find no pleasing return from them; for if these Men would have been terrified by the Army, there would not have been fourteen of them Impeached at one time of Treason, and Two hundred Secluded at another; and the first thing they would probably do, upon the receipt of such a Message, would be to Dissolve themselves, and then there would be no Government; but instead of the* Single Person *they were so much afraid of, they must necessarily have recourse to* Richard Cromwel, *and expose themselves to his Revenge, for the Indignities they had lately with so much scorn put upon him and his Family.*

And as for the General (applying himself to him) *he said, He knew he would not assume the Government, having heard him profess, (on occasion of these Alterations) he would rather be drawn in pieces with wild horses than be so treacherous to the Nation.*

The General's determination of the matter.

The General concluded, and told them, *The time of this* Parliaments *ending was so near, they could not do the ills some of them (he hoped) causelessly feared; And that from the next* Parliament *he doubted not they would receive better satisfaction than they had in this, since it was provided in the ACT for their Assembling, That none should be Elected that had been against the* Parliament *since* 1641. Withal, he confirmed what Commissary *Clarges* had said, *That if by this violent proceeding they should make the* Parliament *hastily Dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation in Confusion, they must not expect he would take upon him the Government, which he had rather lose his life than accept.*

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; Only one said, *That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new* Parliament; *for they themselves being to be Judges of them, it might so happen, that the major part might be of such as were not themselves Qualified.*

The General knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this reason he pressed for a new *Parliament* on any terms) but was unwilling to hear more discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, *Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councills to interpose in Civil things.* And from that time he forbad them to assemble again; and within a few days after, that is to say, On the Seventeenth of *March*, the *Parliament* by Act dissolved it self, having before summoned a *Parliament* to succeed them the 25th day of *April* following.

Monsieur

1659.

The Conference between *Monsieur de Bordeaux*, and Commissary *Clarges*.

Monsieur de Bordeaux the French Embassador then Resident in *London*, was very desirous to interesse Cardinal *Mazarini*, in this great Revolution of Government, and having had acquaintance with *Clarges*, expected by him to discover all the Generalls Designs; and in order thereunto, sent his Secretary to him, *To desire him to move the Generall, to have Licence to give him a visit, and to confer about some overtures he had to make to him.*

Clarges, upon this intimation, went to the Embassador, who carried him into his Closet, and they two being alone, he told him; 'That it was 'visible to all, that the General had some great 'Design in projection, and that most wise men be-'liev'd it was, either to advance himself to the 'Monarchy of these Nations, or introduce the 'King; and that in either of these, he had the ad-'vantage of being more serviceable to him then 'any other; for if he should use any *Englishman* 'in so important an Intrique, if he should not 'have succes that would be brought in evidence 'against him to his distruction: Whereas if he as 'a stranger, and a publique Minister could not 'be questioned. He further said, 'What he pro-'pos'd, was not only in reference to himself, but 'to Cardinal *Mazarini*, who would be glad to 'have the honour of his friendship, assist him 'faithfully in all his purposes. He said moreover, 'That he could not undertake to determine, 'Whether it was not best for him to dignifie his 'Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or 'to restore the King to them; They were both 'actions of much glory; and if the latter were 'as easie, the honour of it would be as great: 'But that he might be confident of the Cardinal, 'he did assure him, that *Oliver Cromwell* kept so 'strict a League with him, that he did not assume 'the government without his privity, and was di-'rected step by step by him in the progress of 'that action: And therefore, if he resolved on 'that course, he should not only have the Car-'dinals friendship and Counsel in the attempt, 'but a safe retreat and honourable support in '*France*, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit 'the King, and put the manner of it into the Car-'dinals hands, whatever he would desire for him-'self of Security, or honour from the Crown, 'he would undertake to obtain, and in such a 'manner, that it should rather seem by the Car-'dinals advice, then his particular Inclination; 'and the King would gladly receive it, and *France* 'should be the place to which (if he agreed) 'the King should presently retreat; where he 'should have a Train provided proportionable to 'his greatness, that his People here might, with 'greater Reverence, apply themselves to him; 'and by this way (he said) the General might not 'only obliege the King of *England*, but the 'King his Master also, by making him a Media-'tor and Instrument in his Restauration.

To this *Clarges* answered, 'That the matter 'was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in re-'gard (as he himself had acknowledged) of the 'danger of having such a secret known to any se-'cond Person a Native of *England*.

'But nevertheless, to satisfie him, he assured 'him, That the General did not intend to take 'upon him the government, but submit all to the 'determination of the next Parliament.

He then replyed, 'That a Parliament in *En-'gland* was a kind of tumultuary Council, so va-'rious in their Debates, that no certain measure 'could be taken from them, and therefore for 'not taking this course which he advis'd, he 'might be hurried by their froward proceedings, 'to some sudden Enterprise, neither safe for 'himself, nor good for the people, and that 'with him, in any misfortune, all his Relations 'would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, *Clarges* put an end, by telling him, 'He would take a suddain occasion 'to sound the Generals Inclinations; and though 'he would not directly tell him what had pass'd 'betwixt them, he should nevertheless gues, 'whether it might be fit for him to impart it to 'him; the only difficulty that remain'd, was 'the Generals want of the *French* Tongue; Which the Ambassador said, 'Was not neces-'sary, for that he had *English* enough to be un-'derstood, and to understand all that should be said 'to him; and thus they parted.

Clarges told all that pass'd to Mr. *Morrice*, and to the General himself, who absolutely re-fus'd to have any Commerce with the Ambassa-dor or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might not appear uncivil, he was contended to receive his Visit, but on Condition, *That he should not propose any thing to him in reference to the publick affairs of Government.* The General refuseth to treat with the Embassador, or the Cardinal.

This was signified to the Ambassador, and he came that Evening to complement the Gene-ral, making great professions of his Services to him, on all occasions, without descending to particulars.

Much more successfull was the Application made by Sir *John Greenvill*, who being an active Agent for the King, and a neer Kinsman to the General, was therefore by his Majesty thought a fit person to be imployed to him; but he know-ing the wary temper of the General, was much troubled how to get acces to him; till bethink-ing himself of Mr. *Morrice*, his Neighbour in the Countrey, a person often conversant with the General, he concluded by his mediation to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the Ge-neral know, he had something of great Impor-tance to impart to him, and desired he would give him the opportunity to do it. The manner of Sir *John Greenvill's* ap-plication to the General.

When Mr. *Morrice* inform'd the General of this, he receiv'd it with much strangeness; for although Sir *John* was his near Relation; yet by reason of his youth, and the Generals long ab-sence from his Countrey, they had little acquain-tance with each other, and therefore he told Mr. *Morrice*, *Except he would send him informa-tion by him, of the nature of his business, he could not admit of any intercourse with him.*

Mr. *Morrice* told him, *He had already desired to know that, but* Greenville *refused it.* The Ge-neral in his mind, liked well of this reservedness in Sir *John*, and bid Mr. *Morrice* acquaint him, *That if he came the next day at nine in the evening to* St. James's, *he would speak with him.* And ac-cordingly *Greenville* came to him, at the ap-pointed time, which was the next evening, after the dissolution of the Parliament.

When he came, after he had requested Par-don for the importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a Message he had to him His reception.

1659. from his Majesty. The Generall seem'd surpriz'd at this saying, but seeing that there was no body in the Room but Mr. *Morrice*, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He delivers his Message.

He then presented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, 'That his Majesty had great 'Confidence in his affections to him, and since he 'had complyed so far with the desires of all the 'sober part of the Kingdom, for the admission of 'the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parlia-'ment; The consequences of that could not but 'give sufficient evidence of his Inclinations to his 'Majesties Service and Restitution, which would 'naturally flowe from his Endeavours, in Con-'junction with their Councels.

The Generals Answer.

The General replyed, 'That he had long la-'mented the miserable distractions of his Native 'Countrey, and waited a fit occasion to contri-'bute his assistance to the Redemption of it. And 'when *Lambert* and those with him had inter-'rupted the *Parliament*; Considering that the 'Army had been newly in a great measure by 'that *Parliament* modell'd; he supposed by a De-'claration for their Restitution he might gain a 'Power in his hands for better purposes, and, as 'the better to bring these his purposes about, he 'resolv'd if by his Arms the *Parliament* should be 'restored, together, with those few Members 'which sate at their interruption, to admit those 'also who had been secluded; intending to that end, 'by degrees, to put his Army into such hands as 'would favour his intentions; that it was well 'known to all, How he was disappointed in that 'design, and through what difficulties he arrived 'to the Station he was then in, nor was he even 'at that time secure from great danger of disap-'pointment, if he should not mannage his af-'fairs with more then ordinary secresie.

'As to the Kings Majesty (he said) None 'wish'd him greater felicity than he, nor desired 'his Restauration with more passion; but if it 'were not cautiously attempted, it would be out 'of his Power to serve him in it, since in Coun-'cels of so nice concernment, there would not be 'room for two Errors. The People he told him, 'had been long seduc'd by seditious insinuations, 'and the Army in the hands of such, as had al-'wayes been against his Royal Father, and many 'of them even against Monarchy it self; but ne-'vertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same 'security under his Majesties Government, as 'they had under the Usurpers of it, he might not 'despair of their reduction to obedience. And to 'effect this, it was his humble advice, that his 'Majesty should prevent their fears, by decla-'ring a free and general Pardon to all his Sub-'jects, and engage himself to give it under the 'Great Seal, to all that should submit to his Au-'thority, except such as should be exempted by 'the *Parliament*.

'And that he would consent to any *Act* or '*Acts* of *Parliament*, that should be presented to 'him for the settlement of publique Sales and 'Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Souldiers, and 'others; and the payment of the Souldiers Ar-'rears; As also for toleration of Liberty of Con-'science to all his Subjects, And that none should 'be punished for differences in matters of Reli-'gion, who should not disturb the publique Peace.

A farther discourse between them, confirming the sincerity of the Generals Intentions.

Sir *John* asked him, 'What he would give 'him in Command for himself, and if he would 'write to his Majesty? Which he excused at that time, saying, 'If his Letter should be intercepted 'before he had compleated the Reforming the 'Armies, it would be impossible for him to keep 'them in temper, or hinder the subversion of 'all he had hitherto done; Adding, That he 'sought not his own advantage in his Endeavours 'for the publique benefit of his Countrey; and 'that having with much hazard, brought matters 'near to a fair issue, in pursuance of the general 'suffrage of the Nations, he was unwilling, by in-'discretion, to venture a relapse, but would choose 'to involve himself in the same Condition with 'the generality of the People, in expectation of 'what the next *Parliament* should bring forth, to 'the happiness of his Majesty, & all his Kingdoms.

Sir *John Greenville* writ down the substance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory; but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in pieces, and conjur'd him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their Conference, except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all things, he intreated him, *To desire his Majesty from him, to go out of the King of* Spains *Dominions, to* Breda, *or some other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces; for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of* Spains *Ministers, if he stayd in his Dominions.*

And at Sir *John's* parting from him, he told him, *He was glad that this occasion of presenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious and vigilant in his Masters Service: of which he had before some experience when his Brother* Nicolas *came from him into* Scotland.

Sir *John* takes his Journey towards *Bruxels.*

He promis'd to observe all the Generals Instructions; and when he came to *Ostend* (where he arriv'd the 23th of *March*) he put all that had passed betwixt them into Writing, and digested it into form, to be presented to his Majesty. And in the Conduct of the whole affair, he was so secret, that the Lord *Mordant*, who went over with him to his Majesty, knew nothing of it.

He gives his Majesty an account of his Negotiation, and the effects thereof.

At *Bruxels* he retired to a private house, to which his Majesty (upon intimation) very secretly repaired, and with great satisfaction receiv'd the Intelligence he brought; but because he could not prosecute the Generals desire (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he consulted the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, being persons in whom, from just reason and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whose assistance the matter was so order'd, that in two or three dayes, he took his Journey to *Breda*; where we shall leave his Majesty in Consultation, to return to the Transactions in *England* of that busie time.

The King removes to *Breda.*

The Council of State took care to have the Act put into speedy execution throughout *England*, for the Election of Members to serve in *Parliament*, and for putting the Militia into sober hands: And because many seditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they published a Proclamation to forbid all persons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers and

The Council of State set forth a Proclamation for the preventing of tumults and disturbances.

Souldiers

Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present government, to endanger the peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any Persons offending as aforesaid: And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared, and promised to give to the discoverer of any such person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the summ of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop, and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humours amongst the Souldiers, which made Commissary *Clarges* consult privately with the General, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an *Engagement* for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next *Parliament* should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to be executed; nevertheless, he encouraged him to go on, and that night he alone fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel *Howard*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Mr. *Ansley*, and Colonel *Knight* (who all of them with one consent approved it, being all Persons of great Credit with the General) about the putting it in execution; Colonel *Knight* undertook by the next day at noon, to get it Signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generals Regiment of Horse, and the Life-guard; and Collonel *Howard* did the like for his Regiment which lay about *Croydon*, for he had so modell'd it, that he was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time, being accordingly effected, they met together, at Sir *Anthony Ashley-Coopers* Lodging, and glad to see their business so well advanc'd by the subscription of these three Regiments, they in the next place, thought it expedient to have the Officers of all the Regiments in *London*, to be summon'd to meet that Evening at St. *James's*; which was accordingly done, and they being all met, It was mov'd to them by Collonel *Knight*.

Commissary *Clarges* drawes up an Ingagement to be subscrib'd for acquiescing in the determinations of the next Parliament.

The Officers of 3. Regiments subscribe it.

The substance of Col. *Knights* Speech to the Officers at St. *James's*, incouraging them to subscribe the Ingagement.

That at this time, when several Imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many Disaffected Persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publique Testimony of their Affections and Inclinations; and in order thereunto, some Officers having shew'd him an Address, which they had framed to be presented to the General, to testifie their Resolution of Obedience and Duty, to the Powers God had placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Attestations to it, and some more had done the like, it being intended by those who first advis'd it, to be tendred to every Regiment of the Army; of which, there being a great part here, they had by the Generals Permission invited them thither, to communicate what was done, and to desire their Concurrence with them in it.

Collonel *Knight* and *Clarges* had before prepared most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from *Scotland*, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a Subscription of other Regiments to induce them; Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the privity and permission of the General; which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. The Address was immediatly read, being in these words:

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The Form of the Armies Ingagement.

WE E the Officers of the Army, *under your* Excellencies *Command, whose Names are hereunto written, being truly sensible of the merciful and wonderful Providence of* Almighty God, *in bringing Us, after so many* Revolutions *and* Changes, *into an hopeful way of Settlement; and perceiving, to our great grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interest, than the Publique Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old* Necessities *and* Confusions; *and that they have proceeded so far, as to cause Jealousies in the* Council of State, *in whom the* Supream Power *and* Trust, *now, till the Meeting of the* Parliament, *is residing, Do hold it our Duties, for the preventing of all such Jealousies for the future, and for the strengthning of your* Excellencies *Hands, in the carrying on of this* Good Work, *in which it hath pleased* God *to make you so highly Instrumental, humbly to make this* Address *unto your* Excellency, *in the Name of our selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That We shall, according to our Duties, carry and behave our selves, as Officers of an Army instructed by your Example and Discipline, to obey, and not to dispute the* Orders *of our* Superiours, *and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your* Excellency, *or the* Council of State, *or the* Parliament *when Assembled: And, in particular, we shall, according to the late* Proclamation *of the* Council of State, *of the* 17th *of* March, *decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the contriving or carrying on of any* Declaration *or* Subscriptions, *concerning* Affaires of State, *or* Government, *thereby avoiding those Mischiefs, which made many lately in Arms, so justly distastful to the People, by making themselves a divided Interest from the rest of them, And we are the more willing to make this* Address *at this time, to evince to all the World the Integrity of our Obedience, because of the great Expectation of the next* Parliament, *from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Apprehensions of Us, We are resolv'd, as it becomes Us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the* Lord *shall bring forth from their* Consultations, *knowing that* Parliaments *only can secure Us in our* Religious *and* Civil Rights: *And forasmuch as many* Representations *heretofore made to* Persons *in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently contriv'd in the Name of the* Army, *which were done rather in Formality, (as we perceive by the Event) than otherwise; We do solemnly desire, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witness against Us, if ever We shall be guilty of any such Backslidings.*

The Address signed by all the Officers about *London*, and those of two other Regiments.

At that very time, this *Ingagement* was signed by Lieutenant-Collonel *Morgan*, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Collonel *Hubblethorn*, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Collonel *Cloberry*, Collonel *Lydcott*, Collonel *Read*, and the rest, with all

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their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign'd before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-guard, and all the General-Officers. Also, Collonel *Fairfax*, and Collonel *Bethel*, who upon the first Consultation of this Matter had been sent unto, in four dayes had return'd the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, That Collonel *Howard*, with fourty Officers, should present it to the General; which was done at St. *James's* the 9th Day of *April*, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General *Morgan* in *Scotland*, to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in *England*, with an Accompt of what had bin done in *London*, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concurr'd it.

Presented to the General by Col. *Howard*. Sent into Scotland to M. General *Morgan*.

Two more Regiments sent into Scotland.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Souldiers in *Scotland*, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General *Morgan* might confide in, to assist him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return'd to the General; only some Officers refus'd it, and were immediately displac'd, and the General took that opportunity, of giving to the Lord *Faulconbridge*, Collonel *Rossiter*, and General *Mountague*, to each of them a Regiment of Horse, and to Collonell *Sheffield* a Regiment of Foot. And whilest he was thus employ'd in ordering the Army, the Council of State was active in forming the *Militia*, in all the Cities and Counties of *England* and *Wales*, wherein such care was taken, to have the Arms in good Hands, that from all Parts the Lists of the Officers were sent to the *Council of State*, to be by the General and them approv'd.

All disaffected Officers displac'd, and others put in their rooms.

These Preparations enraged many Factious People to design against the government, in so much that on the Evening of that Day, wherein Collonel *Howard* presented the above-mentioned Address to the General, Collonel *Lambert* having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal'd by some of that Party, that had been lately ingaged against General *Monck*, and some others of Fanatique Principles: These held a Council in *London*, but were not so private in their Consultations, but the General had from time to time intimation of much of their Proceedings. They sent some busie men to all the Regiment in *England*, and these Officers that refus'd the *Address*, had intic'd many of the Troopers to steal after them; but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to joyn with *Lambert*, and but one Company of Foot.

Lambert escapes out of the Tower.

On *Wednesday* the 18th of *April*, the General, upon Advice from Colonel *Streater*, of *Lamberts* hovering in the *North* Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters; sent for Collonel *Ingoldsby* to him, and told him, He must be at *Northampton* with his Regiment on the *Saturday* following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Collonel *Rossiters* Troops to his Assistance, which quartered in those Parts: He also told him, That Collonel *Streater*, a Person whom he could Trust, was with some of his Companies at *Northampton*, whom he would find ready to joyn with him. The Collonel told him, *That his Regiment was dispersed in* Norfolk *and* Suffolk, *but he would do his endeavours to get them together.* And he was so diligent herein, that by the *Friday* following he got his Regiment to *Cambridge*, and on *Saturday* in the Evening to *Northampton*.

The General takes great care for the suppressing of *Lambert*.

The General also sent Collonel *Howard* with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards *Worcester-shire* and *Warwick shire*, to hinder any Defection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards *Coventry*, which *Lambert* had design'd to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, had not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering three Companies of Colonel *Streaters's* Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shewed them *Lambert's* Orders, to march back again: But the Lieutenant that was Intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Collonel's Orders, marched intire with great speed, stood upon his defence, and oppos'd them Twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declar'd *Lambert* and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful the very next day after his getting out of Prison, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent his Design of seducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending these Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One *Merry*, a Disbanded discontented Officer of Col. *Smithson's* Regiment, had inticed fourty of Captain *Peverel's* Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on *York*, but by the care of other Troops they were dissipated; and one *Everard*, and Captain *Lockier*, two discontented Officers, that had been lately in Custody, and releas'd upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publique Peace, did nevertheless march through *Nottingham*, with a Seditious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain *Sherman* of Collonel *Sanders* his Regiment, having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain *Craddocks* of *Hackers* Regiment, to engage them; but immediately *Craddocks* Troop joyned with the Enemy, which made *Sherman* (finding himself too weak for them) to retreat to *Nottingham*, to secure that place, where the Mayor, Aldermen, and Gentry, gave him ready assistance. This Newes made the General give Orders, That the late *Address* signed by the Officers, should be tendred to all the private Souldiers also, which made so through a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would consent to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General's Regiments in *London*, that marched with him from *Scotland*, there were but two Dissenters.

On *Easter*-Eave, Collonel *Ingoldsby* joyned with Collonel *Streater* at *Northampton*; where he was at that time, and had been some dayes before, The Earl of *Exeter* who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near

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near one hundred Horſe, with much Reſolution offered to aſſiſt Colonel *Streater*: Likewiſe the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the ſame time, in order to the ſecuring thereof, in caſe of a Neceſſity of Collonel *Streaters* attending *Lamberts* Motion; The Collonel purpoſing that Night, if need had been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horſes that came into the Town that day (againſt the Fair on *Monday* following) and to have beaten up *Lamberts* Quarters.

Col. *Ingoldsby* and Collonel *Streater* march againſt *Lambert*.

On *Eaſter* Day early, Intelligence was brought to Collonel *Ingoldsby* and Collonel *Streater*, That *Lambert* was at *Daventry*; upon which they marched towards him: When they came to *Daventry*, they heard *Lambert* was march'd two miles from thence, and therefore haſtned to meet him; which they did in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them; *Lambert* had with him, beſides the Troops of Horſe before-mentioned, theſe Perſons, *viz.* Collonel *Okey*, Collonel *Axtel*, Collonel *Cobbet*, Lieutenant-Collonel *Young*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, beſides divers private Souldiers, who were *Anabaptiſts*.

The two Parties fac'd one the other near four hours; during which time, Collonel *Ingoldsby*, and Collonel *Streater* ſpent their time, partly in their vigilant obſervation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in Encouraging of the Horſe and Foot under their Command, whereby they begot a more than ordinary Reſolution in both Horſe and Foot: In the mean time, *Lambert* ſent out ſeveral Scouts towards them; but *Ingoldsby* would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himſelf riding up towards them, had many Diſcourſes with them: *Ingoldsby* was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier, dealt ſo effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Maſter, came over to him. The Collonel diſmounted and diſarm'd them for the preſent, becauſe they were unwilling to engage in his party but afterwards reſtored their Horſes and Arms to them.

Lamberts delay in Engaging being obſerved by Col. *Streater*, he Adviſed, That both Horſe and Foot ſhould immediately advance, and put the Buſineſs to an Iſſue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot eſpecially: And withal deſired Col. *Ingoldsby*, *That if he ſhould be Routed, he would Rally with what ſpeed he could; For that he ſhould be Confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground.* Collonel *Streater*'s Foot being about Five Hundred; two Compleat Companies, the reſt Commanded Men out of ſeveral Companies, moſt Pikes, which in that Champion-ground would ſerve well to ſecure the Body againſt the Horſe.

Defeats his Party, & takes him Priſoner.

When the two Bodies came near, juſt as Col. *Ingoldsby* was going to Charge, Collonel *Streater* Commanded ſix Files of Muſqueteers to advance, one File gave fire, and hurt one or two of *Lamberts* Horſe; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given ſtrict Command that his Muſqueteers ſhould not fire till they came as near as Puſh of Pike. But *Lamberts* men held the Noſes of their Piſtols towards the ground, and *Nelthrops* Troop came off to *Ingoldsby*; *Haſleriggs* Troop having deſerted him before; for Collonel *Ingoldsby* ſending Captain *Elſmore* before him with a party, as he march'd to find *Lambert*, met Captain *Haſlerigg*, and took him priſoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to ſend his whole Troop over to joyn with *Ingoldsby*, which he faithfully perform'd, ſending it to them by his Quarter-Maſter, but he retir'd himſelf: Collonel *Ingoldsby* told *Lambert*, *He was his Priſonner:* Whereupon *Creed* and the reſt earneſtly intreated him, *to do what he pleaſed with them, but to permit* Lambert *to eſcape*; acquainting him, *That his Life could be of no advantage to him*; Which *Ingoldsby* abſolutely refuſed, telling them, *He would not be treacherous to thoſe that had commanded him by ſuch an ungenerous Act: Lambert* then turned about his Horſe, and attempted to eſcape, but *Ingoldsby* purſued him ſo cloſe, that he came quickly up to him, and vow'd to piſtol him, if he did not immediately yield. *Lambert*, in great depreſſion of ſpirit, twice pray'd him to let him eſcape; but when he ſaw he could not prevail, ſubmitted, as all the reſt did, except *Okey*, *Axtel*, and *Cleer*, who eſcaped.

Gen. *Mountague* acquaints the Council of State with the condition of the Fleet.

General *Mountague*, who had been ſome time before by the Generals advice, made one of the Generals at Sea, (General *Monk* being himſelf the other) and ſent to take charge of the Fleet, ſent an Accompt to the Council of State, of the Condition of it, how that Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, and with him the whole Navy, had receiv'd him with great ſatisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with Reſolutions to ſubmit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Appearance of the City *Militia* in *Hide-Park*.

The *Tueſday* after this Defeat of *Lambert*, all the *Militia* of the City of *London* drew into *Hide-Park*; there were Six Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the White, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange, beſides ſeveral Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Collonel *Bateman* Alderman, the White by Collonel *Wale* Alderman, the Green by Collonel *John Robinſon* Alderman, the Blew by Collonel *William Vincent*, the Yellow by Collonel *William Bromfield*, and the Orange by Collonel *Thomas Bloodworth*, all men of courage and good Affections, to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all twelve Thouſand Men: The General, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great concourſe of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were preſent at the Appearance.

Col. *Lambert*, Col. *Cobbet*, & others, ſent priſoners to the Tower.

And that Evening, Collonel *Lambert*, Collonel *Cobbet*, and Major *Creed*, were brought Priſoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the reſt of the Priſoners were brought by Captain *Parry* to the General, and by him committed to the Marſhal-General.

Several Seditious Pamphlers publiſh'd and diſperſt.

The Defeat of *Lambert* did not make the Phanatiques leave the purſuit of their Miſchiefs, ſeveral Seditious Pamplets being publiſhed in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appear'd to have been penn'd with more virulency and malice, than that vile ſuppoſititious Paper which they ſcatter'd about, carrying in its Frontice-piece, *A Letter from Bruxels, &c.* with which ſome of his Majeſties moſt implacable Enemies, attempted to poyſon, or palliade the now high Expectations, and Impreſſions of

1660. of his good Subjects: And it was in truth so fatally tim'd, and so subtilly contriv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of Mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparallel'd Inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardness for his Restauration, and to remit of their former Zeal: But this *Hydra* was dextrously cut off by Mr. *Evelyn*, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was Printed, to the intire satisfaction of all that read it. I take pleasure to mention the Particular, because upon another occasion, long before, he publish'd, with no small hazard of his Life and Liberty, that his *Apology to the Royal Party*, in answer to that *Remonstrance*, Entituled the *Plea of the Army*, (contriv'd and set forth by that Phanatick Power, immediatly upon their Dethroning of *Richard*) as being it seems no longer able to support the common, but unjust Reproaches of his Majesties Cause, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Success of divers of his suffering Party; and because I take it to be the boldest Piece (not excepting even the famous *Killing no Murther*; written, as we since learn, by Captain *Titus*) that ever durst see the Light in that raging Period; and for that it was no less than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did seldom arrive to) and observ'd to have won more *Proselytes* to the *King*, and kept up the fervour of his then almost expiring *Party*, than any thing of that nature had done before it: which, was a Service the greatest that Conjuncture was capable of, and none of the least to his Majesties Advantage all along; as those who shall please to call to mind the Effects of those Paper-Weapons, must needs acknowledge, by warming and inspiriting the Hearts of a Languishing and almost desponding People, in danger of being poyson'd by the perpetual Venome of his Majesties Adversaries, whose *Pens* as well as *Swords*, were daily sharpen'd against him; but for such seasonable *Antidotes*, as upon all occasions encountered their *Libels*, and insidiary Discourses; amongst which there were also several *Letters* sent to the *General* from unknown Hands, to subvert his Allegiance likewise; and to *Clarges* it was written, *That notwithstanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blasted by* Morrice, *who had ascribed to himself alone the Reputation of that Service, and dispersed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application should be made, as to one in whom the General reposed his greatest Trust.* But these and all other Artifices were too poor to subvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Services was attributed, if the Effects he desired were produced by them: But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the Generals Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers, more watchful for the Publique Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errours, by several publique and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Indowments of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispersed amongst them, of the implacability of all those of his Party, of whom it was said, If they had Power they would shew themselves full of Rancour and Revenge against all that were ingaged in the late War against them: and observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many strange Doubts possessed them; and amongst other Effects of their Diseased Imaginations, they fancied, the Parliament (when met) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesties Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilest they were in the midst of these various Inquietudes, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of *England*, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeased their Minds, wherein they Declared, *That they resolved to adhere to the largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all Persons, and that they would never put any Difference betwixt such as should now unite with them, and those who first engaged in the same Perswasion with themselves.* Of all which, we shall only herein publish one, they being all to the same purpose: It was Intituled,

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adhered to the late King in and about the City of London; which was expressed in these words:

The Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry about *London.*

After the Miseries of a Civil War, and the many and fruitless Attempts towards Settlement, upon several Interests, and imaginary Forms of Government, It having pleased Almighty God, by unexpected and wonderful meanes, to give these Nations a probable hope of being restored to those Laws and Priviledges, which have been transmitted to them from their Ancestors; We do Declare, That we think our selves obliged, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this Gracious Work to his Excellency the Lord General Monck, *who, as he had the Courage to assert the Publick Liberty, and the Prudence to carry it on against so many Difficulties, has also had the Happiness, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderness of Confusion, without passing the Red-Sea of Blood; And because the Enemies of the Publique Peace, have endeavoured to represent those of the Kings Party, as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the Common Good to their own private Passions; We do sincerely profess, That we do reflect upon our past sufferings from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Inclinations, to have been any way Instrumental in them; And if the Indiscretion of any spirited Persons, transports them to Expressions contrary to this our Sence, we utterly disclaim them. And desire, that the Imputation may extend no further, than the Folly of the Offenders. And we further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and peaceable Behaviour, to testifie our submission to the present Power, as it now resides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; upon whose Wisdom and Determinations, we trust God will give such a Blessing, as may produce a perfect Settlement, both in Church and State.*

And

'And as his Excellency hath not choſen the 'Sandy Foundations of Self-government, but the 'firm Rock of National Intereſt, whereon to 'frame a Settlement; It is our Hope and Prayer 'That when the Building comes to be raiſed, it 'may not like *Rome*, have the beginning in the 'Blood of Brethren, nor like *Babel*, be inter- 'rupted by the Confuſion of Tongues: but that 'we may all ſpeak one Language, and be of 'one Name; That all mention of Parties and 'Factions, and all Rancour and Animoſities may 'be thrown in, and buryed like Rubbiſh under 'the Foundation.

Subſcribed by

The Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*.
The Earl of *Northampton*.
The Earl of *Devonſhire*.
The Earl of *Berkſhire*.
The Earl of *Dover*.
The Earl of *Peterborough*.
The Earl of *Norwich*.
The Earl of *Cork*.
The Earl of *Carbery*.
The Earl of *Deſmond*.
The Viſcount *Ogle*.
The Viſcount *Grandiſon*.
The Viſcount *Lumley*.
The Viſcout *Brunker*.
The Lord *Bellaſſis*.
The Lord *Loughborrough*.
The Lord *Lexington*.
The Lord *Brereton*.
The Lord *Lucas*.
The Biſhop of *Kerry*.
Sir *William Compton*.
Sir *Francis Vane*.
Sir *Tho. Preſtwich*, Baronet.
Sir *Orlando Bridgman*.
Sir *Edward Pye*.
Sir *Lewis Kirke*.
Sir *Thomas Smith*.
Sir *Robert Stapleton*.
Sir *William Coney*.
Sir *Nicholas Criſpe*.
Sir *Hugh Cartwright*.
Sir *Sutton Coney*.
Sir *Henry Chichley*.
Sir *William Morton*.
Sir *Edw. Savage*.
Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*.
Sir *John Stephens*.
Sir *Humphrey Bennet*.
Sir *William Howard*.
Sir *Henry Wroth*.
Sir *William Dacres*.
Sir *Robert Malevory*.
Sir *Jervace Clifton*, Knight and Baronet.
Sir *William Thorald*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Corbet*, Baronet.
Sir *Thomas Littleton*, Baronet.
Sir *Arthur Gorge*.
Sir *Anthony Jackſon*.
Sir *Robert Butler*.
George Mooley, D. D.
Thomas Warmſtry, D. D.
Philip King, D. D.
Jer. Taylor, D. D.
Thomas Howard Eſquire.
John Ruſſell.
Will. Aſhburnham.
Edw. Villers.
Edw. Penruddock.
George Penruddock.
William Legge.
Thomas Lower.
Herbert Price.
Thomas Panton.
Robert Ruthen.
Col. *Fretſwell*.
John Jeffries.
Adrian Scroop.
William Burgh.
John Maynard.
Ed. Roſcaracke.

1660.

This and the other *Declarations* of the ſame nature, where wholeſome Preparations to uſher in the *Parliament*, which met at *Weſtminſter* on the 25th day of *April*; The Lords choſe the Earl of *Mancheſter* to be their *Speaker*; and the Houſe of Commons Sir *Harebotle Grimſtone*; where after the appointment of the uſuall *Committees* for Priviledges, and other eſſential matters uſual at their firſt Aſſembling. They gave all due acknowledgements to General *Monck*, for his Eminent Services and great Wiſdome in ſubduing his Enemies without Bloud, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him ſo Inſtrumental to keep up the Nations from ſinking, when no way appear'd whence Deliverance ſhould ariſe. The Parliament aſſembles.

Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* was by the General ſuſpected to have contributed towards the Inſurrection of *Lambert*; but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promiſed to live peaceably at home; having before quietly ſubmitted his Regiments of Horſe and Foot to the General's diſpoſe, together with the Garriſons of *Berwick*, *New-Caſtle*, *Carliſle*, and *Tinmouth*. Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* being ſuſpected by the General, clears himſelf.

On the 27th of *April*, Sir *John Greenvill* attended the General, and preſented to him a Letter from his Majeſty, to be communicated to the Officers of the *Army*, and the *Council of State*, with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty to Conſtitute him *Captain General of all the Armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; Informing him likewiſe, That he had Letters from his Majeſty to both *Houſes of Parliament*, the City, and the Navy. Sir *John Greenvil* preſents the General with a Commiſſion from his Majeſty, and a Letter for the *Council of State*.

His Excellency received the Commiſſion with all Humility and Reſpect; but in regard the *Parliament* was Adjourn'd for three dayes, adviſ'd him the next day to deliver that Letter which was to be by him imparted to the *Council of State*, to the Council at their next Sitting; which he accordingly did, but they would not preſume to open it without the *Parliaments* directions, and took Caution of Sir *John Greenvill* to attend the *Houſe* at their next Sitting. At which time, by the General's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the *Houſe of Lords*, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir *John Greenvill* attended at the Door with a Letter from his Majeſtie, The Earl of *Mancheſter* went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a *Declaration* incloſed in it; which were both read in the *Houſe*: The Letter firſt, which was in theſe words: (*Viz.*)

CHAR-

1660.

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Lords.

RIght Trusty and Right Welbeloved Cousins, and Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousins, and Trusty and Right Welbeloved; We Greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to promise Our Self an end of Our Common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will with Gods Blessing be restored to Us, Than that We hear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath alwayes belonged to you by your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your help in the Composing the Confounding Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our Self; And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Councellors for removing those Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; *Which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with what Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must alwayes be expected from you; and that upon your experience, how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as Jealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour of* King, Lords, *and* Commons, *upon that Foundation which can only support it, and We shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will bless God for you all, so We shall hold Our Self obliged in an especial manner to Thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards Us. We need the less inlarge to you upon this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the* House of Commons, *Which We suppose they will Communicate to you: And We pray God to bless your Joynt Endeavours for the good of Us all. And so We bid you very heartily farewel.*

Given at Our Court at *Breda*, this 14 day of *April*, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The *Declaration* was next read, which was Intituled,

His Majestie's gracious Declaration *to all his Loving Subjects.*

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Declaration.

'CHARLES by the Grace of God, King 'of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ire-* 'land, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our 'Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality 'soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction and 'Confusion which is spread over the whole 'Kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire 'and longing, that those Wounds which have so 'many Years together been kept bleeding, may 'be bound up, all We can say will be to no pur-'pose: However, after this long silence, We 'have thought it Our Duty to declare how much 'We desire to contribute thereunto: And that as 'We can never give over the hope in good time 'to obtain the Possession of that Right which 'God and Nature hath made Our due; So We 'do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine Provi-* 'dence, that he will, in Compassion to Us and 'Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Suffe-'rings, remit, and put Us into a quiet and pea-'ceable possession of that Our Right, with as little 'Blood and Damage to Our People as is possi-'ble: Nor do We desire more to enjoy what is 'Ours, then that all Our Subjects may enjoy what 'by Law is theirs, by a full and intire admini-'stration of Justice throughout the Land, and by 'extending Our Mercy where it is wanted and 'deserv'd.

'And to the end that the fear of Punishment 'may not engage any Conscious to themselves of 'what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the 'future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of 'their Country in the Restoration both of *King*, 'Peers, and *People*, to their Just, Antient, and 'Fundamental Rights We do by these Presents 'Declare, That We do grant a *Free and General* 'Pardon, which We are ready, upon Demand, 'to passe under Our Great Seal of *England*, to all 'Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, 'who within Forty dayes after the publishing 'hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and 'Favour, and shall by any publique Act declare 'their doing so, and that they return to the Loy-'alty and Obedience of good Subjects; Excepting 'only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted 'by *Parliament:* Those only excepted, Let all Our 'Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the 'Word of a King, solemnly given by this pre-'sent Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever 'Committed against us, or Our Royal Father, 'before the Publication of this, shall ever rise in 'Judgment, or be brought in Question, against 'any of them, to the least Endamagement of 'them either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, 'or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much 'as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any 'reproach, or term of distinction from the rest of 'any of Our best Subjects; We Desiring and Or-'daining, That henceforth all Notes of Discord, 'Separation, and Difference of Parties, be utterly 'abolished among all Our Subjects, whom We 'Invite and Conjure to a perfect Union among 'themselves, under Our Protection, for the re-'settlement of Our Just Rights and Theirs, in a '*Free Parliament*, by which upon the Word 'of a King We will be advised.

'And because the Passion and uncharitableness 'of the Times have produced several Opinions in 'Religion, by which men are engaged in Parties 'and Animosities against each other, which, when 'they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of Con-'versation, will be Composed, or better under-'stood; We do declare a Liberty to tender Con-'sciences, And that no man shall be disquieted or 'called in question for differences of Opinion in 'matters of Religion, which do not disturb the 'Peace of the Kingdom, and that We shall be 'ready to consent to such an *Act of Parliament*, 'as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to 'us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

And

'And because in the continued distractions of 'so many Years, and so many and great Revo- 'lutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates 'have been made to and by many Officers, Soul- 'diers, and others, who are now possessed of 'the same, and who may be liable to Actions at 'Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise 'willing that all such differences, and all things 'relating to the said Grants, Sales, and Purchases, 'shall be determined in *Parliament*, which can 'best provide for the Just satisfaction of all men 'who are concerned.

'And we do further declare, that we will be 'ready to consent to any *Act* or *Acts* of *Parlia-* 'ment to the purposes aforesaid, And for the full 'satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and 'Souldiers of the Army, under the Command 'of General *Monck*, and that they shall be recei- 'ved into our Service upon as good pay and Con- 'ditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet at our Court at Breda *this* 14 *day of April*, 1660. *in the twelfth Year of our Reign.*

After the Reading of these, the Lords Order- ed Thanks to be given to Sir *John Greenvil*, for bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter, and Resolv'd by Vote, *That they do own and de-* *clare, That according to the Ancient and Funda-* *mental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government* *is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Com-* *mons.*

The Vote of the House of Lords upon the reading of the Kings Let- ter and Decla- ration.

Sir *John Greenvil* came then to the *House of Commons*, who were before his Coming ac- quainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majestie. The Letter had in it a Dupli- cate of the same *Declaration* which was inclosed in the Letter to the *Lords:* The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was Superscri- bed;

To Our Trusty and Welbeloved, the *Speaker* of the *House of Commons.*

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the House of Commons.

TRusty and Welbeloved, We Greet you well. 'In these great and insupportable 'Afflictions and Calamities under which the poor 'Nation hath been so long exercised, and by which 'it is so near exhausted, we cannot think of a 'more natural and proper Remedy, than to re- 'sort to those for Counsel and Advice, who have 'seen and observed the first beginning of our Mi- 'series, the Progress from bad to worse, and the 'mistakes and mis-understandings which have 'produced and contributed to Inconveniences 'which were not intended; and after so many Re- 'volutions, and the observation of what hath 'attended them, are now trusted by our good 'Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, 'and to provide proper Remedies for these Evils, 'and for the lasting Peace, Happiness and Secu- 'rity of the Kingdom.

'We do assure you upon our Royal Word, 'That none of our Predecessors have had a grea- 'ter Esteem of *Parliaments*, than we have in our 'Judgement, as well as from Our Obligation; 'We do believe them to be so vital a part of the 'Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary 'for the Government of it, that We well know 'neither *Prince* nor *People* can be in any tolerable 'degree happy without them: And therefore you 'may be confident, That We shall always look 'upon their Counsels as the best we can receive, 'and shall be as tender of their Priviledges, and 'as Careful to preserve and protect them, as of 'that which is most near to Our Self, and most 'necessary for Our Own Preservation. 1660.

'And as this is Our Opinion of *Parliaments*, 'That their Authority is most necessary for the 'Government of the Kingdom; So We are most 'Confident, that You believe and find, that the 'preservation of the Kings Authority is as neces- 'sary for the preservation of *Parliaments*; and 'that it is not the Name but the right Constitu- 'tion of them, which can prepare and apply pro- 'per Remedies for those Evils which are grievous 'to the People, and which can thereby establish 'their Peace and Security. And therefore We 'have not the least doubt, but that you will be 'as Tender in, and as Jealous of, any thing that 'may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our Au- 'thority, as of your own Liberty and Proper- 'ty; which is best preserv'd by preserving the o- 'ther.

'How far We have trusted You in this great 'Affair, and how much it is in your Power to 'restore the Nation to all that it hath lost, and 'to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, 'and to make *King* and *People* as happy as they 'ought to be; You will find by Our inclosed '*Declaration*, a Copy of which We have like- 'wise sent to the *House* of *Peers*; and you will 'easily believe that We would not voluntarily, 'and of Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in 'you, but upon an intire Confidence that you 'will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in 'such a manner, and with such due consideration 'of us who have trusted you, that We shall not 'be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which 'We have assurance of) and repairing to you for 'more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils 'We would be freed from, nor sorry that We 'have bound up Our Own Interest so intirely 'with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it 'to the same Persons to take care of Us, who are 'trusted to provide for them.

'We look upon You as wise and dispassionate 'Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up 'those Banks and Fences which have been cast 'down, and who will most reasonably hope, that 'the same Prosperity will again spring from those 'Roots from which it hath heretofore and al- 'ways grown; Nor can We apprehend that you 'will propose any thing to Us, or expect any 'thing from Us, but that We are as ready to 'give, as you to receive.

'If you desire the advancemeut and Propaga- 'tion of the Protestant Religion, We have, by 'Our constant Profession and Practice of it, gi- 'ven sufficient Testimony to the World, that 'neither the unkindness of those of the same Faith 'towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations 'from those of a contrary Profession, (of both 'which We have had abundant Evidence) could

1660. 'in the leaſt degree ſtartle Us, or make Us Swerve 'from our zeal and affection for it, to which 'We will not readily conſent. And we hope in 'due time Our Self to propoſe ſomething to you 'for the Propagation of it, that will ſatisfie the 'World, that We have alwayes made it both 'Our Care and Our Study, and have enough 'Obſerved what is moſt like to bring diſadvan-'tage to it.

'If you deſire ſecurity for theſe, who in theſe 'Calamitous times either wilfully or weakly 'have tranſgreſſed thoſe bounds which were pre-'ſcribed, and have invaded each others Rights, 'We have left to you to provide for their Securi-'ty and Indempnity, and in ſuch a way as you 'ſhall think Juſt and Reaſonable; And by a 'Juſt Computation of what men have done, 'and ſuffered, as near as is poſſible, to take care 'that all men be ſatisfied, which is the ſureſt 'way to ſuppreſſe and extirpate all ſuch uncharita-'bleneſs. and animoſity, as might hereafter 'ſhake and threaten that Peace which for the 'preſent might ſeem Eſtabliſhed.

'If there be a crying Sinne for which the Na-'tion may be involv'd in the infamy that attends 'it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as 'ſolicitious to Redeem and Vindicate the Nation 'from the Guilt and Infamy, as We can be.

'If you deſire that Reverence and obedience 'may be paid to the fundamental Laws of the 'Land, and that Juſtice may be equally and 'impartially adminiſtred to all men, it is that 'which We deſire to be ſworn to Our Self, 'and that all Perſons in Power and Authority 'ſhould be ſo too.

'In a word, there is nothing which you can 'propoſe, that may make the Kingdom happy, 'which we will not contend with you to com-'paſs; and upon this Confidence and Aſſurance, 'We have thought fit to ſend you this Declara-'tion, that you may, as much as is poſſible, at 'this diſtance, ſee Our heart, which when God 'ſhall bring Us nearer together (as we hope he 'will do ſhortly) will appear to you very agree-'able to what we have profeſſed; and We hope, 'that We have made that right Chriſtian Uſe 'of Our Affliction, and that the Obſervation 'and experience We have had in other Coun-'tries, hath been ſuch, as that We, and We 'hope all Our Subjects, ſhall be the better for 'what We have ſeen and ſuffered.

'VVe ſhall add no more, but our Prayers to '*Almighty God*, that He will ſo bleſs your 'Counſels, and direct your endeavours, that his 'Glory and Worſhip may be provided for, and 'the Peace, Honour, and Happineſs of the Na-'tion, may be eſtabliſhed upon thoſe founda-'tions which can beſt ſupport it. And ſo we bid 'you farewel.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14 *day of* April, 1660. *In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

After the reading of this Letter and the Declaration, his Excellency the Lord General deſired the Letter that was directed to him, to be Communicated to the Council and the Army, might alſo be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was alſo the former Declaration incloſed, and the Addreſs of the Letter was:

To our Truſty and Welbeloved General Monck, *to be by him Communicated to the Preſident and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.*

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the General, to be communicated to the Officers of the Army, and Council of State.

'TRuſty and Welbeloved, VVe greet you 'well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We 'have been, are, and ever muſt be, as ſolicious as 'VVe can, by all endeavours to improve the af-'fections of Our good Subjects at home, and to 'procure the aſſiſtance of Our Friends and Allies 'abroad, for the recovery of that right, which 'by the Laws of God and Man is unqueſtionable, 'and of which VVe have been ſo long diſpoſſeſ-'ſed by ſuch force, and with thoſe Circumſtan-'ces, as VVe do not deſire to aggravate by any 'ſharp expreſſions, but rather wiſh, that the me-'mory of what is paſſed, may be buried to the 'VVorld. That VVe have more endeavoured to 'prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our 'Subjects at home, for Our Reſtauration, than 'to procure Aſſiſtance from abroad, to in-'vade either of Our Kingdoms, is as manifeſt to 'the VVorld: And VVe cannot give a better Evi-'dence, that VVe are ſtill of the ſame minde, 'than in this Conjuncture when common reaſon 'muſt ſatisfie all men, that VVe cannot be with-'out Aſſiſtance from abroad, VVe chooſe rather 'to ſend to you, who have it in your own power 'to prevent that ruine and deſolation which a 'VVarre would bring upon the Nation and to 'make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Hap-'pineſs, Security, and Glory it ſhall enjoy to 'your Vertue; and to acknowledge that your 'Armies have complyed with their Obligations 'for which they were firſt raiſed, for the preſer-'vation of the *Proteſtant* Religion, the Honour 'and Diguity of the *King*, the Priviledges of '*Parliament*, the Liberty and Property of the 'Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; 'and that you have vindicated that Truſt, which 'others moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed.

'How much VVe deſire and Reſolve, to con-'tribute to thoſe good ends, will appear to you 'by Our encloſed Declaration, which VVe deſire 'you to cauſe to be publiſhed for the Informa-'tion and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who 'do not deſire a further effuſion of precious Chri-'ſtian Blood, but to have their Peace and Securi-'ty founded upon that which can only ſupport 'it; an Unity of Affections amongſt Our ſelves, 'an equal adminiſtration of Juſtice to men, reſto-'ring *Parliaments* to a full Capacity of providing 'for all that is amiſs, and the Laws of the Land 'to their due veneration.

'You have been your ſelves witneſſes of ſo 'many Revolutions, and have had ſo much 'experience, how far any Power and Authority 'that is only aſſum'd by Paſſion and Appetite, 'and not ſupported by Juſtice, is from providing 'for the happineſs and peace of the People, or 'from receiving any obedience from them, with-'out which no Government can provide for 'them; and that you may very reaſonably be-'lieve that God hath not been ſo well pleaſed 'with the attempts that have been made, ſince he 'hath uſually increaſed the confuſion, by giving 'all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired, and

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'brought that to passe without effect, which the 'designers have propos'd as the best means to 'settle and Compose the Nation: And therefore 'We cannot but hope and believe, that you will 'concur with Us in the Remedy, VVe have ap-'plyed, which to humane understanding, is only 'proper for the ills We all groan under; and that 'you will make your selves the Blessed Instru-'ments to bring this Blessing of Peace and Re-'conciliation upon *King* and *People*; it being the 'usual method in which Divine Providence de-'lighteth it self, to use and sanctifie those very 'meanes which ill men design for the satisfaction 'of private and particular ends and ambition, and 'other wicked purposes, to wholesome and publi-'que ends, and to establish that good which is 'most contrary to the designers; which is the 'greatest manifestation of *Gods* particular kind-'nes to a Nation that can be given in this world. 'How far we resolve to preserve your Interests, 'and reward your Services, VVe refer to Our 'Declaration; And we hope *God* will inspire you 'to perform your duty to Us, and to your Na-'tive Countrey, whose happiness cannot be se-'perated from each other.

'We have intrusted Our Welbeloved Servant 'Sir *John Greenvill*, one of the Gentlemen of Our 'Bed-chamber, to deliver this unto you; and to 'give Us an accompt of your reception of it, and 'to desire you, that it may be published. And so 'we bid you farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, *this* 14 of April 1660. *In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

After the reading of these Letters, his Excellency desired their permission to answer it, and to Communicate that his Majesties Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily consented to.

The Parliament present his Majesty, and his two Brothers, with the summe of 65000 *l.*

And then they took into their Consideration, That his Majesty having been deprived of his Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies; and therefore Ordered, That the Summ of fifty Thousand Pounds should be presently raised and presented to his Majesty from that House, and ten Thousand Pounds to his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and five Thousand Pounds to the Duke of *Glocester*.

The Lords sent down a Message to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houses appointed Committees to draw up their several Answers to his Majesties Letters, and Resolv'd, that the Superscription should be.

To the King's *most Excellent Majesty.*

And the Commons Ordered, That all the Journals should be search'd, and those Acts and Orders razed out, which were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords, and Commons; These were the chiefest Transactions in *Parliament* that day.

Coll. *Lydcot's* Speech upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

In the Evening his Excellency summoned all his Officers that were in and near the City, and Communicated to him his Majesties Letter and Declaration; upon the reading whereof, Collonel *Lydcot* first spake; addressing himself to his Excellency then present; He said, *They were all bound to bless God for the happiness of that day, which made them Witnesses of his Majesties great goodness and clemency to all his Subjects expressed in that Declaration, and for his particular kindness to them manifested in his most gracious Letter.* 1660.

He said, *It was most true, that they had been Witnesses of many Revolutions (as it is therein expressed) and experienced to their sorrow the inconveniencies of them; That at the beginning of the Wars, the safety of the Kings Person, Protestant Religion, Priviledges of Parliament, and Liberty of the Subjects, were Principles that many good men with them thought they might safely engage for; but by degrees after they came into Blood, some implacable Spirits improved their Successes to make the divisions irrepatable, and many men were forc'd to continue their Arms, more for their own security than the Justice of them:* But that which was his comfort, and ought to be all theirs, was, *That they had now by the Prudence of their ever to be honoured Generall, the opportunity to comply with the Obligations for which they were first raised, and they were these whom his Majesty was pleas'd to own in their submission to his most just and Lawful Authority, to be the Instruments to bring the blessing of Peace and Reconciliation upon the King and People.*

This Speech was approv'd by all them that heard it; But Collonel *Knight* desired they might give some written Testimony of their acknowledgements of his Majesties Authority over them, to be presented to his Excellency the Lord General; *That since his Majesties Letter was by him communicated to them, he might in his Answer to it, return their humble sence of it.*

This motion produc'd a Reference to a Committee of Officers, to draw up an Addres to his Excellency, in Complyance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration, to be prepared against six of the clock the next morning, and to desire his Excellencies leave, that they might then meet to give their Consents, and subscribe their names to it; which his Excellency readily approved. And the next morning, the Addresses being prepared, was read to the Council of Officers, and Signed by them, and presented to his Excellency.

The Title was,

To his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, Captain General of all the Armies and Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and one of the Generals at Sea.

The humble Addres of the Officers of your Excellencies Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.

The Officers Addres to his Excellency, in Complyance with his Majesties Letter and Declaration.

'ALthough we cannot doubt of your Excel-'lencies Confidence in our affections, and 'our Faithfulness to your Excellency, and that 'Discipline which by your good and prudent 'Conduct, hath been exercised over us, whereby 'we are instructed to an intire Obedience to your 'Excellency, and that Authority which the Lord 'shall place over Us, which we hope we have 'manifested in our last Actions under your Ex-'cellency, against all persons whatsoever, in 'any wayes disturbing the Peace and Settlement 'of the Nations; although some of them have

1660. 'been our Brethren formerly engaged in the same 'Cause with Us. As also in our late Remon- 'strance and Address to your Excellency, where- 'in, as it becomes Us in Duty, we have so- 'lemnly declared to acquiesce in what the Lord 'shall bring forth from the Consultations of this 'present *Parliament*.

'Yet in regard your Excellency hath been 'pleased to communicate to Us, a Letter and 'Declaration from the *Kings Majesty*, full of gra- 'cious Expressions; we cannot but acknowledge, 'that the matter of it gives a great measure of 'quiet to our minds, and more then ordinary 'expectations of the enjoyment of much tran- 'quility and happiness under His Majesties Go- 'vernment.

'The free and general Indempnity offered by 'his Majesty, with a liberty to tender Con- 'sciences, satisfaction of Arrears, his readiness 'to consent to a Confirmation of Sales, and 'other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all 'Persons now in possession of the same, is that of 'we which cannot doubt of the reall performance, 'being left by His Majesty to the *Parliaments* 'determination, so we believe it is the most pro- 'bable way to bring the Nations to their desired 'Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Ma- 'jesty, and all the world, That we, and all 'those that have been Engaged in the *Parlia- 'ments* Cause, are his *Majesties* most Loyal 'Subjects, and that your Excellency, and the 'Armies under your Command, have Complyed 'with the Obligations, for which they were first 'raised, for the preservation of the true Pro- 'testant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of 'the *King*, the *Priviledges* of *Parliament*, the 'Liberty and *Prosperity* of the *Subject*, and the 'Fundamental *Laws* of the *Land*.

It is read by the Commons, and approved.

In the morning, at the first sitting of the Com- mons-House, the General acquainted them, that he had Communicated his Majesties Letter, and the Declaration in it enclosed, to the Officers of the Army; and that thereupon they had pre- sented an Address to him, which he desired they would be pleased to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

Commissary *Clarges* appointed by the General, to wait upon his Majesty with this Address.

His Excellency then told them, *He intended to prepare a Letter, to be sent to his Majesty, and did with their leave, purpose to send that Address to him, That his Majesty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion; and designing to send it by Commissary* Clarges, *who was as well a Member of their House, as an Officer of the Army, he requested their permission for him to go.*

The House then Ordered, he should have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir *John Greenville*, to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony of the Respects of the House to him.

After this, Alderman *Robinson* inform'd them, *That the said Sir* John Greenville, *with the Lord* Mordant, *had presented a Letter from his Majesty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Commanded him to ask their leave to return an Answer to it.* Which after the reading it in the House, was granted; In that Letter also his Majesties Declaration was inclosed: The Letter it self was directed,

To Our Trusty and Wel-beloved, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and the Common-Councel of our City of *London*.

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*.

TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: In these great Revolutions of late, hapned in that Our Kingdom, to the wonder and Amaze- ment of all the World, there is none that We have looked upon with more Comfort, than the so fre- quent and publique manifestations of their affections to Us in the City of London, *which hath exceed- ingly raised Our spirits, and which no doubt hath proceeded from the spirit of God, and his extraor- dinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been en- couraged by you, and your good Example, to assert that Government, under which it hath so many hundred years enjoyed as great felicity as any Na- tion in* Europe, *and to discountenance the Imagi- nations of those, who would subject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet devised; and to satisfie the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce in the most arbitrary and tyranni- cal Power that was ever yet heard of. How long we have all suffered under those and the like devi- ces, all the World takes notice, to the no small reproach of the* English *Nation, which we hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemp- tion, and will be no longer bewitch'd by those In- ventions; How desirous we are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happiness of our Subjects without effusion of blood; and how far we are from desiring to recover what belongs to Us by a Warre, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the incloſed Declaration, which together with this Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord* Viscount Mor- dant, *and Our Trusty and Well-beloved Servant, Sir* John Greenville *Knight, one of the Gentle- men of our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the rest of Our good Subjects of that Our City of* London (*to whom we desire it should be published*) *may know how far we are from the desire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom, should be raised upon any other Foundation than the af- fection and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Consents. We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our Condescentions, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by dis- posing all men to meet Us with the same affection and tenderness, in restoring the Fundamental Laws to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon the preservation whereof all Our happiness depends. And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and of the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Countrey, and to advance the Honour of it: And as we have that full affection for the Kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraor- dinary Kindness for Our Native City in that par- ticular, which We shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and con- firming all those Priviledges, which they have re- ceived from Our Predecessors, but by adding and granting any new Favours, which may advance the*

Trade

Trade, Wealth, and Honour, of that Our Native City, for which We will be so sollicitous, that We doubt not but that it will in due time receive some Benefit and Advantage in all those respects, even from Our own Observation and Experience abroad. And We are most confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; And so We bid you farewel. Given at Our Court at *Breda*, the 14. Day of *April*, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the Cities joyful Resentment of this *Letter*, and the *Declaration* in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the Reading of them, Ordered Ten Thousand Pounds to be presented to his Majesty, a Thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and a Thousand pounds to the Duke of *Glouceſter*; And that Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Reynaldson*, Alderman *Brown*, Alderman *Thompson*, Alderman *Frederick*, Alderman *Wale*, Alderman *Adams*, Alderman *Bateman*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. Recorder *Wild*, Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, Mr. *Vincent*, Mr. *Bidolph*, Mr. *Foord*, Mr. *Bloodworth*, Sir *James Bunce*, Mr. *Lewis*, and Mr. *William Bateman*, should from that City attend his Majesty, with a Presentment of their most Dutiful Acknowledgments, for his Clemency and Goodness towards them. His Excellency took care, that the *Address* presented to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings *Letter* and *Declaration*, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and *Dunkirk*, requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Dissenters (if any were) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the *Army* was so well purged by the *Remonstrance* that went before, that all readily and dutifully comply'd with this.

Divers Aldermen, and other eminent Citizens, sent from the City to his Majesty.

The Lords House nominated the Earles of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and *Middlesex*, and the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord *Brook*, and the Lord *Birkley*, to attend his Majesty from that House; And the Commons appointed the Lord *Fairfax*, Lord *Bruce*, Lord *Falkland*, Lord *Castleton*, Lord *Herbert* of *Worcester*, Lord *Mandeville*, Sir *Horatio Townesend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Henry Cholmely*, and *Denzil Hollis* Esquire to attend his Majesty from that House; who were Ordered to make the quickest Preparation they could for their Journey, to desire his Majesty to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingly Office.

Six of the House of Lords, and 12 of the Commons, sent to attend upon his Majesty.

His Majesties *Letter* and *Declaration* to the Fleet, by the diligence of General *Mountague*, had the same success there, as that in the Army, being Gratefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-men.

The *Letter* it self was in these Word:

CHARLES R.

His Majesties Letter to the Officers of the Fleet.

'TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: It is no small Comfort to Us, after so long and great Troubles and Miseries, 'which the whole Nation hath groaned under; 'and after so great Revolutions, which have 'still encreased those Miseries, to hear that the 'Fleet and Ships, which are the Wals of the 'Kingdom, are put under the Command of two 'Persons so well disposed to, and concerned in, 'the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom, as 'we believe you to be; and that the Officers and 'Sea-men under your Command, are more in-'clined to return to their Duty to us, and put a 'period to these Distempers and Distractions, 'which have so impoverished and dishonoured the 'Nation, than to widen the Breach and to raise 'their Fortunes by Rapine and Violence; Which 'gives Us great encouragement and hope, that '*God Almighty* will heal the Wounds, by the 'same Plaister that made the Flesh Raw; that he 'will proceed in the same method, in pouring 'his Blessings upon Us, which he was pleased to 'use when he began to afflict Us, and that the 'Manifestation of the good Affection of the 'Fleet and Sea-men towards Us, and the Peace 'of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that 'Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mi-'stake and Misunderstanding of their Predeces-'sors, which would be such a Blessing upon Us 'all, that We should not be less delighted with 'the manner, than the matter of it: In this Hope 'and Confidence, We have sent the inclosed *De-'claration* to You, by which you many discern, 'how much We are willing to contribute to-'wards the obtaining the General and Publique 'Peace: In which, as no man can be more, or so 'much, concern'd; so no man can be more soli-'citous for it. And We do earnestly desire you, 'that you will cause the said *Declaration* to be 'published, to all the Officers and Sea-men of 'the Fleet; to the end, that they may plainly dis-'cern, how much We have put it into their 'Power, to provide for the Peace and Happiness 'of the Nation, who have been always under-'stood by them, to be the best and most proper 'Counsellours for those good Ends: And You 'are likewise further to Declare to them, That we 'have the same Gracious Purpose towards them, 'which We have expressed towards the Army 'at Land; and will be as ready to provide for the 'Payment of all Arrears due to them, and for re-'warding them according to their several Merits, 'as We have expressed to the other; and We 'will always take so particular a Care of them, 'and their Condition, as shall manifest Our Kind-'ness towards them. And so depending upon 'Gods Blessing, for infusing those good Resoluti-'ons into your and their Hearts, which are best 'for Us all, We bid you farewel. *Given at Our 'Court at* Breda, *this* 14. *Day of* April, 1660. *in 'the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.*

1660.

Superscribed,

To Our Trusty and Wel-beloved General *Monck*, and General *Mountague*, Generals at Sea: To be Communicated to the Fleet.

Clarges on the Fifth Day of *May* began his Journey to his Majesty; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but *to give the King all manner of Assurance of his Fidelity to him, and his Resolution to improve all his Opportunities to his Service: desiring him*

The General's Instructions to *Clarges*, when he began his Journey.

1660. *him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either for himself, or him, or any other in his Company; That his Majesty might see that both he, and those so nearly concern'd with him in his Restauration, sought more the Publique Good of their Country, than their own private Honour or Profit:* which he did faithfully observe at that time and ever after. And three dayes after the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a *Proclamation* to that purpose, his Majesty was Proclaimed with great Solemnity, in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* being present; the manner was as followeth:

The Solemn manner of Proclaiming his Majesty in *London* and *Westminster*.

The Lords came out of their House into the *Painted-Chamber*, where they cotinued till they were placed in Order; the Earl of *Manchester* first, then the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Oxford*, &c. Thus they walked out along with the Heralds before them, through the Court of Requests, and *Westminster-Hall*, to the *Pallace*, where they staid before the Hall Gate, whilest Mr. *Bish* one of the Heralds, and Mr. *Ryly* that officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice, Proclaimed the King in these words:

ALthough it can no way be doubted, but that His Majesties Right and Title to His Crown and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the Death of His most Royal Father of Glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solempnity of a Proclamation: *Yet since* Proclamations *in such Cases have always been used, to the end, that all good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testifie their Duty and Respect; And since the armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years last past, have hitherto deprived Us of any such Opportunity, wherein we might express our* Loyalty *and* Allegeance *to His* Majesty; *We therefore the* Lords *and* Commons *now Assembled in* Parliament, *together with the* Lord Mayor, Aldermen, *and* Common-Council *of the City of* London, *and other* Free-men *of this Kingdom now present, do, according to Our* Duty *and* Allegeance, *heartily, joyfully, and unanimously, acknowledge and Proclaim, That upon the* Decease *of Our late* Soveraign Lord King Charles, *the* Emperial Crown *of the* Realm *of* England, *and of all the* Kingdoms, Dominions, *and* Rights, *belonging to the same, did by inherent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most* Excellent Majesty CHARLES *the Second, as being Lineally, Justly, and Lawfully next* Heir *of the* Royal Blood *of this* Realm; *And that by the Goodness and Providence of* Almighty GOD, *He is of* England, Scotland, France *and* Ireland, *the most Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto we most humbly and faithfully do submit, and oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and Posterities.*

The *Proclamation* being ended, the Lords and Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of *Westminster*, and his Servants, did ride along with White-Staffes to prepare the Way; Then followed a gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them; Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain *Philip Howard*, very well mounted, and richly Cloath'd; after them a Class of Trumpets, and three Heralds; Then a Herald between the Serjeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the Council: Next, *Ryly* King at Arms, in a Rich Coat of the Kings Arms, betwixt Serjeant *Norfolk*, and Serjeant *Middleton*; after whom came the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. *Bish*: These, thus Ushering the VVay, the Earl of *Manchester* followed in his Coach and Six Horses, the Speaker of the House of Commons in his, then his Excellency General *Monck* in his; after which followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches, and after them a Troop of Horse; in this manner they came to *White-Hall*, where they Proclaimed his Majesty a second time; and then proceeded to *Temple-Bar*, Where the Gates being shut, The King at Arms, with Trumpets before him, knocked, and demanded Entrance; The Lord Mayor appointed some to ask, *Who it was that knock'd?* The King at Arms Reply'd, *That if they would open the Wicked, and let the Lord Mayor come thither, he would to him deliver his Message:* The Lord Mayor came then on Horse-back richly habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Grown, to the Gate, and then the Trumpets sounded, and after silence being made, Alderman *Bateman*, by Order of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the Herald, *Who he was, and what was his Message?* To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, *We are the Heralds at Armes, appointed and commanded by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to demand Entrance into the Famous City of* London, *to Proclaim* Charles *the Second King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *and we expect your speedy Answer to this Demand.* To which, after a little Consultation amongst themselves, Alderman *Bateman* Answer'd, *Their Message was accepted, and the Gates should be immediately opened*; which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entred first, Trumpets sounding before him, and was joyfully received by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the Officers of the City *Militia* gallancly accourted, both sides of the Streets were lin'd by the Trained-Bands of *London*, from *Temple-Bear* to the *Old-Exchange*, who stood all with their Swords drawn; The City-Troop march'd next to the Life-Guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; after whom the Heralds, and the rest, as before: When they came to *Chancery-Lane* End, they proclaim'd his Majesty a third time: And from thence they march'd to *Cheap-side*, where he was proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the *Old-Exchange*, where he was again Proclaim'd. The Shouts and Acclamations of the People, at this gallant and orderly Procession, were very great, and their Demonstrations of Joy, at the several Stations, when the Ceremony of Proclaiming was performing, not to be expressed; sometimes they lookt upwards, and then presently cast their Eyes towards the General, as if they intended at one time to pay a Tribute of Thankfulness to Heaven, and his Excellency, who had done an Action so Glorious and Transcendent, *that this present Age cannot enough admire, and our Posterity will with difficulty believe*; and then again they cry'd out, *God Save King* Charles *the Second*; as if they acknowledged that Dayes Joy, as a Recompence

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sufficient for all their Pressures and Grievances; *so excellent a Tutor is the want of that, which long Fruition makes us imperfectly understand.*

The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the Sound of Ringing of Bells; and all seem'd too little, to celebrate the content and exultation of the People, at that Dayes Solemnity.

Commissary *Clarges* his Arrival at *Breda*, where he is graciously receiv'd by his Majesty.

Commissary *Clarges* made such speed in his Journey to his Majesty, That on *Tuesday* the 8th of *May*, in the Morning, which was the Day after the happy making of this *Proclamation*, he arrived at *Bergen-ap-Zome* in *Holland*, half a Dayes Journey from *Breda*; There the Governour gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and six Horses to *Breda*; and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord *Gerrard* met him with two Coaches and Six Horses, and accompained him to his Majesty, who received him with most Gracious Expressions of Satisfaction, as well that he was the first authorized Messenger, that came to him with the News of the intire Submission of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience: As for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage, all that Happiness was derived to his Majesty, and his People.

He presented to his Majesty, a *Letter* from the General in Answer to his Majesties, sent before to him; and in it was inclosed the *Address* of the Officers of the Army.

May it please your Majesty,

The General's Letter to his Majesty.

THE *Parliament being Sitting at my receipt of your Majesties gracious Letter to me, I thought my self obliged in Duty to present it to the* House of Commons, *whose Sence of it, and of that other your Majestie was pleased to send to them by Sir* John Greenvil, *I doubt not but your Majestie will receive an accompt of by some of their own Members; I have also Communicated your Majesties Letter and Declaration to as many of the Chief Officers of the Army as were present in or about* London, *who resented your Majesties Clemency and Grace to them with very great Duty and Affection, as your Majesty may perceive in the inclosed Address, which within few hours after their Convention, they deliver'd to me.*

By all which Circumstances, I hope I may assure your Majesty, That as the Army hath been very Instrumental in their Endeavours to further the Settlement, Peace and Prosperity of your Majesties Kingdoms and Dominions; So nothing will be dearer to them and me, than to be found in our Generations pursuing those good Ends, which may render us serviceable and acceptable to our Country, to give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, and to God the things which are Gods.

May the 5th.

May it please your Majestie;

Your Majesties most humble and Obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellencie in the presence of many Officers of the Army; but he writ another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majestie, *That he chose to send* Mr. Clarges *to him, because he was the only Person he trusted in the neareſt Concernments and Consultations for his Restauration, as one to whom he desired his Majestie to give Credit to what he should say on that behalf.* 1660.

Clarges Knighted by his Majestie, presents himself to the two Dukes, the Princess Royal, and others of the most Eminent of the Court.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclosed in the former of them, His Majestie Knighted him, and by many kind expressions demonstrated his sence of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an hour with his Majestie, he had his permission to attend his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, who received him with that affability which was inherent in them, the most accomplished and most Generous Ptinces in the World. From them he waited on the Princess of *Orange*, who expressed great Content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, she gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertained at her Charge whilest he staid in *Breda*, and have a Coach and Six Horses of her Highnesses, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to Visit the Lord Chancellor, and from him the Marquess of *Ormond*, as those deservedly (next the *Royal Family*) in greatest Credit with his Majestie; both of them receiving him with that respect as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* having perfected the *Instructions* for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majestie, they were delivered to them, and they began their Journey towards the *Hague* (at which place his Majestie intended to meet them) on the 11th of *May*, the time prefix'd in the *Instructions* for their Journey.

Instructions for *Aubry* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lionel* Earl of *Middlesex*, *Lyceſter* Viscount *Hereford*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *Robert* Lord *Brook*, The Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandivel*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Castletowne*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Fairfax*, *Denzel Holles* Esquire, Sir *Horatio Townsend*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, Sir *Henry Cholmley*.

The *Instructions* were thus, (*Viz.*)

The Parliaments Instructions to their Commissioners, who were sent to wait upon his Majestie.

'YOu are to begin your Journey towards his Majestie on Friday next, and make a speedy repair to such place where his Majesty shall be, and humbly to present the Letters where-with you are respectively intrusted by both Houses of Parliament.

'You are to acquaint his Majestie with what great Joy and Acclamation he was Proclaimed in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, upon the Eighth day of *May* Instant, and present the Proclamation it self to his Majestie, and to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houses to have the same Proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.

'And

1660. 'And that both *Houſes* have Ordered,

'That all and every the Miniſters throughout 'the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* be en- 'joyned in their *Publique Prayers* to pray for his '*Moſt Excellent Majeſty*, and for the moſt Illu- 'ſtrious Prince *James* Duke of *York*, and the reſt 'of the *Royal Progeny*. And alſo have Ordered, 'That the aſſumed Arms of the late pretended 'Common-wealth, where ever they are ſtand- 'ing, be taken down, and that his Majeſties '*Arms* be ſet up inſtead thereof: And you are to 'Communicate to his Majeſty the Reſolution of 'both *Houſes* relating to theſe *Inſtructions*.

'You are to acquaint his Majeſty with the 'earneſt Deſire of both *Houſes*, that his Majeſty 'will be pleaſed to make a ſpeedy Return to his '*Parliament*, and to the Exerciſe of his *Kingly* '*Office*; and that in order thereunto, both *Houſes* 'have given Direction to General *Mountague* one 'of the *Generals* at Sea, and other Officers of the '*Fleet*, to obſerve ſuch commands as his Majeſty 'ſhall pleaſe to give him or them for diſpoſal of 'the *Fleet* in order to his Majeſties Return; And 'you are toCommunicate to hisMajeſty theReſo- 'lution of both*Houſes* relating to this Inſtruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The *Houſe of Commons* added one more *Inſtruction* to the Commiſſioners; which was, *To beſeech his Majeſty, that the Parliament may know where he purpoſeth to take Shipping, and to Land at his coming over, that Preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majeſties Houſes he intendeth to make uſe of at his firſt coming to* London; *And whether he will come all the Way by Land after he comes on Shore; or whether he will pleaſe to come by Water from* Graves-End *to* London? *And that his Majeſty will declare in what manner he is pleaſed to be Received.*

The Parliament and City-Commiſſioners have their Audience from his Majeſty at the *Hague*.

All theſe Commiſſioners in three dayes after their departure from *London*, arrived at the *Hague*; And on *Wedneſday* the ſixteenth of *May*, our ſtile, they had their ſeveral Audiences by his Majeſty, who received them all with a ſweet and ſerene Countenance, and a Heart full of Content and good Inclinations towards them; and all the City Commiſſioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Diſpatch to Sir *Thomas Clarges*, and Commanded him to acquaint the General, *He intended to take Shipping at the Bay of* Scheveling *on* Monday *after, and to Sayl to* Dover *and Land there; from whence he would immediately go to* Canterbury, *and ſtay there ſome time to determine of the manner of his Entrance into* London. The Fleet was ſome dayes before in purſuance of the *Orders* of both *Houſes* in the ſaid Bay.

Sir *Thomas Clarges* return with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolution.

On *Thurſday* early in the Morning, Sir *Thomas Clarges* attempted by Boat from *Scheveling*, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was ſo ſtormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; And then General *Mountague* Ordered the *Norwich* Frigate for his Tranſportation: The Winds were ſo contrary, and the Weather ſo ſtormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in *England* till *Monday* Morning, at which time he Landed at *Aldbrough* in *Suffolk*, and immediately from thence ſent an Expreſs to the General, and the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, with intimation of his Majeſties Reſolutions: Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the Chiefeſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *England*, ſet forward from *London* the 22th of *May*; and for the more conveniency of Quartering ſo numerous a Company, he advis'd them to divide themſelves into Troops according to the ſeveral Counties, and the intereſt of the Noblemen preſent.

At *Rocheſter* Sir *Thomas Clarges* met the General, and preſented unto him his Majeſties Letter, with Royal and moſt endear'd aſſurances of Eſteem from the Beſt of Kings, to the Worthieſt and moſt deſerving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 26 of *May*. Directed,

To Our Truſty and Wel-beloved General Monck; *To be Communicated to the Officers of the Army.*

CHARLES R.

His Majeſties Letter to the General.

'TRuſty and Wel-beloved, We Greet you 'well. You will eaſily believe that your 'Letter of the fifth of this Moneth, by Sir *Tho-* 'mas Clarges, was very Welcome to Us: And 'that as We muſt alwayes acknowledge the in- 'finite Mercy of God Almighty in diſpoſing the 'Hearts of the Army in ſuch an intire obedience 'to you, for the promoting and carrying on Our 'Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; So 'We can never be without a Juſt Eſteem of ſuch 'a great and well Diſciplin'd Army, upon which 'the Eyes of the World are ſo much fixed. We 'muſt deſire you to return Our very hearty 'Thanks to the Officers and Souldiers for their 'affection and obedience to Us; and to aſſure 'them from Us, That we ſhall alwayes have an 'intire Confidence in them, and ever acknow- 'ledge them to be the great Inſtruments of Reſto- 'ring Us, to Peace, and Happineſs, and Secu- 'rity to Us all: And therefore they may not 'only with all imaginable Confidence aſſure 'themſelves, that We will punctually perform 'whatever We have promiſed to them in Our '*Declaration* or *Letter*, but that We will take 'them into Our particular Care and Protection. 'And if the Licence and diſtemper of the time 'ſhall ſo far tranſport any men, as to preſume 'upon memory of former Animoſities, and 'of what is paſt, to uſe any reproaches towards 'them, We will look upon ſuch perſons as diſ- 'turbers of the Peace and Security of the King- 'dom, and ſhall cauſe them to be proſecuted 'accordingly. And towards this Settlement and 'Compoſure, and for the prevention of many 'inconveniencies which may fall out, We think 'nothing ſo neceſſary as Our preſence with you, 'by which (in a very ſhort time) every Member 'of the Army, who ſhall faithfully adhere to 'you in advancement of the Publique Peace, ſhall 'with the bleſſing of God, find himſelf ſecured 'and provided for, to his ſatisfaction. And long- 'ing for that Bleſſed time, We bid you heartily 'farewell.

His Excellency being in his Journey, had no opportunity to communicate this Letter to any

any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the Fame of his Majesties transcendent Vertues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impressions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on *Munday*, but the Crossness of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, went on *Munday* and *Tuesday* to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admiral: And on *Wednesday* the 23. his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal of *Orange*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, and the Prince of *Orange*, went on board the *Naseby*, (which his Majesty now named the *Royal Charles*) where after a Re-past, The Queen of *Bohemia*, the Princess Royal, and the Prince of *Orange* her Sonne, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet set sayl for *England*: His Royal Highness the Duke of *York* came in the *London*; and the Duke of *Glouceſter* in the *Swiftsure*, now called the *James*.

The King and the Dukes take Shipping for *England*.

During the time his Majesty had remain'd at the *Hague*, and all the way thither from *Breda*, the States of *Holland* entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they presented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds *Sterling*; and as much Linnen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

His Majesties Entertainment from the States of *Holland*.

On *Friday* about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in sight of *Dover*, whereupon an Express was sent to the General (then newly come to *Canterbury*) to haste to *Dover*; which he presently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from *Canterbury*, advising with the Earl of *Lindsey*, and some of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the conveniency of his Majesties stay at *Dover*, was informed that he could have no accommodation there for a fourth part of his Train, and those that came to wait on him, and therefore he resolv'd humbly to move him, at his Landing, to proceed on directly to *Canterbury*.

His Majesty lands at *Dover*.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majesty Landed at the *Beech* near *Dover-Peer*, with the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and many Noble-men and Gentle-men. All that were present put themselves into a Posture, to see the Meeting of the King and the General: The Admirers of Majesty, were Jealous on his Majesties Behalf, of too low Condescension; and the Lovers of Duty fearful on the other Side, of an Ostentation of Merit: But such an humble Prostration was made by the General, and so generous a Reception by his Majesty, kissing and imbracing him, that all Parties were satisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received so great an Impression of the marvellous Goodness of his Majesty, that he resolv'd what before he had perform'd, out of bounden Duty to his Liege-Lord, should be for ever continued with the same observance, out of Loyal Affections to his Gracious Soveraign.

His Reception there.

His Majesty walked from the Water-side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carryed over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to *Canterbury*, for the Reasons before expressed, he hasted to his Coach; in his Passage to which, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. *Reading* their Minister, who presented his Majesty with a large Bible, with Gold Clasps: At one end of the Coach next the King, sate the Duke of *York*, and at the other the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the General; and the Duke of *Buckingham* sate in the Boot. About two miles from *Dover*, his Majesty took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his right hand, and the General on his left; After whom the Duke of *Buckingham*, and several other Noble-men and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage. 1660.

At his Majesties Entrance into *Canterbury*, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. *Lovelace* the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also presented him with a Tankard of Massie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till *Monday*,

His Reception at *Canterbury*.

The next Day after his Arrival at *Canterbury*, his Majesty Dignified his Excellency with the Honour of the Garter; he was brought up to the King by the Earl of *Winchelsea*, and the Lord *Mordant*, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glouceſter*, in great Testimony of Respect to him, assisted at the Ceremony, and put on the *Garter*, and the *George*; Mr. *Morrice* was also Knighted, and Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majesty sent the General a Warrant to be Master of his Horse.

His Majesty confers the Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Honour of Knighthood upon the Earl of *Winchelsea*, the Lord *Mordant*, and divers others.

His Majesty likewise at *Canterbury*, confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General *Masley*, Alderman *Robinson*, Mr. *Daniel Harvy*, Mr. *Thomas Stewkley*, Collonel *Rossiter*, Captain *Philip Howard*, and Mr. *Robert Paston*; Moreover, his Excellency the Earl of *Southampton*, and Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, were Sworn of the Privy-Council.

On *Monday* following, his Majesty came into *Rocheſter*, where, after he had a little refreshed himself, he went to *Chatham*, to see the *Royal Soveraign*, and returned that Night to Collonel *Gibbons* his House, where he lay, and was by the Collonel presented with a most Dutyful and Loyal *Address* from him and his Regiment which was then Quartered in *Rocheſter*.

He is entertained at *Rocheſter* by Col. *Gibbons*.

From thence his Majesty march'd to *Black-Heath*, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the sight of it; for indeed they seem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the World.

The Army being drawn up on *Black-Heath* wellcom'd his Majesty with great joy and acclamation.

Collonel *Knight* there most humbly presented to his Majesty a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armies joy, for the Honour of his Majesties presence amongst them; wherein after many dutiful expressions of exalted gladness for his Majesties Restauration, they besought, *That his Majesty would have now his great Council about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to his Majesty and all his People.* They also declared, *That as they had not been altogether useless in the Restauration of his* Sacred Majesty, *to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby; so they should for the future chearfully sacrifice their lives,*

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or whatsoever could be more dear to them, in the service of his Majesty, *against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready Obedience to his* Majesties *Commands, expresse themselves better than in words.*

The manner of his Majesties Triumphal Cavalcade through the City of *London.*

When his Majesty came to St. *George* his Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenc'd him, and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Major, his Maiesty went towards *White-Hall* in this manner.

All the streets were richly adorn'd with Tapistry, from *London-Bridge* to *White-Hall*; and as far as *Temple-Barre*, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band-Forces on the one side of the streets, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From *Temple-Barre* to *White-Hall*, the Trained-Bands of *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joyn'd a gallant Company of the late Kings Officers, Commanded by Sir *John Stowell*.

The Procession was led by Major General *Brown*, who had a Troop of three hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve hundred in Velvet-Coats, with Foot-men and Liveries attending them in Purple; Then another Troop led by Alderman *Robinson*, in *Buff-Coats*, with Cloth of Silver-sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these a Troup of about a hundred and fifty with Blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Footmen in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Foot-men in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloathed; Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpets: and another of seventy with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpets with his Majesties Arms; The Sheriffs men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half Pikes in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of *London* on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace: After these twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his *Majesties* Life-guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord *Gerrard*; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats, and Satin Doublets, and the City-Marshal, with eight Footmen in French Green, trim'd with Crimson and White: the City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of *London* in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Major carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the General, and then the *Kings Majesty* betwixt the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white colours, and after them, the Generals Life-guard, led by Sir *Phillip Howard*: Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Collonel *Knight*: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his *Majesty* conducted to his Royal Pallace at *White-Hall*, on the nine and twentieth day of *May*, His Birth-day; and with Him, Peace and Happiness return'd to His Kingdoms and People, which all good men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and His Posterity.

His Majesties Reception by the Lords and Commons in Parliament.

When the Lord Mayor had taken leave of him, he went to the *Lords*, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of *Manchesters*, and from thence to the *Banquetting-House*, where the whole *House of Commons* attending him, the *Speaker* in their Names expressed *the Joyfull Sence they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in Safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.*

He expresseth in brief his Gracious Intentions to them.

The King told them, *He was so disordered by his Journey, and with the noise still sounding in his Ears, (which nevertheless he confess'd was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby unfit to make such a Reply as he desired*; But added, *That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his* Parliament *to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owned the Restauration to his Crown, he would study the Welfare of his People; and not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a Just Assertor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.*

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to *Westminster-Abby* to offer up a Thanksgiving to GOD for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Weariness he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Dayes Action, he was diverted from his intention of going thither; yet would he not for any consideration be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappel was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The two Dukes and other Peers take their Seats in the House of Lords.

The next day the Dukes of *York* and *Gloucester* took their Places in the *House of Peers*, as did a while after several other Peers who were made by his Majesty beyond the Seas, and Summoned by Writ; (*viz.*) *Henry Jermin* Earl of St. *Albans*, and Baron of St. *Edmonds Bury*; *John Mordant*, Viscount *Mordant* of *Aveland*: Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, Baron *Langdale* of *Holm*; *Charles Crofts*, Baron *Crofts*; Sir *John Barklay*, Baron *Barklay*.

The chief Officers of State, and of the Kings Household.

In the first place after his Majesties Arrival, were appointed the chief Officers of *State*, and of his Majesties Houshold, his Highness the Duke of *York* was Invested with the Office of Lord High-Admiral of *England*, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: The Lord General *Monk* was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to His *Majesty*, Sir *Edward Hide*

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Hide (afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*) was constituted Lord High Chancellour of *England*: The Earl of *Southampton* Lord High Treasurer of *England*: Sir *Edward Nicholas*, and Sir *William Morrice*, Chief Secretaries of State. The Marquess of *Ormond* was appointed Lord Steward: and the Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Houshold: Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Treasurer of the Houshold; and Sir *Charles Berkley*, Comptroller: and Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain of the Houshold, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy: Besides several others, who for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanc'd to Places of Highest Trust and Dignity in Court and Commonwealth. Moreover, his Majesties Privy Councel consisted of these Persons following:

The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council.

The Duke of *York*.
Lord Chancellour.
Marquess of *Ormond*.
Marquess of *Dorchester*.
Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord high Chamberlain of *England*.
Earl of *Berkshire*.
Earl of *Southampton*.
Earl of *Norwich*.
Lord *Say* and *Seale*.
Lord *Wentworth*.
Lord *Seymour*.
Mr. *Denzell Holles*.
Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Trasurer of His Majesties Houshold.
Sir *Edward Nicholas*.
Sir *George Carteret*, Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty.
Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*.
Collonel *Charles Howard*.
The Duke of *Glouceſter*.
Lord General *Monk*.
Marquess of *Hertford*.
Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houshold.
Earl of *Northumberland*.
Earl of St. *Albans*.
Earl of *Leicester*.
Lord *Culpeper*.
Lord *Roberts*.
Mr. *Arthur Annesley*.
Sir *Charles Barkley*, Comptroller of his Majesties Houshold.
Sir *William Morrice*.
General *Mountague*.

The Clerks of the Privy Council were Sir *Richard Brown* Knight and Baronet, (who having been 19 Years Resident in the Court of *France* for his Majesty and his Royal Father, manag'd that Imployment with extraordinary Prudence, Address and Integrity, and in whose Chappel at *Paris* the Liturgie of the Church of *England* had been solemnly kept up during its Eclipse at home) Sir *Edward Walker* Garter King of Arms. *John Nicholas* Esq; Eldest Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir *George Lane*, Secretary to the Marquess of *Ormond*.

Military Commands conferr'd upon several Lords and Gentlemen.

In the next place, special Care was taken for the committing of all Military Offices of highest Trust, as well as the Civil already mention'd, into the hands of such Persons as were judg'd most faithful to the Kings Service; so that the Governments of all the most Important Castles, Fortresses, and Islands, and the first Commands of the several Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General conferr'd upon such Lords and other Persons of Honour as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that Effect, until such time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the farther settling of the *Militia* of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land Constituted Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the same Counties as had most eminently shewn their affections to his Majesty.

The Commons set upon the Act of General Pardon.

The *House of Commons* in the mean time, applyed themselves to the perfecting of an *Act of General Pardon*, which was read Twice in the *House* the One and Thirtieth of this Moneth, thereby complying with that great Clemency and Indulgence of his Majesty to his People, expressed in his most gracious Letter from *Breda*. They had in the first Proposition of this Act, designed to except from Pardon several of the Judges of the late King, and others instrumental in the perpetration of that horrid Treason: of which they had in Custody Eight persons, (*viz.*) *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Clement*, and *Jones*, of the Judges; *Cook* who was the Prosecutor, *Hacker* Captain of the Halberdeers, and Collonel *Axtel*; also *Hugh Peters* the Minister, a virulent Incendiary in the action, who for a while had been sculking up and down in secret, was at length taken in *Southwark*. There were others that had been seduced into that Treason, (*viz.*) Collonel *Richard Ingoldsby*, *Francis Lassels*, and *John Hutchinson*; but so much was said in the House in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for *Ingoldsby*, it was made to appear, that *Oliver Cromwell*, without his consent, set his hand and seal to the Warrant for Execution of the King: Besides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty since, and his Engagement in Sir *George Booth*'s business, and against *Lambert*, (as is before related) he had given eminent testimony of his abhorrency of so foul a Crime. *Lassels* had never been in the High Court of Justice, and but once at any meeting with them, and at that time he declared his dissent to their proceedings. And *Hutchinson* had been a very early Convert, and appeared much against that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Person and Posterity, in that part of the *Parliament* which sate at the time of General *Monck*'s March into *London*.

The King comes to the *Parliament*, and gives his Royal Assent to several Bills.

This *Act of General Pardon* had so many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheless, the *Parliament* omitted not to perfect some necessary Lawes for the safety of the Government. On the second of *June*, the *Parliament* having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for him; his Majesty came to the *House of Lords*, and having sent to the *House of Commons* to attend him, there gave his Royal Assent to them; (*viz.*) *To an ACT for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his absence, of the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds a Moneth for Three Moneths. An ACT for Confirmation of the present Parliament.*

1660. And, *An ACT for the Continuance of Proceſs in Judicial Proceedings.* Which laſt, was for avoiding of Diſcontinuances in the Courts of *Weſtminſter*, becauſe the firſt four Returns of *Eaſter*-Term could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the abatement of Writs that were not iſſued in the Kings Name before his Return to the exerciſe of Government.

His Majeſty alſo preſt them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to haſten their paſſing of the *Bill of Indempnity*, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign; whereupon this Bill was from thenceforth the grand Buſineſs of both *Houſes* untill it was finiſh'd: Nor could it be finiſh'd till after ſome conſiderable time, and many large and ſerious Conſultations. In the mean time, the *Two Houſes* themſelves deſired to lay hold upon this *Amneſtie* in the Name of the whole Nobility and Commonalty of the Nation: which being eaſily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the *Banqueting-Houſe*, where they waited upon his Majeſty to that end.

About this time came forth a *Proclamation*, whereby it was declared, *That all ſuch of the late Kings Judges as did not render themſelves, ſhould be Excepted out of the General Pardon:* And thereupon *Adrian Stroop*, and Nineteen others of them conceal'd in ſeveral parts, preſented themſelves to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons*, and were committed to Cuſtody. The Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, and Four and twenty more were dead; and *Thomas Scott*, and Nineteen others eſcaped beyond the Seas, but were attained by Act of Parliament, as ſhall be hereafter expreſſed; And *Scott* was, ſhortly after his Eſcape, taken at *Bruxels*, and by the diligence of the Kings Agent there ſent into *England*, and ſent to the *Tower*.

The Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance taken by both Houſes of Parliament.

The Kings Servants and Officers of his Houſhould, &c.

On the 4th of *June*, the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* to the King were tender'd to all the Members of both *Houſes of Parliament*, with the Kings Servants and Officers of his Houſehold, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain: And by Order of *Parliament*, of the 4th of the ſame Moneth, the Lord General was deſired to take an effectual Care that the ſame Oaths ſhould be adminiſtred to all the Officers and Souldiers of the Armies under his Command; And the Lord Chancellor to that end was alſo deſired to Iſſue forth Commiſſions under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſuch perſons as the Lord General ſhould nominate and appoint, for adminiſtring the ſaid Oaths to the Officers and Souldiers accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the General and the Chancellor: And to ſettle the Army ſo as it might be moſt ſerviceable to his Majeſty, he removed ſeveral Collonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

His Majeſties Arrival Congratulated by the People from all parts of the Nation.

As the generality of the people had a little before, upon the concluſion of his Majeſties Admiſſion into his Dominions, and his preparation to come over, given great demonſtrations of their affection and Loyalty to him, by their univerſal alacrity in proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations; So likewiſe, immediately after he was come, they were no leſs forward to manifeſt their Duty and Allegiance by Congratulatory Addreſſes from all parts of the Kingdom, (the like duty being perform'd by ſeveral of the Nobility and Gentry both of *Scotland* and *Ireland*,) alſo thoſe Towns and Corporations that had bought out their ſeveral Fee-Farm Rents belonging formerly to the Crown, and by the late *Commonwealth* alienated from it, ſent their Deputies to his Majeſty, to make a voluntary Surrender of them back again unto him. Others preſented him with Summs of Gold and other Gifts according to their abilities: But the City of *London*, as being the firſt, the richeſt and moſt Honourable, and the Seat of Kings for many Ages, judg'd themſelves oblig'd in point of Duty and Reputation, to exceed all the reſt in the glory of their performances toward their Soveraign; and therefore to the ſplendour of their former preparations at his firſt Reception and Triumphal *Extrada*, they added the Coſt of a moſt Magnificent Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*, (which was for that very purpoſe richly beautified and adorn'd) to which the King, the two Princes his Brothers, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Two Houſes of Parliament, and the Chief Officers of State being ſolemnly Invited, were, on *Thurſday* the 5 of *July*, conducted thither in very great Pomp by the Lord Mayor and the Grandees of the City, where they were Treated in a Royal manner with the choiceſt of delicacies, with excellent Muſick, and whatever elſe could be thought on or delightful for ſo Illuſtrious an Aſſembly.

His Entertainment at *Guild-Hall*.

He ſets forth a Proclamation againſt Debauchery and Profaneſs.

Nor was his Majeſty wanting on the other ſide to give ſuch publick Teſtimonies of his Vertue and Prudence, as might render him deſervedly glorious in the Eſteem of all ſober and moderate perſons, and that by ſeveral wholeſome Edicts, eſpecially by that Seaſonable *Proclamation* which he publiſh'd, one of the firſt things he did after his Arrival, for the diſcountenancing and puniſhing of Debauchery, Profaneneſs and all manner of Vice: Dated the 31 of *May*, 1660.

The King ſate very frequently in Council about the great Affairs of Government; and upon Information that many *Iriſh* Rebels had in unuſual Numbers reſorted from beyond the Seas to *England* and *Ireland*, and were ſo inſolent as to diſpoſſeſs many Souldiers, and Adventurers in *Ireland*, who had poſſeſſion of their forfeited Eſtates; at the humble Requeſt of the Parliament, the King publiſhed a *Proclamation*, Commanding all *Iriſh* Rebels (ſuch only excepted as by Articles had the Liberty of reſiding in his Majeſties Dominions, and have not forfeited the ſame,) that ſtill ſtay in, or ſhall reſort to, *England* or *Ireland*, to be apprehended and proceeded againſt as Rebels and Traytors: And that the Adventurers and Souldiers ſhould not be diſturbed in their Poſſeſſions, untill the King by Advice of Parliament ſhall take further Order, or they be Legally Evicted. And requiring all Officers both Civil and Military, to ſee the ſaid *Proclamation* put in Execution.

The Kings *Proclamation* concerning the *Iriſh* Rebels.

But notwithſtanding his Majeſties great Care and Zeal to Settle and Compoſe all publique Differences, many ill-affected people in Pamphlets aſperſed his Actions, maliciouſly endeavouring to inſinuate, that he intended nothing leſs than the performance of his Promiſes from

Breda:

Breda; Which made him send a Message to the *House of Commons* by Sir *William Morrice*, to quicken their Debates about the *Act of General Pardon and Indempnity*, as that which would best quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

The Kings Message to the *House of Commons*, about the *Act of Pardon*.

He told them, 'He had too ample a manifestation of their Affections and Duty towards him, '(the good Effects of which was notorious to 'the World) to make the least doubt of the continuance and improvement thereof, or in the 'least degree to dislike what they had done, or 'to Complain of what they had left undone: 'And that he knew well the Weight of those Affairs which depended upon their Counsels, 'and the time that must unavoidably be spent, 'where there must be naturally difference of Opinions and Judgments amongst those whose 'desires of the Publique Peace and Safety were 'the same. And that neither he nor they must be 'over-much troubled, if they found their good 'Intention and unwearied pains, taken to reduce 'those good Intentions into reall Acts for the 'Quiet and Security of the Nation, mis-represented, and mis-interpreted, by those who are 'in truth afflicted to see the publique Distractions, by Gods Blessing, so near an end; and 'by others upon whose VVeakness, Fears and 'Jealousies, the activity and cunning of those 'ill men hath had too great an Influence.

'That how wonderful and miraculous soever 'the great harmony of affections between him 'and his Subjects is, (it being so visible to the 'VVorld, that there scarce appears the view of 'any Cloud to overshadow or disturb it) yet it 'is not to be thought that God Almighty had 'wrought the Miracle to that degree, that a Nation so miraculously divided for so many Years, 'would be so soon and intirely united in their 'Affections and Endeavours as were to be wished; 'but that the Evil Consciences of many continued so awake for mischief, they would not 'be willing to take rest themselves, or suffer o'thers to take it: And that they all had too sad 'Experience of the unhappy Effects of Fears and 'Jealousies, how groundless and unreasonable 'soever, not to think it very necessary to apply all 'timely and proper Remedies to those Distempers, and to prevent the Inconveniencies and 'Mischiefs which so naturally flow from thence: 'That he well foresaw, That the great violation which the Laws of the Land had for so many 'years sustained, had fill'd the hearts of the 'People with a terrible apprehension of insecurity to themselves, if all they had said and done 'should be liable to be examined and punished 'by those Laws which had been so violated: 'And that nothing could establish the Security of 'King and People, but a full Provision that the 'returning to the reverence and obedience of the 'Law (which is good for all,) should not turn 'to the ruine of any who were willing and fit to 'receive that Protection hereafter from the Law, 'and to pay that Subjection to it, which were 'Just and necessary; and therefore, *he said*, he 'made a free Offer of a General Pardon in such 'a manner as was expressed in his *Declaration*; 'and how ready and desirous he was to make 'good the same, appeared by his *Proclamation* 'issued out upon and according to their desire: 'However, it was evident, that all he had offered or did offer, did not enough Compose the 'Minds of his People; Nor in their Opinions 'could their Security be provided for, till the '*Act of Indempnity and Oblivion* were pass'd. 1660.

'*He said*, He found great industry used, (by those 'who did not wish that Peace to the Kingdom 'they ought to do) to perswade his good Subjects that he had no mind to make good his Promises, which he desired to perform for his own 'sake, as well at theirs. And that therefore he 'did very earnestly recommend it to them, that 'all expedition might be used in the passing *That* '*most necessary Act*, whereby his good Subjects 'generally would be satisfied that their security 'was in their own hands, and depended upon 'their future Actions, and that they were free 'for all past, and so all the endeavours of ill men 'would be disappointed, who would perswade 'them not to do well now, because they had 'done amiss heretofore. And that he was the 'more engaged to this his Recommendation, be'cause upon the reflection of their eminent Zeal 'and Affection for his Service, and hearty Con'currence with him in all things desired from 'them, men were apt to perswade others (though 'not believing it themselves,) that the passing of 'this *Act* was therefore not desired, because he 'did not enough press the dispatch of it; which 'he did desire from his heart, and was confident 'they would the sooner do it, upon his earnest 'recommendation.

This *Message* did so much quicken their Debates, that they dispatch'd the Bill in a very short time, and sent it up to the Lords, and the Peoples Minds were much Composed thereby, and the more, for that his Majesty by a *Proclamation* after it, did declare a kind of impatience for the delay thereof.

General *Monk* created Duke of *Albemarle*.

About the beginning of *July*, General *Monck* was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of *England* made Duke of *Albemarle*, Earl of *Torrington*, Baron *Monk* of *Potheridge*, *Beauchampe*, and *Teyes*, and Summoned by Writ to the House of Peers. The Titles of *Albemarle* and *Beauchampe* were conferr'd on him, because he was descended from *Margaret*, one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of *Richard Beauchampe* Earl of *Albemarle* and *Warwick*, who was married to the Famous Warriour *John Talbott* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, well known in *France*, whose Son *John* had only one Daughter married to *Edward Grey* Viscount *Lisle*, whose Daughter and Heir *Elizabeth Grey* was married to *Arthur Plantagenett*, a natural Son of King *Edward* the Fourth, who was in her right Viscount *Lisle*; and *Frances* one of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Viscount *Lisle*, was married to Sir *Thomas Monk*, great Grand-father to the present Duke of *Albemarle*.

General *Mountague* made Earl of *Sandwich*. The Marquess of *Ormond* made Duke of *Ormond*.

And a few dayes after, Mr. *Edward Mountague*, one of the Generals at Sea, was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Letters Patent dignified with the Honours of Earl of *Sandwich*, Viscount *Montague* of *Hinchingbrook*, and Baron of St. *Needs*. And the Marquess of *Ormond* was made Earl of *Brecknock*, and Baron *Butler* of *Lanthony*; and these Two in the same Order they were created, had Writs to Summon them to the *House of Peers*. Which Marquess was afterwards created Duke of *Ormond*.

The

1660. The Lords in *Parliament* were in Conſultation to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Juſtice, which was no more than ſuch men deſerved, who could ſo maliciouſly contribute to the Subverſion of the good Laws and Government of their native Country; But the Kings Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Father's Murder; and obſerving thoſe Debates to obſtruct much the ſpeedy perfecting that Bill he ſo earneſtly deſired to have finiſh'd, On the 27th of *July* he went to the ſaid *Houſe*, and in a handſome and moſt gracious Speech, expreſſed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

The Kings Speech to the Parliament, to haſten the perfecting of the Act of Oblivion.

'WHen I came firſt hither to you, which was within two or three dayes after 'I came to *White-Hall*, I did with as much earneſtneſs as I could, both by my Self, and the *Chancellour*, recommend to You and the *Houſe of Commons*, the ſpeedy diſpatch of the *Act of Indempnity*, as a neceſſary Foundation of that 'Security We all pray for; I did ſince, by a particular *Meſſage* to the *Houſe of Commons*, again preſs them to haſten that Important Work; 'And did likewiſe by a *Proclamation*, publiſh to 'all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience 'expect that that *Act* would be preſented to me 'for my Aſſent, as the moſt reaſonable and ſolid Foundation of that Peace, Happineſs, and 'Security I hope and pray for to my Self and all 'my Dominions. I will not deny it to you, I 'thought the *Houſe of Commons* too long about 'that Work, and therefore now it is come up 'to You, I would not have you Guilty of the 'ſame delay. I thank God, I have the ſame Intentions and Reſolutions now I am here with 'You, which I had at *Breda*, and believe that I 'owe my being here, to Gods bleſſing upon the 'Intentions and Reſolutions I then expreſſed to 'have. I will read to you what I then ſaid:

'And to the end that the fear of Puniſhment 'may not engage any, Conſcious to themſelves 'of what is paſſed, to a perſeverance in Guilt 'for the future, by expoſing the quiet and happineſs of their Country, in the Reſtauration 'both of King, Peers, and People, to their Juſt, 'Ancient, and Fundamental Rights; We do 'by theſe Preſents declare, That We do grant 'a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon demand, to paſſe under Our Great 'Seal of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what 'Degree or Quality ſoever, who within Fourty 'dayes after the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay 'hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and ſhall 'by any publique Act declare their doing ſo; And 'that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience 'of good Subjects (excepting only ſuch Perſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by *Parliament.*)

'Thoſe only excepted, let all Our Loving 'Subjects, how faulty ſoever, rely upon the 'Word of a King ſolemnly given by this preſent 'Declaration, That no Crime whatſoever committed againſt Us or Our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in 'Judgement, or be brought in Queſtion againſt 'any of them to the leaſt endamagement of them, 'either in their Lives, Liberties, or Eſtates, or '(as far forth as lyes in Our Power) ſo much 'as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by 'any reproach or term of diſtinction from the 'reſt of Our beſt Subjects: We Deſiring and Ordaining, That henceforward all Notes of Diſcord, Separation, and Difference of Parties be 'utterly aboliſhed among all Our Subjects, whom 'We Invite and Conjure to a perfect Union among themſelves under Our Protection, for the 'Re-ſettlement of Our Juſt Rights, and Theirs, 'in a *Free Parliament*; By which, upon the 'Word of a King, We will be Adviſed.

'*My Lords*, If you do not Joyn with Me in 'extinguiſhing this Fear, which keeps the hearts 'of men awake, and apprehenſive of ſafety and 'ſecurity; You keep Me from performing My 'Promiſe, which if I had not made, I am perſwaded neither I, nor You had been now here: 'I pray let Us not deceive thoſe who brought, or 'permitted Us to come together. I knew well 'there were ſome Men who could neither forgive 'themſelves, nor be forgiven by Us; and I thank 'you for your Juſtice towards thoſe, he immediate Murtherers of my Father: And I will deal 'truly with you, I never thought of excepting 'any other. I pray think well upon what I have 'offered, and the benefit you and I have received from that offer; and encourage and oblige 'all other preſons, by not excluding them from 'the benefit of this Act. This *Mercy* and Indulgence is the beſt way to bring them to a true 'repentance, and to make them more ſevere to 'themſelves when they find We are not ſo to 'them. It will make them good Subjects to me, 'and good Friends and Neighbours to you; and 'We have then all Our end, and you ſhall find 'this the ſecureſt Expedient to prevent future 'miſchief. Therefore I do earneſtly deſire and 'Conjure you, to depart from all particular animoſities and Revenge, or memory of paſt 'provocations, and that you will paſſe this Act 'without other Exceptions, than of thoſe who 'were immediately guilty of that Murther of my 'Father.

'*My Lords*, I have told you my Opinion, 'and I hope you will be of the ſame. If any perſons appear of ſuch dangerous and obſtinate 'Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom can'not be preſerved whileſt they have Liberty in it, 'ſome other courſe may be taken, that they 'ſhall not be able to do hurt; and I aſſure you, 'there is nothing can enable them to do ſo much 'harm, as the deferring the paſſing this Act.

'I hope I need ſay nothing of *Ireland*, and that 'they alone ſhall not be without the benefit of 'my *Mercy*: They have ſhewed much affection 'to me abroad, and you will have a care of my 'Honour, and of what I have promiſed to them. 'I do again conjure you, that you will uſe all expedition in the diſpatch of this *Bill.*

This Speech did not only expedite the paſſing of this Act in the *Houſe of Peers*, but give a general Satisfaction to the People, who were exceedingly quieted in their *Minds* with the Kings reſolute Care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his *Mind* ſo intent on this neceſſary Affair, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government; But obſerving, that the late Differences of his People had created many Animoſities

1660.

sities amongst them, which occasioned frequent Duels, he thought fit to prevent the Inconveniencies thereof by a *Proclamation*; whereby he manifested so great a dislike of Duels, as *strictly to command all his Subjects whatsoever, neither by themselves nor any other by Message, Word or Writing, or other wayes or means to Challenge or cause to be Challenged any person or persons to fight in Duel, nor to carry, accept, nor conceal any Challenge, nor actually to fight, or be second to any therein.*

His Majesties Proclamation against Fighting of Duels.

And he further Declared, *That every person offending against his Commands herein, should not only incurre his Displeasure, but be incapable of holding any Office in his Service, and never after be permitted to come to Court or perferr'd, besides the suffering such punishment as the Law should inflict on such offenders; And all persons that should accept or know of such Challenges, and not reveal the same to one of the Privy Council, or the next Justice of Peace, should be lyable to the same Penalties.* And further, he was so severe in this matter, as to forbid *any Intercession to be made for Offenders against this Proclamation.*

By this good Government, a general tranquility appear'd in all the King's Dominions; and to lessen the Publique Charge, the *Parliament* were providing money to disband the Armies, and pay off such of the Ships as were more than needful for the Guard of the Seas: And in order hereunto, the General was so provident, as to give Order to the Muster-Master-General to admit of no new Souldiers in any Troops or Companies, and the Officers likewise had Charge to entertain none upon any vacancies.

The *English* Commissioners in *Scotland* having been imployed as Judges for the Government of that Nation, and having had their Commissions continued in force for some time after the King's coming in, they were at length by the Letters from the Duke of *Albemarle* acquainted with the King's Pleasure, That from the 22. of *August* they should cease to act any more in this their Judicatory power, in regard that Kingdom was thenceforth to be reduc'd to its ancient form of government; in order to which, *Proclamation* was made in the King's Name, for the speedy Convening of the *Committee* of the *Three Estates* of *Scotland*; a *Parliament* also being to be called there within a few Months; And in the interim, the Chief Ministers of State were Constituted; The Earl of *Glencarn* was made Lord Chancellour; the Lord *Craford-Lindsey* Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Cassiles* Justice-general, the Earl of *Lauderdale* Chief Secretary of State, and General *Middleton* the Kings Commissioner, with several others.

A *Committee of Estates* Convened in *Scotland.*

The chief Ministers of State Constituted in *Scotland.*

The *Committee of Estates* being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government; for nowithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the People at *Edenborough* (as well as other places) in the publick Proclaiming of his Majesty, yet after a short while, there began to discover it self a spirit of discontent among certain *Scotch* Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a *Remonstrance* concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; which the *Committee of Estates* having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a *Proclamation* against all *Unlawfull Meetings, and Seditious Papers.*

Certain *Scotch* Ministers imprison'd by Order of the *Committee of Estates.*

And the same thing that befell these Ministers, hapned also to their Country-man the Marques of *Argyle*, who notwithstanding that he came to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, upon pretence of tendring his Service to his Majesty, yet he had not it seems carried himself so blamelessly, but that a sufficient cause was found for the laying of High Treason to his Charge, and committing him thereupon a prisoner to the *Tower*; and together with him were committed the Marques of *Antrim*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

The Marques of *Argyle* and others sent to the *Tower* of *London.*

In *Ireland* the Convention that had assembled there upon the Change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the settling of things in that Nation, in Conformity to the Kings Authority, (Colonel *Eyres*, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir *Charles Coot*) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratulations and Desires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the Calling of a full *Parliament*, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and his Council.

The Convention in *Ireland* dissolve themselves.

The Act of Indempnity was sent from the *Lords* to the *Commons* with several alterations, to which the *Commons* were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected Twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such Pains and Penalties not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be passed in this *Parliament:* Whereas the Lords finding the King's Inclination to tend towards the Pardoning of all but such as were his Fathers Judges, or otherwise Actors in his Murder, they disagreed to that part of the *Act*, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Collonel *John Lambert*, who were esteemed to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any Conditions of Pardon: The *Commons* for some time adhered to their first Resolution, but after several Conferences, they agreed with the *Lords* in all things, except some little alterations to their frame of the *Act*; *Vane* and *Lambert* were excepted, but *Haslerigg* remained liable to such Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures, as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the *Commons*, that were not of the King's Judges, were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shewen, when we come to write of the parts of that *Act.*

The Debate between the Lords and Commons concerning the Act of Indempnity.

That which put Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* under so favorable a Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of *Albemarle*; For *Haslerigg* coming to him, when he perceiv'd the Revolution hasten towards the Re-

Sir *Arthur Haslerigg* Pardon'd, upon the Mediation of the Duke of *Albemarle.*

1660. ſtauration of the King and his Government, he expoſtulated with him about it, in reference to the ſecurity of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him deſperate, becauſe he had at that time a Regiment of Horſe, and a Regiment of Foot in the Garriſons of *New-Caſtle*, *Tinmouth*, *Berwick*, and *Carliſle*, under his Government; which (if he had oppoſed) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effuſion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavoured to avoid in all the progreſs of his Actions; And therefore told him, *If he would quietly give up his command, and retire to his Houſe, he would endeavour to ſecure him in his Life and Eſtate, and doubted not to effect it.* This being made known at a Conference by the *Houſe of Commons*, was juſtified with great modeſty by the Duke in the *Houſe of Peers*, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the *Act*, and a ſmall time after, his Eſtate alſo was, at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averſe to his Fathers diſloyal Principles: (Sir *Arthur* himſelf, a while after his Impriſonment, dying of a Feaver in the *Tower.*)

An Inſtance of His Majeſties affection to his People.

At this laſt Conference of the *Lords* and *Commons*, the Lord Chancellor took occaſion to ſpeak of the Kings affection to his People, by a very remarkable Inſtance, ſaying, *That he being imployed in an Embaſſy to* Spain, *had it ſtrictly given him in charge by his Majeſty to avow and declare, That the horrid Murther of his Royal Father was not the Act of the Parliament or People of* England, *but of a very wretched and little company of Miſcreants in the Kingdom.* Which was ſo pleaſing to the *Houſe of Commons*, that upon the report of it to them, they Ordered ſuch of the Privy Council as were Members of that Houſe, to preſent to his Majeſtie the humble and thankfull Senſe they had of his Juſtice and Favour for that Juſt Defence he had been graciouſly pleas'd to make in behalf of the *Parliament* and People of *England.*

A few dayes after this, that is to ſay, the 29th of *Auguſt*, The King had Notice that there were Five *Acts* prepared for his Royal Aſſent, and he therefore repaired to the *Lords Houſe*, and ſent for the *Commons* to him, where he aſſented to them. The *Acts* were;

Several Acts Sign'd.

1. *An* Act *for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.* 2. *An* Act *for a ſpeedy Proviſion of Money to pay off and disband all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.* 3. *An* Act *for the reſtraining the taking of* Exceſſive Uſury. 4. *An* Act *of General Pardon, Indempnity, and Oblivion.* 5. *An* Act *for a perpetual Anniverſary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of* May, *(the day of his Majeſties Nativity and Reſtauration.)*

At the paſſing of which *ACTS*, he expreſs'd himſelf in theſe words:

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons.

The Kings Speech in *Parliament* at the paſſing of thoſe Acts.

I Have been here ſometimes before with you, but never with more willingneſs, than I am at this time. And there be few men in the Kingdome, who have longed more impatiently to have thoſe Bills paſſed, than I have done to paſſe them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much Security and Happineſs to Us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indempnity, *to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not uſe great Severity, except in ſuch Caſes where the Malice is notorious, and the Publique Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time to come, the ſame Diſcretion and Conſcience which diſpoſed me to the Clemency I have expreſſed, which is moſt agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary ſoever it be to my Nature, towards thoſe who ſhall not now acquieſce, but continue to manifeſt their ſedition and diſlike of the Government, either to Action or Words.*

And I muſt conjure you all (my Lords *and* Gentlemen) *to concurr with Me in this Juſt and neceſſary ſeverity; and that you will in your ſeveral Stations be ſo Jealous of the Publique Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cauſe exemplary Juſtice to be done upon thoſe who are guilty of Seditious Speeches or Writings, as well as thoſe who break out into ſeditious Actions: And that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing My Perſon, not to be well affected to You and the Publique Peace.*

Never King valued himſelf more upon the affections of his people than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self ſure of your Affections, than by being Juſt and Kind to you all: And whileſt I am ſo, I pray let the World ſee that I am poſſeſſed of your Affections.

For your Pole-Bill, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers: and wiſh with all my heart that it may amount to as great a Summe as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is deſigned. I am ſure I ſhall be the richer by it in the end: and upon My Word, if I had wherewithal, I would My Self help you, ſo much I deſire the Buſineſs done.

I pray very earneſtly, as faſt as Money comes in, diſcharge that great burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as faſt as you can; and till you can disband the reſt, make a proviſion for their ſupport. I do conjure you, as you love Me, let Me not hear the noyſe of Free-Quarter, which will be imputed to My want of Care and Government, how Innocent ſoever I am; and therefore be ſure you prevent it.

I am ſo confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to My Self; and yet I muſt tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not ſo much Money in my Purſe as when I came to you: The truth is, I have lived principally ever ſince upon what I brought with Me; which was indeed your Money, for you ſent it to Me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly expence of the Navy, eats up all you have given Me by the Bill of Tonnage *and* Poundage. *Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling ſince I came into* England, *nor to keep any Table in my Houſe but what I eat my ſelf. And that which troubles Me moſt, is, to ſee ſo many of you come to Me to* White-Hall, *and to think you muſt go ſomewhere elſe to ſeek your Dinner.*

I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles Me; do but take care of the Publique and

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for what is necessary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time for My Own Particular, which I am sure you will provide for with as much affection and frankness as I can desire.

1660.

Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings.

The *ACT* for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, was as necessary at this Juncture, as the *Act of General Pardon*, since without this, besides many other Inconveniencies, so great a Concussion would have been in most mens Estates as would have made them subject to perpetual Incertainties.

1. 'By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or 'Equity in all or any of the Courts at *West-* '*minster*, or in *Wales*, or in the County Pala- 'tine, or Dutchy of *Lancaster*, or *Berwick*, or 'other inferiour Courts, and all things done by 'the Judges and Officers in pursuance thereof, or 'of the Court of Admiralties, Delegates, Justices 'of Assize, *Nisi Prius*, Commission of Sewers, 'Bankrupts, or Charitable Uses, and all proceed- 'ings thereupon had in *England* since the First of 'May, 1642. were Confirm'd, notwithstand- 'ing any defect of Legal Power, or difference in 'Style or Title.

2. 'All Fines Levied without paying the Kings 'Silver, or without entry of Money given for 'the Concord, or before one Judge only, were 'made good and effectual; And all Fines, Re- 'coveries, Judicial Proceedings in the *Common-* 'Pleas, since the death of the late King, of Lands 'in *Demesne*, were Confirm'd.

3. 'Whereas since the First of *May*, 1641. 'and before the 20th of *August*, 1660. divers 'who adhered to both *Houses of Parliament*, 'had been Indicted for Treason, and others also 'who adhered to his Majesty or his Father, were 'impeached in like manner: All such Indictments 'and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made 'of any Lands forfeited by reason thereof, and 'Title to the mean profits claymed in that 'respect were henceforth discharged, and resti- 'tution to be made to the respective persons and 'their heirs.

4. 'All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities 'made to the late Keepers, or Protector, not 'pardoned or discharged, were to be prosecuted 'in the name and to the use of his Majesty his 'Heirs and Successors.

To the fourth Branch, such Securities were excepted as had been given to the late Powers by any for their adherence to the King or his Father, or relating to the late Troubles, which was by this Act made void; as likewise were all *Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major General, Decimators, or any other Military Power.*

5. 'After the 8th of *May*, 1660, no Judges 'at *Westminster*, Sergeants at Law, Commis- 'sions of Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charita- 'ble Uses, Constituted by any of the late Usuped 'Powers, were to be continued.

6. 'No none claim upon or after any Fine by 'this *Act* confirmed, shall extend to barre any 'Person or their Heirs (other than the Parties to 'the said Fines, and their Heirs and Trustees) 'for such Rights as they had by colour of any 'Act or pretended Ordinance of Parliament, 'since the first of *May*, 1642, and before the '25th of *April*, 1660, as of Crown-Lands, or 'of Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any person 'for adhering to the King, or his Father, or in 'relation to the late Troubles, so as such persons 'and their Heirs pursue their Clayms by Actions 'or Entry within 5. years after the 29th of '*May*, 1660.

7. 'The Name and Styles of the Usurped 'Power and Authorities were declared to be 'Rebellious.

8. 'All Proceedings of High Treason for Le- 'vying War against *Oliver Cromwell*, or any 'other late Usurped Power, were made void; as 'likewise all Assurances, Recognizances, and 'Judgments for Debt, or Damages heretofore 'had or suffered by any person whose Conviction, 'Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this *Act* dis- 'charged.

This *Act of Confirmation* was nevertheless not to extend to confirm any illegal proceedings of the late High Courts of Justice, nor to confirm any Sales or Estates made by any pretended Act of Parliament since the first of *May*, 1642. nor to debar any person grieved, from having a *Writ of Errour*, or *Bill of Review*, in such manner as formerly, Except such Errours and defects as were not by this Act remedied.

The *Act for Provision of Money to Pay off the Armies and Navy*, was by Poll, and was a very great Tax, because many orders of Men were included in it, which were not mentioned in any former Act of the like kind.

The ACT for Pole-Money.

1. 'Every Duke of *England*, *Scotland*, and '*Ireland*, inhabiting and residing in this King- 'dom, was to pay 100 *l.* Every Marques, 80 *l.* Every Earl, 60 *l.* A Viscount 50 *l.* A Baronet, '40 *l.* The Eldest Son of a Duke of One and 'Twenty years of age, 60 *l.* of a Marques, 50 *l.* 'of an Earl, 40 *l.* of a Viscount, 35 *l.* of a Ba- 'ron, 30 *l.* A Baronet of any of the three King- 'doms or *Nova Scotia*, 30 *l.* A Knight of the 'Bath 30 *l.* A Knight Batcheler 20 *l.* A Sergeant 'at Law, 20 *l.* An Esquire, 10 *l.* And every 'Widow, according to her husbands degree, a 'third part what her husband was to pay.

2. 'Every Parson or Vicar possessed of a Par- 'sonage or Vicarage, or other Estate of 100 *l.* '40 *s.* Every Doctor of the Civil or Common- 'Law, 5 *l.* Every Advocate, 5 *l.* A Judge or 'Commissioner in the Court of Admiralty, 20 *l.* 'A Pretor 5 *l.* A Doctor of Physick, 10 *l.*

3. 'The Lord Mayor of *London*, 40 *l.* Every 'Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Fined for Al- 'derman, 20 *l.* Every Deputy Alderman, 10 *l.* 'The Town-Clerk of *London*, 20 *l.* Every Com- 'mon-Council-man, 5 *l.* Every Master of the 'First Twelve Companies, 10 *l.* Every Warden 'thereof, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *l.* Every Livery-man of 'those Companies, 3 *l.* Every one who had 'been Master of any of the Companies of *Dyers*, '*Brewers*, *Leathersellers*, *Grocers*, *Stationers*, '*Woodmongers*, *Upholsterers*, *Apothecaries*, '*Pewterers*, *Tallow-Chandlers*, *Armourers*, or 'Sadlers, 6 *l.* Every Warden of any of those 'Companies, 5 *l.* Every Livery-man of them, '3 *l.* Every of the Yeomanry, 1 *l.* Every 'Master of the Company of *Barber Chyrur-* '*geons*, *White-Bakers*, *Wax-Chandlers*, *Cutlers*,

1660. 'Butchers, Carpenters, Painters, Cordwayners, 'Coopers Scriveners, Brown-Bakers, Turners, or 'Inholders, 3 l. Every one who had been Warden 'of any of thoſe Companies, 2 l. Every Liveryman thereof, 1 l. Every perſon who had been 'Maſter of the Company of Founders, Cutlers, 'Maſons, Bricklayers, Joyners, Plaiſterers, 'Weavers, Fruiterers, Marblers, Embroiderers, 'Poulterers, Cooks, or Plummers, 1 l. Every 'Warden of thoſe Companies, 15 s. and every 'one of the Livery, 10 s. Every Perſon who 'hath been of the Livery of either Company of 'Bowyers, Fletchers, Blackſmiths, Bottle-makers, 'Woollpackers, Farriers, Paviers, Loreiners, 'Glaſiers, Clerks, or Watermen, 5 s. Every 'Freeman of any Company within the City of 'London, 12 d. Every keeper of one or more 'Hackney-Coaches and two Horſes, 10 s. 'Every Merchant Stranger if a Knight, 40 l. If 'below that degree, and Trading to Sea, 10 l. 'If Trading within the Land, 5 l. Every Alien 'uſing Trade within any City or Corporation, 'if a Houſe-keeper, 10 s. Every Engliſh Mer'chant in or about London, not a Freeman, 10 l. 'Every Factor in the City, 2 l. Every perſon that 'hath been Alderman in any City within the 'Kingdom, under the degree of a Knight or Eſ'quire, 5 l.

4. 'The Prothonotary of the Kings-Bench, '100 l. Clerk of the Crown of the ſame, 20 l. 'Cuſtos Brevium of the ſame, 40 l. Marſhal 'of the ſame, 50 s. Maſter of the Rolls, 60 l. 'Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, 40 l. Clerk 'of the Rules and in the Kings-Bench, 10 l. 'Maſter of the Subpœna Office, 40 l. Warden 'of the Fleet, 50 l. Clerk of the Hannaper, 50 l. 'Clerks of the Inrollment, each, 10 l. Each of 'the Six Clerks in Chancery, 40 l. Every Cur'ſitor of the ſame, 10 l. Uſher of the ſame, 10 l. 'Every Clerk of the Pettybagg, 5 l. Every 'Examiner, 10 l. Chief Regiſter of the ſame, 20 l 'Every Under-Regiſter, 10 l. Every Clerk 'in the Office of the Six Clerks in Chan'cery, 8 l. Each of the Clerks of the Chappel 'of the Rolls, 3 l. Every Prothonotary of the 'Common-Pleas, 50 l. Cuſtos Brevium of the 'ſame, 80 l. Every Philizar of the ſame, 10 l. 'Clerk of the Outlaries, 20 l. Clerk of the 'Statutes, 20 l. Clerk of the Treaſury, 10 l. 'Exigenter of London, 40 l. Every other Exi'genter, 5 l. The Kings Remembrancer of the 'Exchequer, 40 l. Every Teller of the ſame 'Court, 20 l. The Treaſurers Remembran'cer, 10 l. Every Attorney of the Office of the 'Kings Remembrancer, 10 l. Every Attorney 'of the Office of Pleas, 10 l. The Remembran'cer of the Firſt-Fruits, 20 l. Clerk of the 'Eſtreats, 20 l. Clerk of the Pleas, 30 l. The 'Auditor of the Receipts in the Exchequer, 40 l. 'Clerk of the Pel in the Receipt, 30 l. Uſher of 'the Court of Exchequer, 20 l. Every Attorney 'of the Office of Pleas there, 10 l. Every Au'ditor of the ſame, 10 l. The Clerk of the 'Court of the Dutchy of Lancaſter, 10 l. Every 'Auditor of the ſame, 10 l. Every Clerk of the 'Privy Seal, 10 l. Every Clerk of the Signet, 10 l. 'Every Attorney in any of the Courts at Weſt'minſter, or within the Courts of Law or 'Equity, or in the Counties Palatine of Cheſter, 'Lancaſter, Durham, and the Marches of 'Wales, 3 l. Every perſon in any Office or 'Place under the King (except his Houſhold Ser'vants in Ordinary) 10 l. The Lieutenant of the 'Tower of London, 50 l. Every one that could 'ſpend in Lands, Leaſes, Moneys or Stock, 100 l. 'per annum, 40 s. and ſo for a greater or leſ'ſer Eſtate; every ſingle perſon above the age 'of 16 years, 12 d. Every perſon not rated 'nor receiving Alms, above 16 years of age, 6 d.

An Act for reſtraining exceſſive Uſury.

'The ACT for Reſtraining the taking of 'exceſſive Uſury, *makes it penall to the loſſe of* 'treble the values of any Money, Ware or Mer'chandize, to any that ſhould take above Six 'Pounds for the forbearance of One Hundred 'Pounds for a Year, in Money or Merchandiſe, 'and every Scrivener or Broaker that ſhall take 'above Five Shillings for the Loan or forberance 'of a Hundred pounds for a Year, or above 12 d. 'for making or renewing a Bill or Bond, ſhall for'feit 20 l. one Moyety to the King, and the other 'to the Informer.

The Act of Indempnity.

'The ACT of General Pardon, Indempnity 'and Oblivion, *Pardons all the Kings Subjects* 'of England *and* Ireland, Wales Guernſey, 'Jerſey, *and* Berwick, *of* all Treaſons, Miſ'priſions of Treaſons, Murthers, Felonies, 'Offences and Crimes whatſoever, from the 'Firſt of *January* 1637, to the 24th of *June*, '1660. (not therein excepted) Committed by 'virtue or Colour of any Command or Autho'rity from the King of his Father, or any of the 'late Powers, and from all Pains of Death, pains 'Corporal, and Pecuniary; and generally from 'all other things, Cauſes, Suits, and Execu'tions, which may or can be by the King in 'any wiſe, or by any means Pardoned. And alſo 'all perſonal Actions, Suits and perſecutions 'whatſoever by reaſon of the late Troubles; 'And the *Act* may be pleaded for any thing 'therein pardoned, without any Fee to the Of'ficers for entring Judgement or cauſe concerning 'ſuch Plea. And if any Officer or Clerk in any 'of the Kings Courts iſſue out any Writ or Pro'ceſs, or moleſt any in their Bodies or Eſtates, 'for any thing herein Pardoned; or if any Sheriff, 'or Eſcheator, or other Officer whatſoever, 'levy, receive, take, or with-hold any thing 'hereby pardoned, they ſhall pay to the party 'grieved treble Damages beſides Coſts, and pay 'to the King Twenty Pounds, and ſuch Writs 'or Proceſs ſhall be void.

1. 'Excepted out of this *Act* all Murthers 'not herein pardoned, Pyracies, Buggers, Rapes 'and Raviſhments of Women, and all of'fence, made Felons by an *Act*, intituled, *An* 'Act to reſtrain Perſons from Marriage, till their 'former Wives or Husbands be dead*:* And all 'Witchcrafts and Conjurations, as alſo all Ac'compts of Treaſurers, Receivers, Farmers or 'Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of Pa'riſhes or Towns for their Receipts before 'the 24th of *June*, 1659.) who had received any 'Cuſtomes, Prize-Goods, Aſſeſsments, or any 'other Publique Monies or rents of the Crown-'Lands, or Biſhops and Dean and Chapter-'Lands, which had been paid to them ſince

January

'*January* 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or 'contracted upon the Sale or disposition of such 'Lands, or the Lands of Popish Recusants, Con-'vict, or other Sequestred Lands.

1. 'The Heirs and Executors of any Ac-'comptants excepted and deceased, not to be ly-'able, except for such Monies as are due upon 'Accompts already stated.

2. 'Monies received for Fees, and Salaries or 'Wages, or disbursed for publique use, are not to 'be charged.

3. 'No Military Officer of the Armies, or 'Officers of the Navies, who before *March*, 1659. 'received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of 'others, or for Contingencies of the Souldiers or 'Garrisons, to be called to accompt therefore.

4. 'Likewise none were to be called to Ac-'compt for any of the matters of this *Exception*, 'after the 24th of *June*, 1662.

2. 'All Briberies and Perjuries are Excepted 'out of this *Act*, and all Subornation of Per-'jury, or Witnesses and Forgery, and also all 'offences in detaining or imbezelling any Goods, 'Monies, Chattels, or Jewels of the late King, 'Queen, or Prince, or their Shipping and Am-'munition of Warr, and other such Goods or 'Chattels as have been sold or disposed to any 'Servants or Creditors of the late King for pay-'ment of their Debts or Wages; And all Ac-'compts of the Revenues of Churches in *Wales* 'and *Monmouthshire*, and all Judgments of Dis-'charge or *Quietus est* thereupon had.

This last Exception, as to the Churches in *Wales*, was inserted by the *Parliament* in this *Act*, upon Information, that some Factious People had, in the time of the late Usurpation, procured to themselves an Authority to Sequester all those Revenues, upon pretence to imploy them more equally to illiterate Preachers, for the better propagation of the Gospel in those parts, but kept the greatest part to their own use, leaving most of the Churches unsupplied.

3. 'All publique Duties levied by any Sheriff 'or other Officer for the use of the late King, or 'or the late Powers, or the King in being, not 'accompted for or discharged, are excepted.

4. 'As also all offences done by any Jesuit, 'Seminary or Popish Priest contrary to the Sta-'tute of the 27th of *Elizabeth*. It is provided,

1. 'That a Writ of *Capias* may be made against 'persons Outlawed, pardoned by this *Act*, to 'Compel the Defendant to answer to the Plain-'tiff, at whose Suit they were Outlawed, may 'have a *Scire facias* against the party before the 'Pardon shall be allowed.

2. 'This Pardon is not to extend to pardon 'Outlawries upon any *Writ* of *Capias ad Satis-'faciendum*, till the party Outlawed shall satisfie 'or agree with the party.

5. 'All Informations and proceedings de-'pending about High-Wayes and Bridges since '*January*, 1648. are excepted, and also all Re-'cognizances, Bonds and Securities given or en-'tred into since the 25th of *March*, 1640. by any 'Receiver, Bayliff, Collector or other Ac-'comptant in the *Exchequer*.

6. 'Any person within three years that ob-'jected against another, any words of reproach, 'tending to revive the memory of the late diffe-'rences, was to pay ten pounds, if a Gentleman; 'and fourty shillings, if one of a more inferiour 'degree. 1660.

7. 'The Act gives no benefit to any who had 'any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, 'nor to any that have stoln any Goods or Monies 'since the 4th of *March*, 1649.

8. 'Nor extends to discharge any from making 'restitution of those Rents, Monies, Horses, 'Cattle, or other Goods, which since the 25th 'of *July*, 1659. have been by any person wrong-'fully received or taken away (which by a pre-'tended *Act*, Intituled, *An Act of Repeal of 'two Acts of Parliament for Sequestration are to be 'repealed.*)

9. 'All Publique Monies paid in to any pub-'lique Use, are pardon'd, and Parties concerned, 'so far as their acquittances extend unto, are to 'be discharged for the same. Nevertheless, those 'are not discharged that received any Money for 'the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Ac-'compt of any *Militia* since 1648. not paid 'over and discharged by any that had a Legal or 'pretended authority to discharge the Receivers 'thereof.

10. 'The *King's* menial Servants, or any 'that had directions from him, whom whilst 'they pretended to act in his Service were trea-'cherous thereunto, were exempted from the 'benefit of this *Act*, if they were Outlawed and 'Convicted within Two Years from the 25th of '*April*, 1660.

11. 'Excise for Goods whereof Entry had 'been made in the *Custom-House* since the 25th 'of *March*, 1658. not pardoned, nor Moneys 'due to the Farmors of Excise since the 25th of '*March*, 1650.

12. 'The *Act* gives no benefit to *Owen Rowe*, '*Augustine Garland*, *Edmund Harvey*, *Henry* '*Smith*, *Henry Martin*, Sir *Hardress Waller*, '*Robert Titchborne*, *George Fleetwood*, *James* '*Temple*, *Thomas Wait*, *Symon Mein*, *Wil-'liam Haveningham*, *Isaac Pennington*, *Peter* '*Temple*, *Robert Lilborn*, *Gilbert Millington*, '*Vincent Potter*, *Thomas Wogan*, *John Downs*, '*Adrian Stroop*, *John Lisle*, *William Say*, *Va-'lentine Walton*, *Thomas Harrison*, *Edward* '*Whally*, *John Barkstead*, *Edmund Ludlow*, 'Sir *Michael Livesey*, *John Okey*, *John Hewson*, '*William Goffe*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Thomas* '*Challoner*, *John Carew*, *John Jones*, *Miles* '*Corbet*, *Gregory Clement*, *Thomas Scott*, *Wil-'liam Crawley*, *Nicholas Love*, *John Dixwell*, '*Daniel Blagrave*, *John Cook*, *Andrew Brough-'ton*, *Edoward Dendy*, *William Hewlett*, *Hugh* '*Peters*, *Francis Hacker*, *Daniel Axtell*, or 'any of them, nor to those Two or either of 'them disguised upon the Scaffold the 30th of '*January*, 1648. erected before *White-Hall*. 'All which Persons, for being Instrumental in 'the Murther of the late King, are wholly 'excluded.

But in regard the Nineteen first mentioned rendred themselves, according to a *Declaration* of the 6th of *June*, 1660.) and thereby pretended to some Favour, it is Enacted, *That if the said* Owen Row, *and the rest so first mentioned,*

1660. *are Attainted, their Execution ſhould be ſuſpended, untill the King and Parliament ſhould order the ſame.* (Only *Adrian Scroop*, though he was one of thoſe that rendred themſelves according to the forementioned *Declaration*, yet in regard at the time of preſenting himſelf to the *Speaker* of the *Houſe of Commons* in purſuance thereunto, in a Diſcourſe with Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor Elect of *London*, and a Member of that *Houſe*, he uttered ſome words tending to a Juſtification of the Murder of the King, wherewith *Brown* acquainted the *Parliament*; he was therefore put under the ſame Qualification as thoſe that had not ſo rendred themſelves, becauſe of his Impenitency.)

13. 'Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John 'Bradſham, and Thomas Pride, (though dead) 'were excepted, and the Lands and Goods, 'Rights and Truſts of them, and of One and 'Twenty others deceaſed, (*viz.*) *Iſaac Ewer*, Sir 'John Danvers, Sir Thomas Maliverer, William 'Purefoy, John Blackiſton, Sir William Conſtable, 'Richard Dean, Francis Allen, Peregrine Pelham, 'John Moor, John Alred, Humphrey Edwards, 'Sir Gregory Norton, John Ven, Thomas An-'drews, Anthony Stapeley, Thomas Horton, John 'Fry, Thomas Hammond, Philip Skippon, and 'Sir John Bourchier, were made ſubject to ſuch 'Penalties and Forfeitures as by another *Act* 'to be paſſed ſhould be ordained.

14. 'Moreover, *William* Lord *Mounſon*, Sir 'Henry Mildmay, Sir James Harrington, and 'Robert Wallop, were reſerved to ſuch Pains, 'Penalties, and Forfeitures, as by the ſaid Act 'to be paſſed ſhould be inflicted on them, not 'extending to life.

'Theſe were of the number of the Kings Judges, but in regard they did not Sign the Warrant for Summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the Execution of his Majeſty, their Lives were ſpared.

Phelps, who was a Clerk in that Court, was put into the ſame Condition, as alſo Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg*; who though he was not one of the Actors in that Tragedy, was as malicious an Enemy to the King, as any of the reſt.

15. 'Hutchinſon and Laſſells, two others of 'the Judges, were made uncapable to execute 'any Place of Truſt, and *Laſſells* to pay to the 'King one Years value of his Eſtate. Which Favours were extended to them for Reaſons before expreſſed.

16. 'Oliver S. John who had been Chief Ju-'ſtice of the *Common-Pleas* to *Oliver Cromwell*, 'and Seventeen others named in the *Act*, 'active Inſtruments in the late Uſurpations, were 'to be excluded from any benefit by this *Act*, if 'they accepted or ſhould execute any Office Ec-'cleſiaſtical, Civil, or Military, in *England*, 'Wales, or *Berwick*, from the Firſt of *Septem-'ber* in the Year 1660.

'And all that had given Sentence of Death in 'any of the late Illegall High-Courts of Juſtice, 'or Signed any Warrant for Execution of any 'perſon there condemned (except Collonel *Ri-'chard Ingoldsby*, and Collonel *Matthew Thom-'linſon*) were diſabled from being Members in 'any Parliament after the ſaid Firſt day of *Sep-'tember*, or bear any Office in *England* or 'Wales.

17. 'All Truſtees in a pretended *Act* made in 'the Year 1649. concerning Tythes appropriate, 'Fee-Farm Rents, and Firſt Fruits, &c. and 'their Heirs, were to be accomptable for ſuch 'of the ſame as had not been imployed accord-'ing to the ſaid Act; Neverthleſs, no Miniſter 'or School-Maſter, or other perſon for whoſe 'benefit the ſaid Act was made, were to be ac-'comptable.

18. 'The *Act* Pardons not Bonds taken in his 'late Majeſtie's Name before 1642. for ſecuring 'any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of 'the King's Revenues, if they had not been paid 'to, or by order of ſome lawful or pretended 'authority. Nor no perſon, his Heirs, Execu-'tors, &c. who had not paid their proportion 'of a Summe of 150000 *l.* (agreed to be paid as 'a Compoſition from the Farmers of ſeveral 'Cuſtoms illegally taken) or ought to have been 'contributary thereunto, but that the Eſtates of 'the dead as well as of the Living of ſuch perſons 'who ought to have been Contributary, in 'whoſe poſſeſſion ſoever (Purchaſers *Bona fide* 'upon valuable conſiderations only excepted,) 'ſhall be chargeable with their Proportions, as 'if the Act had never been made.

'Likewiſe all Arrears of Exciſe of Beer, Ale, 'or other Inland or Native Commodities ſince 'the 24th of *June*, 1659. are unpardoned, and 'all Monies due from any Officers or Souldiers 'for Free Quarter, ſince the 20th of *July* in the 'ſame Year, or Monies borrowed by Officers 'for preventing of Free-Quarter.

19. 'No Conveyance or Bargain or Sale, 'Eſtate, Intereſt, or Truſt or Limitation of Uſe 'or Uſes of any manner of Lands, Tenements 'or Hereditaments not being Crown Lands, or 'Church-Lands, nor Lands ſold or diſpoſed for 'pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any 'Act or *Ordinance* ſince the firſt of *January* '1641. nor any Statute Judgment, or Recogni-'zance had, made, acknowledged, or ſuffered 'to any perſon or perſons, Bodies Politique or 'Corporate, before the 29th of *September*, 1659. 'by any of the perſons in this *Act* by name ex-'preſſed, or their Heirs, or by any clayming 'by, from, or under them, (other than the 'Wives, Children, or heirs of ſuch perſons) 'or any of them for Monies *Bona fide* to them or 'any of them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance 'or Eſtate made before the 25th of *April*, 1660. 'by any perſons to any ſuch perſon excepted 'by name as aforeſaid, in Truſt or for the be-'nefit of any Perſons, Bodies Politique or Cor-'porate (not excepted by name as aforeſaid,) 'ſhall be defeated, impeached, or made void.

20. 'Laſtly, No perſons were to be indempni-'fied who had entred into any Lands, Tenements, 'and Hereditaments, called *Fabrick Lands*, or 'poſſeſſed themſelves of any Rents or Revenues 'given for the repair of any Cathedral or other 'Church, or who ſacrilegiouſly enriched them-'ſelves by the converting of the Plate, Utenſils, 'and Materials of or belonging to ſuch Churches, 'to their private uſe, for, or in reſpect of the 'ſaid Crimes only.

The ACT for Obſervation of a perpetual Anniverſary

The Act for a Perpetual Anniverſary does Enact, 'That in all ſucceeding Ages, the 29th 'of *May* be Celebrated in every Church and 'Chappel

for his Majeſties Reſtauration.

'Chappel in *England*, and the Dominions thereof, by rendring Thanks to God for the *King's* 'Peaceable Reſtauration to the Actual Poſſeſſion 'and Exerciſe of his Legal Authority over his 'Subjects. And all Miniſters are to read the *Act* 'at Morning Prayer the Lords Day next before 'that Day, to give notice for the Obſervation 'thereof.

A time preſixt by his Majeſty for the Adjournment of the preſent Parliament.

The King after the Paſſing theſe *Acts*, gave the *Parliament* notice, That on the 13th of *September*, he would have them to Adjourn to the Sixth of *November* following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat ſome Bills under Conſideration. That which was of moſt Importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the ſpeedy Disbanding the Army and Garriſons, which they were very earneſt in. The King intended to have made it a *Seſſions* by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to ſhew the inconvenience thereof at that time, becauſe of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he conſented to an Adjournment.

The *Parliament* having taken notice of the King's Wants intimated in his laſt Speech at the Paſſing of the forementioned *Acts*, and provided for his Supply; In the next place they likewiſe took Care that the Army ſhould be ſupplyed with Pay till they were Disbanded; Which was another of the Particulars of that Speech.

Twenty Two Acts more; 14 Private, and 8 Publique, Sign'd by his Majeſty.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of *September*, which was the day appointed, came to the *Houſe of Lords*, and there gave his Royall Aſſent to Fourteen Private, and Eight Publique *Acts* of *Parliament*.

The Private were.

1. *An* Act *for the reſtoring the Marqueſs of* Hertford *to the Dukedom of* Somerſet.

2. *An* Act *for the neceſſary Maintenance of the Work of Draining the great Level of the* Fenns.

3. *An* Act *to reſtore the Earl of* Inchequin *all his Honours and Lands in* Ireland.

4. *An* Act *for to reſtore to* William *Marqueſs of* Newcaſtle, *all his Eſtate whereof he was in poſſeſſion the* 20th *of* May 1642. *or at any time ſince.*

5. *An* Act *for ſettling the Priory of* Watton, *and other Lands in* Yorkſhire *belonging to the Earl of* Winchelſea, *in the hands of Truſtees, to pay his Debts.*

6. *An* Act *for the reſtoring of Sir* George Lane *to the Mannors of* Rachline *and* Liſdurff, *and other Lands in* Ireland.

7. *An* Act *to reſtore* Charles *Lord* Gerrard *Baron of* Brandon, *to all his Eſtate whereof he was in poſſeſſion the* 20th *of* May 1642. *or at any time ſince.*

8. *An* Act *for the reſtoring to the Lord* Culpeper *Baron of* Thorſway, *all the Eſtate whereof his Father was poſſeſſed on the* 20. *of* May 1642. *or at any time after, which have not been ſince ſold or alienedby his ſaid Father by Acts and Aſſurances to which himſelf was party and conſenting.*

9. *An* Act *to enable* Auguſtine *and* William Skinner *to ſell Lands for payment of Debts.*

10. *An* Act *for the Incorporating the Maſter and Wardens of* Haberdaſhers, London, *to be Governours of the Free-School and Alms-Houſes in* New-port *in* Shropſhire, *of the Foundation of* William Adams, *and for ſettling Lands on them for the Maintenance thereof, and other Charitable Uſes.* 1660.

11. *An* Act *for enabling Sir* George Booth *Baronet, to make Leaſes and Sales of part of his Eſtate.*

12. *An* Act *for Regulating of the Trade of* Bay-*making in the* Dutch Bay-Hall *in* Colcheſter.

13. The other Two private Bills were one of them to Naturalize *Dorothea Helena* Counteſs of *Derby*; *Emelia* Counteſs of *Oſſory*; *Margaret* Lady *Culpeper*; And a Son and a Daughter of *Katherine Stanhopp* Counteſs of *Cheſterfield*, by *John Kirkhoven* Lord of *Henſlet* in *Holland.*

14. And the other for Naturallizing *Peter de la Pierre* alias *Peters*, and *John de la Pierre* alias *Peters.*

Of theſe *Acts*, we think it unneceſſary to name more than the Titles, as being not of Publique Concernment: and every of the Titles are not here exactly inſerted, it being ſufficient for Publique Uſe, to deſcribe ſo much of them as may inform Poſterity of their tendency, and that ſuch Acts were then paſſed; whereby thoſe that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious ſearch.

The Publique *ACTS* were,

1. *An* Act *for the ſpeedy Disbanding of the Army and Garriſons.*

The Title of this Act does ſo much expreſs the Uſe of it, that We ſhall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, becauſe it was in a few Months fully Executed.

2. *An* Act *for the ſupplying and explaining certain defects in an* Act *for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.*

We have already given you an abbreviation of that Act, whereof this laſt is Explanatory, (which was the *Poll-Bill* lately deſcribed) and to which this being only relating in reference to the ſupply of ſome of its defects, We ſhall not deed to enlarge thereon.

3. *An* Act *for raiſing Sevenſcore Thouſand Pounds for the compleat Disbanding of the Army.*

The *Parliament* finding the Poll-Bill to riſe much ſhort of expectation, from the failure of a due an Exact execution of it; They paſſed this Act, which ordained the Money to be raiſed in Two Months from the Firſt of *November* 1660. (*viz.*) 70000 l. *per Menſem.*

4. *An* Act *for the ſpeedy raiſing of* 70000 l. *for the preſent ſupply of his Majeſty.*

This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th of *September* following.

5. *An* Act *to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majeſties Cuſtoms and Subſidies.*

This Act was but to continue in force till the end of the firſt Seſſion of the next *Parliament.*

6. *An* Act *for the Confirming and reſtoring of Miniſters.*

This Act ſtopt the Clamours of many Eccleſiaſtical perſons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodneſs of the King was very much celebrated by his Conſent to it. Where-

fore

1660. An Act for Confirming and reſtoring of Miniſters.

fore it will not be amiſs to give a brief touch of the Heads thereof.

It Enacts, *That every Eccleſiaſtical perſon or Miniſter Ordained by any Eccleſiaſtical perſons before* December *the* 25th *laſt paſt, being* 24 *years of age, having not renounced his Ordination, who hath been ſince* January *the firſt*, 1642. *placed in, and in Actual poſſeſſion of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, with Cure of Souls, in* England, Wales, *or* Berwick *upon* Tweed, *which hath been void by death, or any other avoidance, ſince that time, and before the* 25th *of* December *laſt paſt, and was then in poſſeſſion, and received the Profits being in the Kings gift, or of his Father, or of any Arch-Biſhop, Biſhop, Dean and Chapter, Prebend, Arch-Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or other perſon, other than ſuch hereby reſtored, is declared lawful Incumbent.*

Every voluntary Reſignation of a Benefice to the Patron or any pretended Power ſince the ſaid firſt day of January, *to be good, as if made to the Competent Ordinary.*

No Preſentation is to be conſtrued to be an Uſurpation in Law, to the prejudice of any that ſhall have right to Preſent.

Every Eccleſiaſtical perſon formerly Sequeſtred or Ejected after lawful Preſentation and perception of the profits, that hath not ſubſcribed any Petition to bring the late King to Tryall, or by any act endeavoured or juſtified the Murther of the ſaid King, or declared his Judgment againſt Infant-Baptiſm, by Preaching, Writing, Printing, or conſtant refuſal to Baptize, ſhall be reſtored to the poſſeſſion thereof, at or before the 25th *day of* December *next enſuing; and every Eccleſiaſtical perſon to be removed, may enjoy the Profits to that day.*

There be many other Clauſes and Proviſions in this Bill, too long to be here inſerted; and ſo much the leſs important, in regard by ſome ſubſequent Lawes, the greateſt part of the whole was in a manner repeal'd.

The Subſtance of the Act for Incouraging of *Navigation.*

7. *An Act for Encouraging* Shipping *and* Navigation: *Wherein it is Enacted, That from the Firſt of* December 1660. *no Commodities ſhall be Imported or Exported out of any Lands, Iſlands, Plantations or Territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to, his Majeſtie, his Heirs and Succeſſors, in* Aſia, Africa, *or* America, *in any other Veſſel but ſuch as belong unto the People of* England, Ireland, Wales, *or* Berwick, *or are of them built, or do belong to them as the right Owners, and whereof the Maſter and three fourths of the Mariners are* Engliſh, *under penalty of the loſs of all the Goods Imported or Exported in other Veſſels, as alſo of the Veſſels, with all its Guns, Furniture, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel, one third to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors; one third to the Governour of ſuch Lands, Iſlands, Plantations or Territories, in caſe the Ship or Goods be there ſeized, and the other third part unto him that ſhall ſeize, inform, or ſue for the ſame in any Court of Record, by Bill, Information, Plaint or Action, wherein no Eſſoin, Protection, or Wager of Law ſhall be allowed. And all Captains, and Commanders at Sea, by Commiſſion from the King or his Succeſſors, are required to bring in all Ships and Veſſels ſo offending, and deliver them into the Court of Admiralty to be proceeded againſt; and in caſe of Condemnation, One Moyety is to be divided to the Uſe of the Admiral and Commander, and their Companies, according to the Rules in Caſe of Prize, and the other to the King and his Succeſſors.* With many other Clauſes and Proviſoes tending much to the advancement of the *Engliſh* Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publique *Act* was, *An Act for enabling Souldiers of the Army to exerciſe Trades.* A very grateful Law to many of the Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and, without ſome ſuch Proviſion, might have been left without any way of ſubſiſtence, when Arms were out of their hands.

The King made a ſhort Speech to both *Houſes of Parliament* at the paſſing of theſe Bills, full of Sweetneſs, according to the affable temper of his Nature.

The King's Speech to the *Houſe* at the Paſſing of the ſaid Bills.

He thanked them for their general Care of the Publique, and other Particular reſpects to him, in that for his Satisfaction they had made Proviſion to pay off the Army whilſt they were Disbanding, thereby to prevent Free Quarter: Adding, *That though he kindly accepted their Preſent of Money, he would not imploy any of it for the ſupply of his own occaſions, till he ſhould be aſſured the Publique had no need of it. He likewiſe took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of* Somerſet, *who, he ſaid, had merited as much of the King his Father, and himſelf, as a Subject could do; and that he was none of thoſe who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner; Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, it ſeemed to be of an extraordinary nature,* and indeed we do not remember any Preſident in Story of the like: But the King was pleas'd to add, *That he hop'd no man would envy this Duke, becauſe he had done what a good Maſter ſhould do to ſuch a Servant.*

After which, his Majeſty referr'd to the Chancellor to ſpeak of many other things which he had to Recommend to them: For in this time of their Receſs, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many Diſcourſes had been ſpread abroad by diſaffected perſons. Some ſaid the King would keep them up; And others, That they would not ſuffer themſelves to be disbanded. And though he had paſs'd an ACT to Confirm Miniſters, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in reſpect to tender Conſciences: as likewiſe about Purchaſes and Sales of Publique Lands, which had without any iſſue much taken up the time of both *Houſes*; and therefore ſince the *Parliament* Adjourned before any thing in theſe Affairs was effected, it was expedient to ſatisfie the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other Matters of great Concernment to the Good and Quiet of the Kingdome, the Chancellor in a moſt Excellent Speech expreſſed himſelf as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

My Lord Chancellour's Speech to the *Two Houſes.*

'THE *King* tells you, He hath Commanded 'me to ſay many Particulars to You: and 'the truth is, he hath charg'd me with ſo many, that

'that I have great reaſon to fear, that I ſhall ſtand 'in much need of his Mercy, for omitting many 'things he hath given me in Command, at leaſt, 'for delivering them in more diſorder and con-'fuſion, than matters of ſuch Moment and Im-'portance ought to be to ſuch an Aſſembly, for 'which the King himſelf hath even a kind of Re-'verence, as well as an extraordinary Kindneſs.

'I am to mention ſome things he hath done al-'ready, and many things he intends to do during 'this Receſs, that you may ſee how well content 'ſoever he is, that you ſhould have Eaſe, and 'Pleaſure, and Refreſhment, he hath deſigned 'Work enough for himſelf.

'The King hath thanked you for the Proviſion 'you have made, that there may be no Free-'Quarter during the time the Army ſhall be Diſ-'banding; and hath told you what he will do 'with that Money you have given him, if there 'ſhould want wherewith to disband it: And now 'I hope you will all believe that his Majeſty will 'conſent to the Disbanding. He will do ſo; And 'yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, 'who have thought that his Majeſty would not 'disband this Army. It was a ſober and rational 'Jealouſie; No other Prince in *Europe* would 'be willing to Disband ſuch an Army: An Army 'to which Victory is entayled, and which, hu-'manly ſpeaking, could hardly fail of Conqueſt 'whereſoever he ſhould lead it: And if GOD 'had not reſtored his Majeſty to that rare felici-'ty, as to be without apprehenſion of danger at 'home or from abroad, and without an ambition 'of taking from his Neighbours what they are 'poſſeſſed of, Himſelf would never disband this 'Army: An Army whoſe Order and Diſcipline, 'whoſe Sobriety and Manners, whoſe Courage 'and Succeſs, hath made it Famous and Terrible 'over the whole World: An Army of which 'the *King* and his Two Royal *Brothers* may 'ſay, as the Noble *Grecian* ſaid of *Æneas*,

——— *Stetimus tela aſpera contra*
Contulimuſque manus; experto credite, quantus
In Clypeum aſſurgat, quo turbine torqueat haſtam.

'They have all Three, in ſeveral Countries, found 'themſelves engaged in the midſt of theſe Troops, 'in the heat and rage of Battle; and if any Com-'mon Souldier (as no doubt many may) will 'demand the old *Romans* Priviledge for having 'encountred Princes ſingle, upon my Conſcience 'he will find both Favour and Preferment. They 'have all Three obſerv'd the Diſcipline, and felt 'and admired and loved the Courage of this Ar-'my, when they were the worſe for it; And I 'have ſeen them in a ſeaſon when there was little 'elſe of Comfort in their view, refreſh them-'ſelves with Joy that the *Engliſh* had done the 'great Work, the *Engliſh* had got the day; and 'then pleaſe themſelves with the Imagination 'what Wonders they ſhould perform in the Head 'of ſuch an Army.

'And therefore when his Majeſty is ſo entirely 'poſſeſſed of the Affection and Obedience of this 'Army, and when it hath merited ſo much from 'him, can it be believ'd or imagined, that he can 'without ſome regret part with them? No; *My* '*Lords and Gentlemen*, he will never part with 'them, and the only way never to part with 'them, is to Disband them: Should it be other-'wiſe, they muſt be expoſed to the daily Impor-'tunity of his great Neighbours and Allies; and 'how could he refuſe to lend them his Troops, 'of which he hath no need himſelf? His Majeſty 'knows they are too good *Engliſhmen*, to will 'that a ſtanding Army ſhould be kept up in the 'Bowels of their own Country, that they who 'did but in *Bello Pacis gerere Negotium*, and 'who, whil'ſt an Army liv'd like good Husband-'men in the Country, and good Citizens in the 'City, will now become really ſuch, and take 'delight in the benefit of that Peace they have ſo 'honeſtly and ſo wonderfully brought to paſs. 'The King will part with them as the moſt indul-'gent Parents part with their Children for their 'Education; and for their Preferment; he will 'prefer them to Disbanding, and prefer them by 'Disbanding; and will alwayes retain ſuch a 'Kindneſs for them, and ſuch a memory of the 'Service they have done him, that both Officers 'and Souldiers, after they are disbanded, ſhall 'alwayes find ſuch Countenance, Favour, and 'Reward from his Majeſty, that he doubts not, 'but if he ſhould have occaſion to uſe their Ser-'vice, they will again reſort to him with the 'ſame alacrity, as if they had never been Diſ-'banded: And if there be any ſo ill amongſt 'them (as there can be but very few, if any) 'who will forfeit the Favour and Protection they 'may have from him, by any withſtanding his 'Majeſties Commands, and the full and declared 'Senſe of the Kingdome, his Majeſty is Confi-'dent they will be as odious to their Compa-'nions, as they can be to any other honeſt men.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I am in the next 'place by the King's Command, to put you in 'mind of the *Act of Indempuity*, not of any 'Grants or Conceſſions, or Releaſes he made 'to you in that *Act*; I have nothing of that in 'Charge: No Prince hath ſo excellent a me-'mory to forget the Favours he doth; but of 'what he hath done againſt you in that *Act*, 'how you may be undone by that *Act*, if 'you are not very careful to perform the Obli-'gations he hath laid upon you in it: The Clauſe 'I am to put you in mind of is this; '*And to the* '*intent and purpoſe that all names and tearms of* '*diſtinction may likewiſe be put into utter Obli-*'*vion*; *Be it further Enacted by the Authority* '*aforeſaid, That if any perſon or perſons within* '*the ſpace of Three Years next enſuing, ſhall pre-*'*ſume maliciouſly to call, or alledge, or object, againſt* '*any other perſons, any name or names, or other* '*words of reproach, any way leading to revive the* '*memory of the late differences, or the occaſion* '*thereof, that then every ſuch perſon ſo, as afore-*'*ſaid, offending, ſhall forfeit, &c.* It is no mat-'ter for the Penalty, it is too cheap a one, the 'King wiſhes it had been greater, and therefore 'hath by his Juſt Prerogative (and 'tis well for 'Us he hath ſuch a Prerogative) added another 'Penalty more inſupportable, even his high diſ-'pleaſure againſt all who ſhall ſwerve from this 'Clauſe in the Act: Give me leave to tell you, 'That as any name or names, or other words of 'reproach, are expreſly againſt the Letter, and 'puniſhable accordingly; ſo evil and envious 'Looks, murmuring and diſcontented hearts, 'are as directly againſt the Equity of this Sta-'tute, a direct breach of the *Act of Indempnity*, and

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1660. 'and ought to be punished too, and I believe they 'may be so. You know *Kings* are in some sense 'called *Gods*, and so they may in some degree 'be able to look into mens hearts; and God hath 'given us a King, who can look as far into mens 'hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great 'skill in Phisiognomy too; you would wonder 'what Calculations he hath made from thence: 'and no doubt if he be provoked by evil Looks to 'make a further inquiry into mens hearts, and 'finds those corrupted with the Passions of Envy 'and Uncharitableness, he will never choose those 'hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given Us 'a Noble and Princely Example, by opening 'and stretching his Arms to all who are worthy 'to be his Subjects, worthy to be thought *English-man*, by extending his Heart with a Pious 'and grateful Joy to find all his Subjects at once 'in his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall 'We fold our Arms towards one another, and 'contract our hearts with Envy and Malice to each 'other, by any sharp memory of what hath been 'unneighbourly or unkindly done heretofore? 'What is this but to Rebel against the Person of 'the King, against the excellent Example and 'Virtue of the King, against the known Law of 'the Land, this blessed *Act of Oblivion*?

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, The *King* is a 'Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, 'That you will Joyn with him in restoring the 'whole Nation to its Primitive temper, and In-'tegrity, to its old good Manners, its old good 'Humour, and its old good Nature; Good Na-'ture, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appro-'priated by God Almighty to this Nation, that 'it can be Translated into no other Language, 'hardly practis'd by any other People; And that 'you will by your Example, by the Candor of 'your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by 'your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach 'your Neighbours and your Friends, how to 'pay a full obedience to his Clause of the Statute, 'how to learn this Excellent Art of Forgetful-'ness.

'Let them remember, and let Us all remember 'how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly the 'insolence and fierceness, the brutishness of their 'Enemies appeared to them; and we may piou-'sly and reasonably believe, that Gods Indignati-'on against them, for their want of Bowells, 'for their not being *Englishmen*, (for they had 'the hearts of *Pagans* and *Infidells*) sent a Whirl-'wind in a moment to blow them out of the 'World; that is, out of a Capacity to do more 'mischief in the World; Except we practise their 'Vices, and do that our selves, which We pre-'tend to detest them for.

'Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what 'hath been done amiss, proceeded from the Hu-'mour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our 'Nation. The *Astrologers* have made Us a fair 'Excuse, and truly I hope a true one, *All the 'Motions of these last Twenty Years have been 'unnatural, and have proceeded from the Evil in-'fluence of a Malignant Star*; And let Us not too 'much despise the Influence of the Stars. And the 'same *Astrologers* assure Us, That the Malignity 'of the Star is expired, the good *Genius* of this 'Kingdom is become Superiour, and hath master-'ed that Malignity; and our own good old Stars 'govern us again; and their influence is so strong, 'that with our help they will repair in a year 'what hath been decaying in Twenty: And they 'only shall have no excuse from the Star, who 'continue this Malignity, and own all the ill that 'is past to be their own, by continuing it, and 'improving it for time to come.

'If any body here, or any where else, be too 'much exalted with what he hath done, or what 'he hath suffered, and from thence thinks him-'self Warranted to reproach others, let him re-'member the Story of *Nicephorus*; it is an ex-'cellent Story, and very applicable to such di-'stempers; He was a Pious and Religious man, 'and for his Piety and Religion was Condemned 'to the Fire; When he was led to Execution, 'and when an old Friend who had done him in-'jury enough, fell at his feet and asked his par-'don, the Poor man was so elated with the 'Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory 'of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconcil-'ed unto him; upon which he was disappointed 'of his end; and for his Uncharitableness, the 'Spirit of God immediately forsook him, and he 'apostatized from the Faith.

'Let all those who are too proud of having 'been, as they think, less faulty than other men, 'and so are unwilling to be reconciled to those 'who have offended them, take heed of the A-'postacy of *Nicephorus*, and that those fumes of 'Envy and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, 'do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that 'they fall into those very Crimes, they value 'themselves for having hitherto declined.

'But, *my Lords and Gentlemen*, whilest we 'conspire together to execute faithfully this part 'of the Bill, to put all old Names and Tearms 'of distinction into utter Oblivion, let Us not 'find new Names and Tearms to keep up the 'same, or a worse distinction: If the old re-'proaches of *Cavalier*, and *Round-head*, and *Ma-'lignant*, be committed to the grave, let Us not 'find more significant and better words, to sig-'nifie worse things; let not Piety and Godliness 'grow into tearms of reproach, and distinguish 'between the Court, and the City, and the 'Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be 'measured by a morosity in manners.

'An affectation of Gesture, a new mode and 'tone of speaking, at least, let not our Consti-'tutions and Complexions make Us be thought 'of a contrary party, and because we have not an 'affected austerity in our looks, that we have no 'piety in our hearts; very merry men have been 'very godly men; and if a good Conscience be a 'continual Feast, there is no reason but men may 'be merry at it.

'You *Mr. Speaker* have this day made a Noble 'Present to the *King*; do you think, that if you 'and your worthy Companions, had brought it 'up with folded Arms, down-cast looks, with 'sighs and other instances of desparation, it would 'not have been a very Melancholick Present? 'Have not your Frank and Dutiful expressions, 'that chearfulness and vivacity in your looks, 'render'd it much more acceptable, much more 'valuable?

'No Prince in Christendom loves a chearful 'giver so well as God Almighty does, and he 'of all gifts a Chearful heart, and therefore I

pray,

'pray let not a cloudy or discontented face be 'the only or the best sign of Piety and Devition 'in the heart.

'I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of 'this Discourse, which I should have mentioned 'when I came to speak of the Ministers *Bill*; 'They, I hope, will endeavour to remove those 'new marks of distinction and Reproaches, and 'keep their Auditors from being imposed upon 'by such Characters and descriptions. The *King* 'hath passed this *Act* very willingly, and done 'much to the end of this *Act* before, yet hath 'willingly admitted you to be Sharers and Part-'ners with him in the Obligation: I may say 'confidently, his Majesty hath never denyed his 'Confirmation to any man in possession who 'hath asked it; and they have all had the effect 'of it, except such who, upon examination and 'inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such 'who, though they are Pardoned, cannot yet 'think themselves worthy to be preferr'd. His 'Majesty well knows, that by this *Act* he 'hath gratified and obliged many worthy and 'Pious men who have contributed much to his 'Restauration, and who shall alwayes receive 'fresh evidences of his Majesties Favour and 'Kindness; but he is not sure that he may like-'wise have gratified some who did neither con-'tribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad he is 'in; how comes it else to pass, that he receives 'such frequent Information of Seditious Ser-'mons in the City and in the Country, in which 'all Industry is used to alienate the affections of 'the People, and to infuse Jealousies into them 'of the King and his Government, they talk of 'introducing Popery, of Evil Counsellours, and 'such other old Calumnies as are pardoned by 'this *Act of Indempnity.*

'His *Majesty* told you, when he was last 'here, That Rigour and Severity he will here-'after use, how contrary soever it is to his Na-'ture in these cases, and conjured you, *My* '*Lords and Gentlemen*, to concurre with him in 'this Just and Necessary Severity; which I am 'sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance; 'and that you will believe that too much ill 'cannot befall those who do the best they can to 'corrupt his *Majestie's* Nature, and to extinguish 'his Mercy.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I told you I was 'to acquaint you with some things his *Majesty* 'intends to do during this Recess, that you may 'see he will give no intermission to his own 'Thoughts for the Publique good, though for a 'time he dispences with your assistance.

'He doth consider the infinite importance the 'improvement of Trade must be to this Kingdom, 'and therefore his Majesty intends to establish a '*Council* for *Trade*, consisting of some Princi-'pal Merchants of the several Companies, to 'which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality 'and Experience: And for their greater Honour 'and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his 'own *Privy Council.*

'In the next place, his *Majesty* hopes, that by 'a well settled Peace, and God's great Blessing 'upon him and You, this Nation will in a short 'time flourish to that degree that the Land of '*Canaan* did, when *Esau* found it necessary to 'part from his Brother, For their Riches were 'more than that they might dwell together, and 'the Land wherein they were could not bear 'them, because of their Cattel. We have been our 'selves very near this Pinacle of Happiness; 'and the hope and contemplation that we may 'be so again, disposes the King to be very sol-'licitious for the Improvement and Prosperity 'of his *Plantations* abroad, where there is such 'large room for the Industry and Reception of 'such who shall desire to go thither. And there-'fore his *Majesty* intends likewise to Erect and 'Establish a *Council* for those *Plantations* in 'which persons well qualified, shall be wholly 'intent upon the good and advancement of those 'Plantations.

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'There are two other Particulars which I am 'commanded to mention, which were both men-'tioned and recommended to You by his *Majesty* 'in his *Declaration* from *Breda*: The one, for 'the confirmation of Sales, or other recompence 'for Purchasers: The other, for the Composing 'those differences and distempers in Religion 'which have too much disturbed the Peace of the 'Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in 'which his Majesty knows you have spent much 'time, and concerning which he should have 'heard from you before this time, if you had not 'met with great difficulties in the disquisition 'of either.

'For the First, his Majesty hath not been 'without much thought upon the Argument, and 'hath done much towards the accommodation 'of many particular persons; and you shall not 'be at your Journeys end, before his Majesty 'will put that business concerning Sales into such 'a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will 'find a good progress made in it before your 'coming together again; and I believe the persons 'concerned will be very much to blame if they 'receive not good satisfaction: and some of you, 'who stay in Town, shall be advised and con-'sulted with, in that Settlement.

'The other of Religion, is a sad Argument 'indeed, it is a consideration that must make every 'Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion, which 'should be the strongest Obligation and Ciment 'of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and Com-'passion, made now, by the perverse wranglings of 'passionate and froward men, the ground of all 'Animosity, hatred, malice and Revenge. And 'this unruly and unmanly passion (which no 'Question the Divine Nature exceedingly ab-'horrs) sometimes, and I fear too frequently, 'transports those who are in the right, as well as 'those who are in the wrong, and leaves the 'latter more excusable than the former, when 'men, who find their Manners and Dispositions 'very conformable in all the necessary obliga-'tions of humane Nature, avoid one anothers con-'versation, and grow first unsociable, and then 'uncharitable to each other, because one cannot 'think as the other doth; And from this sepa-'ration We entitle God to the Patronage of, and 'concernment in, our fancies and distinction, and 'purely for his sake hate one another heartily.

'It was not so of old, when one of the most 'Ancient Fathers of the Chuch tells Us, That 'Love and Charity was so signal and eminent 'in the Primitive Christians, that it even drew 'admiration and envy from their adversaries.

1660. 'Vide (*inquiunt*) *ut invicem se diligunt*! Their 'Adversaires, in that in which they most agreed 'in their very prosecution of them, had their pas- 'sions and animosities amongst themselves; they 'were only Christians that Loved, and Che- 'rished, and Comforted, and were ready to die 'for one another. *Quid nunc illi Dicerent Chri- 'stiani, si nostra viderent tempora?* sayes the In- 'comparable *Grotius*; How would they look 'upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the 'Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody 'Warrs that have proceeded from those Conten- 'tions, whilest every one pretended to all the 'marks which are to attend upon the true Church 'except only that which is inseparable from it, 'Charity to one another.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, this Disquisition 'hath cost the *King* many a Sigh, many a sad 'hour, when he hath considered the almost ir- 'reparable reproach the Protestant Religion hath 'undergone from the Divisions and Distractions 'which have been so notorious within this King- 'dom; What pains he hath taken to compose 'them, after several Discourses with Learned and 'Pious men of different perswasions, you will 'shortly see by a *Declaration* he will publish upon 'that occasion; by which you will see his great 'indulgence, to those who can have any Pro- 'tection from Conscience to differ with their 'Brethren. And I hope God will so bless the Can- 'dor of his *Majesty* in the Condescensions he 'makes, that the *Church* as well as the *State* will 'return to that Unity and Unanimity, which 'will make both *King* and *People* as happy as they 'can hope to be in this World.

'*My Lords and Gentlemen*, I shall conclude 'with the *King's* hearty Thanks to you, not only 'for what you have done towards him, which 'hath been very Signal; but for what you have 'done towards each other; for the Excellent 'Correspondence you have maintain'd, for the 'very seasonable difference and condescention 'you have had for each other, which will restore 'Parliaments to the veneration they ought to 'have. And since his Majesty knows that you all 'desire to please him, you have given him ample 'evidence that you do so. He hath appointed me 'to give you a sure receipt to attain that good 'end; it is a Receipt of his own prescribing, and 'therefore it is not like to fail.

'Be but pleased your selves, and perswade 'others to be so; contrive all the wayes imagi- 'nable for your own Happiness, and you will 'make Him the best pleased and the most happy 'Prince in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both *Houses* of *Parliament* Adjourned themselves to the Sixth of *November*.

In the *ACT* for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons, That Affair was committed to Twelve Commissioners, (Six whereof were *Lords*, and Six *Commons*) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commissioners named by the *Lords*, and one named by the *Commons*, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treasurers at Warr, and Treasurer named in the *Act* for the speedy Provision of Money for for Disbanding the Army, were to Issue Moneys upon their Warrant.

All the Regiments and Garrisons were Disbanded by Lott, except Four Companies in *Hull*, four in *Berwick*, and four in *Carlisle*, which were reserved to be last reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garrisons, except the Three before mentioned. There were Disbanded in *England* and *Wales*, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, consisting of a Thousand Souldiers in each Regiment, besides Officers, and thirteen Regiments of Horse, having six hundred Souldiers in each Regiment besides Officers, together with the General's Life-Guard of Horse, consisting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garrisons which had not in them less than 5000 Souldiers, besides Officers. And in *Scotland* Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horse, and about Thirteen Garrisons; but most of these Garrisons were not under particular Establishment, as those in *England*, but were mann'd by Companies out of the respective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrears to all the Troops and Companies disbanded; Which was very Thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was so well satisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in *Ireland*, who Joyned with the Duke of *Albemarle* for his Restauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merit; amongst these, Sir *Charles Coot* was made Earl of *Montrath*; *Roger* Lord *Broghill* advanced to the Dignity of Earl of *Orery*; Collonel *Richard Coot*, a Brother to the Earl of *Montrath*, was created Baron of *Collowney*: and Sir *John King*, Baron of *Kingston*; and shortly after, Sir *John Clotworthy* was made Viscount *Massarine*.

The KING complemented by the Embassadours and Agents of Forrain Princes.

Besides the many Addresses that were made to the King by his own Subjects generally from all parts of his Dominions, there also came over Forrain Agents and Embassadours from several of the greatest Princes and States of *Europe*; to Complement his Majesty in the Name of their Masters, touching his happy Restauration to his Royal Dignity and Governmenr: From the Marquess of *Brandenburg* came the Baron of *Pelnitz*, Master of the Horse to his Highness. From *Frederick* Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, Cozen-German to his Majesty of *England*, came *Christopher Closs* of *Keiembergh*, Captain of his Guards. From the King of *Denmark* came the Lord *Frederick van Alefeld*, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of *Slesvick* and *Holstein*. But never did any Embassadour arrive in *England* in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of *Ligne*, who being sent Embassadour to our King from the King of *Spain*, seems to have come only upon a Gratulatory and Complemental *Address*, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between *England* and *Spain*, forasmuch as upon the coming in of his present Majesty, there follow'd by consequence a reviving of that Peaceful and Friendly Correspondence which had formerly been between these Two

Crowns

Crowns in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majesty set forth a *Proclamation*, Requiring that (whereas the King of *Spain* had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostility towards this Crown, and had propos'd, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agreed on by a fixt day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, toward the Subjects of that Crown; which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majestie's Arrival in *England*, being the 25th of *May*, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time, should be restored.

Peace renew'd with *Spain*.

As the occasion of the Prince *de Ligne's* coming over was only Gratulatory and Complementall, so his stay here was but short; and after his Departure, there remain'd here as the King of *Spain's* Lieger or Embassadour in Ordinary, the Baron of *Battevill*. In the same manner? on the part of the *French* was the Count of *Soissons*, succeeded by Monsieur *d'Estrade*, who had not been long here, e're an Occasion hapned, which manifested, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit lessen'd the Jealousie of Honour between them and their old pretensions in point of Precedence: Many troublesome Contests there have formerly been between the Embassadours of these Two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain *Princes* and *States*, when they have chanc'd to be Resident together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon *Tower-Hill*, at the Landing of an Embassadour from *Sweden*, on the 30th of *September*: Which since it was so prepar'd and premeditated a Business on both sides, that his Majesty foreseeing it would come to a Quarrel, and out of his accustom'd Civility willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratifie their Intentions, as to permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becomming their respective Pretences: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict Guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleas'd to Command, That the formerly mention'd Mr. *Evelyn* should, after diligent Enquiry made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Accompt thereof, by drawing up a full *Narrative* of every Circumstance of that Rencountre: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to insert from that *Gentleman's* more sedulous and ample Collection, as it was by him presented to his *Majesty* in this following relation:

The manner of the Encounter between the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadours, at the Landing of the *Swedish* Embassadour.

Upon *Monday* last, being the 30th of *September*, about ten in the Morning, the *Spanish* Embassadours Coach (in which were his Chaplain, with some of his Gentlemen attended by about Fourty more of his own Servants in Liveries) was sent down to the *Tower-Wharf*, and there plac'd it self near about the Point, where the Ranks of Ordinance determine towards the Gate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the *Dutch*, and (Twelve a Clok past) the *Swedish* Coach of Honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesties Coach-Royal) appear'd that of the *French* Ambassadours, wherein were *Le* Marquess *de Strade*, Son to the *French* Ambassadour, with several more of his Gentlemen, and, as might be computed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Fourty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols; and (some of them) with Carabines, Musquetoons or Fuzies: In this Posture and Equipage stood they expecting upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majesties Coach, which was opposite to the staires. About Three in the Afternoon, the *Swedish* Ambassadour being Landed, and receiv'd into his Majestie's Coach, (which mov'd leisurely before the rest, and was follow'd by that of the *Swedes*) The *French* Ambassadour's Coach endeavour'd to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their Party with their Swords drawn, to force the *Spaniards* from the Guard of their own Coach, which were also putting in for Precedency next the King's. His *Majestie's* Coach now past, the *Spaniards* (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Master's Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caus'd the *French* Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observ'd the advantage, which by this, the *Spanish* Ambassadour's Coach had gain'd, being now in file after the *Swedes*, they came up very near to the *Spaniards*, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords; both which the *Spaniards* receiv'd, without removing one jott from their stations.

During this *Demesle*, (in which the *French* receiv'd some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the *French* Ambassadour's Coach-Horses, cut the ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coachman forced out of his Box, and the Postillion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an *English* Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a *Spaniard* pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded, and some slain) caused those in the *French* to alight, and so enraged their Party, that it occasion'd a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being receiv'd with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to S. *Katherines*.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-batts were thrown from the edge of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been provided by the *Spanish* Ambassadour's Order the day before: But that they were not cast by any of the *English*, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the *Spanish* Coach went forward after his *Majestie's*, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the *French*, as long as they abode on the

1660. Wharf and that narrow Paſſage of the Bullwark, (where the Conteſt was very fierce) without diſorder: So as the firſt which appear'd on *Tower-Hill* (where now they were entring) was his *Majeſtie's* Coach, follow'd by the *Swedes* Ambaſſadour's; and next, by that of *Spain*, with about Twenty Four or Thirty of his Liveries, ſtill diſputing it with a leſs number of *French*, who came after them in the Rear.

And here, (beſides what were ſlain with Bullets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwark, whereof one was a *Valet de Chambre* of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour's, and ſix more, amongſt which a poor *Engliſh* Plaiſterer, and near fourty wounded) fell one of the *French*, who was kill'd juſt before his Highneſſe's Life-Guard; no one perſon of the numerous Spectators intermeddling, or, ſo much as making the leaſt noiſe, or tumult, People or Souldiers, whereof there were Three Companies of Foot, which ſtood oppoſite on the Hill to the Guards of Horſe, 'twixt whom the Antagoniſts lightly Skirmiſh'd, ſome freſh Parties of *French* coming out of ſeveral places, and protected by the *Engliſh*, amongſt whom they found ſhelter, till the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour's Coach having gain'd, and paſs'd the Chain which leads into *Crochet-Friers*, they deſiſted, and gave them over.

What ever diſadvantage the *French* came off with in this Rencounter, wherein, except one man that fought among the *Spaniards* with a Half Pike, not any of the *Engliſh* were ſeen to Act any thing that might contribute to the ſucceſs of one ſide more than another, till a few of the multitude which ſtood on that ſide of the Wharf, being enrag'd by the Wounds which they receiv'd from the ſhot that came in amongſt them, and whereof, 'tis ſaid, ſome of them afterwards died, were forc'd to defend themſelves with what they found at hand: For ſo Careful was Sir *Charles Barcley*, Captain of his Royal Highneſſe's Life-Guard, to put in execution what he had in ſtrict Charge from his Majeſty, that not a man of the Spectators was ſuffer'd with impunity ſo much as with a Switch in his hand. The *French* King, from this occaſion, gain'd an advantage to the Prerogative he ſtood upon, greater than if this Conteſt had not hapned; For whereas this buſineſs of Precedence had been hitherto in Controverſie between him and *Spain*, in ſo much that to prevent all Inconveniencies, an Accord had been lately made here between the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour and the Count of *Soiſſons*, That they ſhould aſſiſt at no Publick Ceremonies, but upon all ſuch caſual Encounters, paſs on their way as they fortun'd to meet: The King of *France* countermanding this Agreement, and ſending poſitive Charge to *de Strade*, not to abate any thing of thoſe Pretenſions formerly ſtood upon; and hearing what enſued upon his Embaſſadour's executing of his Injunctions, was ſo Incenc'd thereat, that the Quarrel had proceeded to an abſolute Breach of the late concluded Peace between the two Kingdoms, had not the King of *Spain* condeſcended to agree, That thence-forward Precedence ſhould be yielded to the *French* upon all ſuch like occaſions, without any diſpute.

The Princeſs Royal comes over into *England*.

On the 23 of this Month, the Princeſs Royal of *Great Brittain* having recommended the Intereſts of her Son the Prince of *Aurange* to the care of the *Lords States* of the *Netherlands*, (who now at length had agreed among themſelves to admit this Young Prince to the ſame Dignity and Truſt which his Anceſtours formerly held in that *Commonwealth*, of which they had ſo highly merited) came over into *England*, invited by his Majeſty; and willing once again to ſee her Native Country from which ſhe had ſo many years been abſent: But her Joy to ſee the King her Brother peaceably Inthron'd, was very much allay'd by her Sorrow for the loſs of her Third Brother, *Henry* of *Oatlands* Duke of *Glouceſter*, who in the 21 year of his age (to the great Grief of the King his Brother, and all thoſe that knowing and admiring the Princely Vertues of his Youth, had promis'd Wonders to the World from the hopes of his Elder age) departed this Life on the 13th of *September*, being the ſame day the *Parliament* adjourn'd, which was near the ſpace of four Month after his Arrival in *England*; ſo that he ſurvived little longer than juſt to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was a Prince Excellently accompliſh'd, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wiſe above his Years, a Dutiful and Affectionate Brother, a Wiſe Councellour, a Good Maſter, and a True Friend. And as if Fate had ſo provided, that being himſelf of *the moſt Noble*, he ſhould alſo in death be accompany'd by the moſt Noble, there died much about the ſame time, two of the ſame *Order* with himſelf, and next him in Quality, *Eſme* Duke of *Lenox*, and *Richmond*, and *William* Marqueſs of *Hertford*, who was alſo not long before his death reſtored by his now Majeſty to the Ancient Dignity of his Anceſtours, being created Duke of *Somerſett*, and alſo to the Honour he had merited in the time of his late Majeſty, of being Lord Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*: In which laſt Dignity he is ſucceeded by Sir *Edward Hide*, Lord high Chancellour of *England*.

The Death of the Duke of *Glouceſter*.

Of the Dukes of *Lenox* and *Somerſets*.

Commiſſioners having been appointed by the *Parliament* to Pay off and Disband the *Army* and *Navy*, a ſpeedy and effectual Courſe having been by them taken, as hath been already mention'd, for the Paying off and Disbanding the ſeveral Regiments and Ships as faſt as Money came in by the *Act of Poll-Money* and the other *Acts of Aſſeſsments* made to that end by the *Parliament* before their Adjournment; In lieu of theſe Diſbanded Forces, all the ſeveral Counties of the Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, who were conſtituted the King's Lieutenants over them, according to the Ancient Cuſtom; were Armed with their own *Militia* or *Train'd Bands*; Not ſo much in any apprehenſion of diſquiet from the Souldiers, for they had ſo good Officers placed over them by the Lord General, that there was no fear of diſorder from them; but leſt any ſeditious perſons might think themſelves capable of making diſturbance, if no Armed force ſhould be ready to prevent their Miſchiefs.

Commiſſioners appointed to Disband the Army and Navy.

The *Militia* ſettled in the ſeveral Counties.

And by this means, the Country was both ſettled into ſuch a Poſture of Military Defence, as to be able at a ſhort warning to appear in Arms, and alſo freed from the continual Charge of maintaining a ſtanding Army, whereof there would be no appearance, except in caſe of Emergent Danger.

As matters of Civil, ſo likewiſe thoſe of Eccleſiaſtical concernment were had in ſerious regard

regard by his Majesty, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been Establish'd in *England* from the time of the *Reformation*, till the late *Troubles*, to be the most Ancient and Decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first businesses to restore the late extruded *Episcopacy* to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of *England*; To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approv'd to be of the most eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishop's See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their power.

Episcopacy revived in *England*.

In the Moneth of *October*, *Owen Rowe*, *Augustine Garland*, and 27 more of the Regicides, Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the *Act of Indempnity and Oblivion*, were arraigned at the *Old Baily* upon a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, directed to *Thomas Allen* Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Edward Hide*, Lord Chancellour of *England*.

The Earl of *Southampton*, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Duke of *Albermarle*, the Lord *High Steward*, the Earl of *Lendsey*, Earl of *Manchester*, Earl of *Dorset*, Earl of *Barkshire*, Earl of *Sandwich*, Lord *Roberts*, the Lord *Finch*, *Denzel Holles*, Esquire, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Knight and Baronet, Sir *Charles Barkley*, Knight; Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. Secretary *Morrice*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, *Arthur Annesley* Esquire, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice *Foster*, Mr. Justice *Mallet*, Mr. Justice *Hide*, Mr. Baron *Atkins*, Mr. Justice *Twisden*, Mr. Justice *Terrell*, Mr. Baron *Turner*, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* Knight and Baronet, Sir *William Wild* Knight and Baronet, Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Brown*, Mr. Serjeant *Hale*, *John Howell* Esquire.

The Prosecutors on behalf of his Majesty, were Sir *Jeffery Palmer*, his Majestie's Attorney General, Sir *Heneage Finch*, his Majestie's Sollicitor General, Sir *Edward Turner*, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of *York*, and *Wadham Windham* Esquire, *Edward Shelton*, Esquire attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded *Not Guilty*, Except Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Mr. *George Fleetwood*, who pleaded *Guilty*: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Jurors scarce ever went from the Barr to deliberate, but found them all *Guilty*; and Ten of them were Executed, *viz. Harrison*, *Carew*, *Scott*, *Clement*, *Jones*, *Scroop*, *Cook*, and *Peters*, at *Charing-Cross*; and *Hacker* and *Axtell* at *Tyburn*: *William Hulet* (who was also found Guilty, being accused to be one of those that in a Frock and Vizard assisted in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore excepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence seem'd not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King, he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were respited, till the King and *Parliament* should order their Execution according to the direction in the *Act of Indempnity* in that behalf.

The King Summons a Parliament in *Scotland*.

The King thought it high time to settle the Peace of *Scotland*, as well as that of his other Dominions; and in order thereunto he summon'd a *Parliament* to meet at *Edenburgh* the 12th day of *December*; And by his *Proclamation* in that Kingdom, signified to all, That he relyed so much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his *Parliament*, as absolutely to commit to them the Trying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his *Parliament* or *Committee of Estates*: To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interessed, might freely and should only make their applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown asserted, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, an Act of *Indempnity*, as might witness, that he desired nothing more than that his People should be settled with abundance of Happiness, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government.

New Officers Constituted in *Ireland*.

For the Government of *Ireland*, he made Sir *Maurice Eustace* Knight, Lord Chancellour of *Ireland*, *Roger* Earl of *Orrerey* Lord President of *Munster*, and *Charles* Earl of *Montraith*, Lord President of *Connought* to be Justices, who Govern'd Affairs there with great Candor and Moderation.

The Sitting again of the *Parliament* of *England*, drew very near, in the Interim whereof, the King, to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Adjournment the latter end of *October*, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, fill'd with many gracious Concessions to allay the distempers in Religion of that time; which because it was but temporary, till the *Parliament* should Offer something further to him in reference to those matters, We forbear to mention the particulars thereof. He likewise a few dayes after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of *England*, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasors of Crown and Church-Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The King sets forth a Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical affairs.

The *Two Houses of Parliament* met the Sixth of *November*, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the King's Revenue, and other Matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received Intimation from the King, That he intended to Dissolve them on the 29th of *December*: In the mean time, They Ordered, That the several Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *John Bradshaw*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Hurdle to *Tyburn*, to buried under the Gallows: And on *Christmas-Eve*, the King went to the *House of Lords*, and there gave his Royal Assent to Two *Acts of Parliament*; *viz.* To an *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increase of his *Majestie's* Revenue, and, an *Act* for the taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures *in Capite*, and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for settling a Revenue upon his *Majestie's* in Lieu thereof.

The Parliament meets again.

The Bodies of *Cromwel*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and *Pride*, Order'd to be buried under the Gallows.

The KING passes the *Acts* for settling of *Excise*, and taking away the *Court of Wards*.

The *Act* for a Grant of certain Impositions, &c. is by several Rates as Excise, upon Beer, Ale, Sider, Perry, Metheglin, Strong-Water or *Aqua-*

1660. *Aqua Vitæ*, Coffee, Chocolate, Sherber, and Tea; (*viz.*) for *Beer*, *Ale*, and such of these as are not Forraign Liquors, they are to be paid by the *Brewer* or other person that shall sell the same; And all Forreign Liquors, by the Merchant, or Importer in ready Money upon Entry, made before the Landing thereof; And these Impositions are to continue by this Law during the King's Life: But by another *Statute* made the same Session, For taking away the *Court of Wards* and *Liveries*, and *Tenures in Capite*, and by *Knights Service*, and *Purveyance*, and for settling a Revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof: The said Impositions and Rates are in recompence thereof to be paid to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors for ever.

The Reasons alledged in this Statute, for taking away the *Court of Wards*, in the Preamble thereof, were, Because Tenures by Knights Service, either of the King or others, or by Knights service in *Capite*, or by *Soccage in Capite* of the King, and the Consequents upon the same had been much more burthensome, grievous, and prejudicial to the Kingdom, than beneficial to the King: And since the intermission of the said Court from the 24th of *February*, 1645. many persons had by Will and otherwise made disposal of their Lands held by Knights Service, whereupon divers Questions might arise, unless some seasonable Remedy should be taken to prevent the same, by taking away from the said 24th day of *February*, 1645. the Court of Wards and Liveries, and all Wardships, Liveries, *Primer Seisins*, and all *Ouster le mains*, Values, and Forfeitures of Marriages, by reason of any Tenure of the King, or of any other by Knight Service, and all mean Rates and Gifts, Grants or Charges, &c.

The Death of the Princess of *Aurange.*

Whil'st the King was passing these Two *Acts*, his Sister the Princess *Mary*, Princess of *Aurange*, died at *White-Hall*, A Lady of admirable Virtues and all Princely Endowments; and Five dayes after (*viz.*) on the 29th day of *December* in the Evening (which was the day of the Dissolution of the *Parliament*) was buried in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Westminster*.

The Parliament dissolv'd, and 32 Acts more pass'd by the King.

Upon which day in the Morning, the King came to the *House of Peers*, and gave the Royal Assent to Twenty Private, and Twelve Publique *Acts* of *Parliament*. The Private, were these following.

1. *An* Act *for the Restoring of* Henry *Lord* Arundel *of* Worder, *to the possession of his Estate.*

2. *An* Act *for Restitution of* Thomas *Earl of* Arundel, Surrey, *and* Norfolk, *to the Title of* Duke of Norfolk.

3. *An* Act *to restore to* Wentworth *Earl of* Roscomon *in* Ireland, *all the Honours, Castles, Lordships, Lands and Tenements, whereof* James *Earl of* Roscomon *his great Grandfather, or* James *Earl of* Roscomon *his Father, were possessed.*

4. *An* Act *for the restoring of Sir* George Hamilton *to his Lands and Estate in* Ireland.

5. *An* Act *for Maintenance of the Vicar, for the time being, of the Vicaridge of* Royston.

6. *An* Act *for Enabling Sir* William Wray *to sell Lands for payment of his Debts, and raising of Portions for his younger Children.*

7. *An* Act *for Naturalizing of* Gerrard Vanbenthuzen, Daniel Demetrius, *and others.*

8. *An* Act *for the enabling of* John Newton *the Younger, and* William Oakley, *to make Sale of Lands for payment of Debts, and raising of Portions.*

9. *An* Act *for impowring the Master of the* Rolls *to make Leases for Years, in Order to new building the old Buildings belonging to the* Rolls.

10. *An* Act *for the Naturalization of* John Boreel, *Esq; eldest Son of Sir* William Boreel *Knight and Baronet.*

11. *An* Act *for the Naturalization of* Abraham Wachter.

12. *An* Act *for the restoring Sir* Thomas Crimes *Baronet, to his Estate.*

13. *An* Act *for Enabling* George Fawnt *of* Foston, *in the County of* Leicester, *Esquire, to Sell and Convey part of his Lands, for payment of several Debts and Legacies Charged upon his Estate by Sir* William Fawnt *Knight, deceased; and for the raising of Portions for his Younger Children, and making his Wifes Joynture.*

14. *An* Act *for Naturalizing* Francis Hide *and others.*

15. *An* Act *to enable* Joseph Miklethwait *an Infant, and his Trustees, to Sell his Lands for payment of his Father's Debts.*

16. *An* Act *for raising Portions and making Provision for Maintenance of the younger Children of Sir* Edward Gostwick.

17. *An* Act *for Confirming the Sale of the Mannor of* Hitcham, *Sold to* Charles Doe *by Sir* John Clark, *Knight and Baronet, and for settling and disposing other the Lands of the said Sir* John Clark, *and Dame* Philadelphia *his Wife.*

18. *An* Act *for the settling of some of the Mannors and Lands of the Earl of* Cleveland *in Trustees, to be sold for the satisfying of the Debts of the said Earl, and of* Thomas *Lord* Wentworth *his Son.*

19. *An* Act *for the disappropriating of the Rectory appropriate of* Preston, *and uniting and consolidating of the said Rectory, and of the Vicaridge of the Church of* Preston, *and for the assuring of the Advowson and Right of Patronage of the same unto the Master, Fellowes, and Schollars of* Emanuel *Colledg in* Cambridg.

20. *An* Act *for making the Precinct of* Covent-Garden *Parochial.*

The Publique *ACTS* were,

1. *An* Act *for the Attainder of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murther of his late Sacred Majesty King* Charles *the First.*

2. *An* Act *for the Levying of certain Monies due upon the Collection for the* Protestants *of* Piedmont.

3. *An* Act *for Confirmation of Grants and Leases from Colledges and Hospitals.*

4. *An* Act *for the Levying of the Arrears of the Twelve Moneths Assessments, Commencing the* 24th *of* June, 1659. *and the Six Months Assessment, Commencing the* 25th *of* December, 1659.

5. *An* Act *for granting to the Kings Majesty* 420000 l. *by Assessment of* 70000 l. *by the Month, for six Months, for Disbanding of the Army, and Paying off the Navy.*

6. *An*

6. *An* Act *for the raising of* 70000 l. *for the further supply of his Majesty.*

7. *An* Act *for Confirmation of Marriages.*

8. *An* Act *for Raising and Establishing a* Post-Office.

9. *An* Act *for the further supplying and explaining certain defects in an* Act *for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea.*

10. *An* Act *for the better ordering of the selling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing abuses in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of Wines; and for settling and limiting the Prizes of the same.*

11. *An* Act *for Prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of* Tobacco *in* England *and* Ireland.

12. *An* Act *for Prohibiting the Exportation of* Wooll, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth, *or any kind of* Scouring Earth.

The Substance of the *Act* of *Attainder.*

By the Act of Attainder, *which was made to Attaint the Judges and other Actors in the Murther of the late King*, Oliver Cromwell *deceased*, Henry Ireton *deceased*, John Bradshaw *deceased*, *and* Thomas Pride *deceased*, *are Adjudged to be Convicted and Attainted of High Treason, to all intents and purposes, as if they and every of them respectively had been attainted in their Life-time.*

2. *And all the persons sted for Treason, That is to say*, John Lisle, William Say, Valentine Wauton, Edward Whalley, John Barkstead, Edmond Ludlow, *Sir* Michael Livesey, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas Challoner, William Cawley, Miles Corbet, Nicholas Love, John Dixwell, Daniel Blagrave, Andrew Broughton, Edward Dendy, *and every of them, stand, and be Adjudged, Convicted, and Attainted of High Treason.*

3. *All the Mannors, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Possessions, Rights, Conditions, Interests, Offices, Fees, Annuities, and all other Hereditaments, Leases for years, Chattels Real, and all other things of that nature whatsoever they be, of them the said* Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, Thomas Pride, *and of other persons particularly named in the said* Act, *amounting in all to the number of Two and Fifty persons, which they or any of them, or any other person or persons to their or any of their Uses, or in Trust for them or any of them, the* 25th *day of* March, 1646. *or at any time since, shall stand and be forfeited to the King, his Heirs and Successors, and shall be vested and adjudged to be in the actual and real possession of the King, without any Office or Inquisition thereof hereafter to be taken or found.*

4. *No Conveyance, Assurance, Grant, Bargain, Sale, Charge, Lease, Assignment, Surrender by Copy, Estate, Interest, Trust, Limitation of Uses, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the Lands of the late King, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognizance had, made, acknowledged or suffered to any person or persons which before the* 24th *day of* September 1659. *by any of the Offenders in the* Act *mentioned, or their Heirs, or any other persons clayming by, from, or under them, other than the Wife or Wives, Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of such person or persons to any of them*) *for Money* bona fide *to them or any of them paid or Lent, nor any Conveyance, Grant, or Estate, made before the* 25th *day of* April 1660. *by any person or persons aforesaid, in trust and for the benefit of any other person or persons not being of the Offenders aforesaid, shall be impeached, defeated, made void or frustrated hereby, or by the Convictions or Attainders aforesaid, but shall be enjoyed by the Purchasors, Grantees, Lessees, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns respectively, as if this Act had not been made; So as the said Conveyances, Grants, Assurances, which are and ought to bee held and enjoyed as aforesaid before the First of* January 1662. *be enter'd and enrolled of Record in the* Exchequer, *and not otherwise.* 1660.

5. *All and singular the Mannors, Lands and Hereditaments, which heretofore were the Lands, &c. of* Henry *late Marquess of* Worcester, Edward *now Marquess of* Worcester, *and* Henry *Lord* Herbert, *Son to the said* Edward *Marquess of* Worcester, *whereof the said* Oliver Cromwel, *or any other person in trust for him, or to his use, or any other the persons attainted by this Act or otherwise, or any other person in trust for them or any of them, had at any time before or since the decease of the said* Oliver Cromwell, *are vested and seised in, and shall be held and enjoyed by the said Marquess of* Worcester, *and* Henry *Lord* Herbert, *in such manner and for such Estates or such Powers and Priviledges, as they formerly had in the same, Saving the Estates, Rights, Titles and Interests of Strangers, not derived by and from any of the said Offenders since the* 25th *day of* March, 1646.

1. It is Provided nevertheless, 'That those 'who have received any of the Rents or Mean 'Profits of, in, or out of, any the Lands, Chat-'tels Real, or Possessions of any of the Offenders 'in this Act mentioned before the 11th of *Fe-'bruary*, 1659. and have paid or accompted for 'the same before that day unto the said Offender 'or Offenders, or their Assigns, or any other 'person clayming from or under them, shall be 'for ever acquitted and discharged of and from 'the same, against the King, his Heirs and Suc-'cessors.

2. 'And also, That *Richard Ingoldsby* may 'keep, sell or dispose of all the Goods and Chat-'tels formerly belonging to Sir *Hardress Waller* 'in *Ireland*, untill 2000 *l.* (for which the said '*Ingoldsby* in the year 1658. stood Joyntly boun-'den with the said Sir *Hardress Waller* unto *James* '*Brooks* of the City of *York* Alderman, and was 'then Counter-secured by a Judgment upon his 'Lands, and since by a Deed of Bargain and Sale 'of the said Goods and Chattels in *Ireland*,) be 'fully paid, together with the Interest thereof; 'the said *Ingoldsby* paying the Over-plus to the 'King.

The Kings Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon so notable a foundation of merit, as is before related, did oblige the *Parliament* in this and many other occasions, to shew their respect to him.

The *Act* for raising and establishing a *Post-Office*, brought a Revenue of One and Twenty Thousand

1660. Thousand Pounds a Year to the Crown; which was an Improvement first made in the time of *Cromwel's* Usurpation.

The *Act* for the better Ordering of the Selling of Wines by Retayl, was to Prohibit any from selling of Wines, but such as should be Licenc'd by the King's Agents; and from retailing mingled, corrupted or abused Wines: as also for Limiting and bringing down the Prices thereof.

The *Act* for the prohibiting the planting, seting or sowing of Tobacco in *England* and *Ireland*, did under strict penalties forbid the seting or planting any Tobacco in seed, plant, or otherwise, in *England*, *Wales*, the Island of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick*, except it be in any Physick-Garden of either of the Universities, or other private Garden for Physick or Surgery, so as the quantity so planted, exceed not one half of a Pole in any Place or Garden.

The *Act* for prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, Wool-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of Scowring Earth, was made to preserve the Manufacture of Woollen Cloth in *England*, which was one of the Staple-Commodities of this Kingdom, and that which brought most Trade and Advantage of any to it, till of late years that the *Hollander*, *French*, and others of our Neighbours, by Exportation of our Materials, had almost gain'd all the Trade thereof from Us: And although these Materials, as Wool, Wool-fels, and Fullers-Earth, had been by former Laws prohibited to be Exported to any Forreign Parts, on pain of Forfeiture or other pecuniary Mulcts. Those Laws could not prevent the offences, for they were frequently, by stealth, or connivance, Exported. Wherefore this Statute was thought fit to be made, for the re-inforcing of those former Laws, and preventing the like abuses for the future.

The Effect of his Majest.e's, and the Lord Chancellour's Speech, at the Dissolving of his *Parliament*.

After the King had given the Royal Assent to the before mentioned *Acts*, he made a Speech to both *Houses*, full of gracious and pleasing Expressions: and amongst others, he said, *This Parliament should be called to all Posterity*, The Healing and the Blessed Parliament. *And that it should be a Rule to his Actions and Councels to consider; What is a Parliament like to think of this Action, or this Council?* Adding, *That he would Religiously himself observe the Act of Indempnity, and would exact the Observation of it from all others.*

And after he had ended, The Lord Chancellour (according to the Custome, for none ever in his Place had greater Eloquence) excellently set forth *the Happiness of the King and his People, which only strove which should express more affection to each others to the Joy of all his good Subjects, and the Terrour of Evill Doers.* And with this Speech be concluded the *Parliament*; for then it was dissolved. And We may truly say, Never did *King* and *Parliament* in this Kingdom better agree; never was there any *Parliament* Assembled with greater Expectation, and ended with greater Satisfaction to all the People; Of which we may not improperly insert in this place a *Stanza*, out of that excellent Ode upon the King's Restoration and Return, made by the most celebrated of our *English* Poets, Mr. *Abraham Cowly*, now living, a little before its Dissolution; in the 18th Page, whereof is sung this Passage,

And ill should We deserve this Happy Day,
If no acknowledgment we pay
To You Great Patriots *of the* Two
Most truly other Houses now;
Who have redeem'd from Hatred *and from* Shame,
A Parliament's *once* Venerable Name;
And now the Title of a House *restore*
To that which was but Slaughter-House *before.*
If my advice, Ye Worthies, *might be tane,*
Within those Reverend Places
Which now your Living Presence *graces,*
Your Worthy Statues *alwayes should remain,*
To keep alive your useful Memory,
And to your Successors *th' Example be*
Of Truth, Religion, Reason, Loyalty.
For though a firmly settled Peace
May shortly make your Publique Labours cease,
The greatful Nation, *will with joy consent,*
That in this Sence, *you should be said*
(Though yet the Name *sounds with some dread)*
To be the Long, the Endless Parliament.

The Insurrection of *Venner* and his *Fifth-Monarchy-men*.

Of all the manifold Sects, and Separations, that sprung up from the licence of the late War, and the *Anarchy* that reign'd from that time, till the time of his Majestie's Restoration, there were scarce any that dreaded not the Name of *Monarchy*, as apprehending the Consequence thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in *Church* and *State*; And therefore no marvail if they who heretofore were profess'd Enemies to the King and his Right of Government, were, after his Coming in, agitated with a restless spirit of Impatience and Dis-satisfaction, which forbore not several times to manifest it self in such Attempts, as, had not a timely stop been put unto them, by the Prudent Foresight and Vigilant Care of his Majesty and his Council, might very much have Endanger'd the Imbroyling of the Nation in a new Civil War. The first Alarm that was given, was by the *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, (they at least were the only hardy men that openly appear'd) a generation of people however so call'd, the most Inveterate Enemies to the Ancient settled *Monarchy* of the Nation, of all the whole *Hydra*; Of these about 50 or 60 mad persons, resolving to venture Neck or nothing, broke forth into open Hostility and Rebellion, under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner*, a Cooper, that had lived for some time in *New-England*, and was of the principle of the *Fifth-Monarchy*, and a Preacher to a Conventicle of those of that Opinion, who usually met in *Coleman-street*. That which first gave him and his partakers a pretence to their Treason, was the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, (which all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take) exclaiming not only against them in particular, but against all Oaths in general; And when some amongst them, more Ingenious than the rest, advised their Companions not to dispute what was Commanded by their Superiours, since subjection was naturally due to those Powers from whence they expected protection; They were answered by the Seditious, *That they had no protection in the exercise of their Religion, but were for the practice thereof exposed to all manner of Contempts and Miseries.* As if a Just Restraint from Extravagancies in Divine Worship, were to be esteem'd Oppression.

The

The madneſs of theſe Men extended ſo far, as to believe they and the reſt of their Judgment were called by GOD to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they called *Babylon*) ſubſervient to the Kingdom of King *Jeſus*; and in order thereunto, never to ſheath their Sword, till the carnal Powers of the World became a hiſſing and a Curſe: And by a miſguided Zeal, they were ſo confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believ'd one ſhould ſubdue a Thouſand, making account when they had led captive Captivity in *England*, to go into *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other parts of the World, there to proſecute their holy deſign.

The place where they conſulted and continued their Conſpiracy, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at ſeveral times conveyed Arms. On *Sunday* the Sixth of *January*, which was the day before their Excurſion; (his Majeſty at that time being gone to accompany his Royal Mother the Queen-Dowager of *Great Brittain*, and his Siſter the Princeſs *Henrietta Maria*, part of their Journey toward *France*,) they were very late at their Aſſembly, which made one *Martin*, the Landlord of the Houſe, but not of their Party, ſomewhat inquiſitive after their doings; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met *Venner*, who ſeeing him troubled, told him, *He perceiv'd he thought their ſtay too long, and that in half an hours ſpace after they had ſought God in their Prayers, they would diſperſe*; *Martin*'s jealouſie of their actions, made him Conſult with a Friend about their unuſual manner of Aſſembling, and he was adviſed to Liſten at their Door, or peep through ſome Chink to hear or ſee what they were about; Which he did, and found them Arming themſelves with Back, Breaſt, and Head-Piece; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to ſome of the next Officers: But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Miſtreſs of the Houſe great with Child, who in amazement would have ſhut the Door upon them, they offer'd to ſhoot her with a Muſquet; upon which in great terrour ſhe left them. The Rebels firſt march'd to *St. Thomas Apoſtles*, to call ſome of their party, and from thence to *Biſhops-Gate*, and after to *White-Croſs-ſtreet*. Sir *Richard Brown*, the Lord Mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together ſome Files of the Trained Bands, but not ſufficient, as was ſuppoſed, to make any impreſſion upon them, they being imagin'd more numerous then they were; by which means they had opportunity to eſcape to *St. Johns Wood*, and from thence to *Cane-Wood*, betwixt *High-Gate* and *Hampſtead*.

By this time the Alarum being come to *White-Hall*, and the General's Regiment drawn up the Duke of *York* and he, with the Earl of *Oxford*, and ſome others, and ſome of the Guards, march'd into *London*, where they were informed all the Rebels were diſperſed, except a party of them that were ſeen to go towards *Cane-Wood*, whither Sir *Thomas Sandys* was ſent with ſome of the Guards, and a Company of Foot: But by the darkneſs of the Night they got away, and on *Wedneſday* morning came again into *London*, and divided themſelves into two Parties, one whereof about 5 and 6 in the morning appear'd about *Leaden-Hall*, and from thence march'd to *Little Eaſtchap*, where they fought obſtinately enough, but were diſperſed by the Train'd Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to my Lord Mayor's Houſe, thinking to have taken him Priſoner; but miſſing him, they march'd into *Wood-ſtreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet*, and about twenty Horſe; *Corbet* and nine of his party charged through the Rebels, and broke them, whereby the Train'd Band Foot that ſeconded them, had little more to do, than to purſue them. They fought with courage to admiration: and if they had not been hindred by the care of the Lord Mayor from increaſing their numbers, a Thouſand men ſo reſolv'd, might have cauſed ſuch a diſturbance in the City, as might have had an influenee much further. *Venner* himſelf was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or ſix kill'd that refuſed quarter, of which ſome of them were ſo obſcure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, *Venner* with about ſixteen or ſeventeen of the moſt notorious, were arraigned at *Juſtice-Hall* in the *Old-Baily*, found guilty, and executed in ſeveral parts of *London*. 1660.

Thus ended this deſperate Enterpriſe of a formidable Army of threeſcore men, who were inſenſated to that heighth of Enthuſiaſtick Valour, that they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greateſt and moſt Populous Cities of the World; The Princes Guards, the General's Troops, the City Train'd Bands, were all ſwallow'd up in Conceit, by theſe men of Mickle Might, and Little Wit; and I have heard ſay, they were ſo Infatuated with their golden Dreams, and ſo Cock-ſure of ſucceſs, that they had promis'd to themſelves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them; Thirty being deſign'd for the ſubduing of the *Eaſtern* Parts, and thirty of the *Weſtern*: But we have ſeen what diſaſter they met with by the Way.

With the Suppreſſion of this Inſurrection, and the bringing the Authours thereof to exemplary puniſhment, together with the deceaſe of Sir *Arthur Haſlerigg* in the *Tower*, who is thought to have died with very Anguiſh of Mind, to ſee all his great Deſigns in an Inſtant brought to nothing; and himſelf at the Mercy of a Power o're which he had ſo long Triumph'd: We ſhall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majeſty; our preſent Hiſtory not thinking it enough to have ſeen him reſtor'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without ſeeing him alſo inveſted with thoſe Enſigns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predeceſſours were confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd Kings of *England*.

The Pomps and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perform'd for a PRINCE ſo miraculouſly reſtor'd to his People, We judge not impertinent to be here Inſerted; following herein the *Obſervations* and *Collection* (according to the Original unmutilated Copy ſet forth by himſelf, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of *Elias Aſhmole* Eſq; *Windſor* Herald at Arms; a moſt Judicious and Curious Inquirer into all *Antiquities* of this Nature, and exactly

1661. vers'd in the publick Ceremonies of State, especially in the Rites and Customs of the most Noble and Illustrious Order of the Garter: The Names and order of the Companions whereof, as they were settled in their Stalls the 16th of *April*, 1661. were as followeth:

1. The *Soveraign.*
2. Duke of *York.*
3. Prince Elector of *Brandenburgh.*
4. Prince *Rupert.*
5. Earl of *Salisbury.*
6. Earl of *Northumberland.*
7. Duke of *Ormond.*
8. Earl of *Southampton.*
9. Earl of *Bristol.*
10. Count *Marsin.*
11. Earl of *Sandwich.*
12. Duke of *Richmond.*
13. Earl of *Manchester.*

1. Voyd.
2. The *Elector Palatine.*
3. Prince of *Aurange.*
4. Prince *Edward.*
5. Earl of *Berkshire.*
6. Duke of *Espernon.*
7. Duke of *Buckingham.*
8. Marquess of *Newcastle.*
9. Prince of *Tarante.*
10. Duke of *Albemarle.*
11. Earl of *Oxford.*
12. Earl of *Lindsey.*
13. Earl of *Strafford.*

Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this Grand Solemnity, there were created 68 *Knights* of the *Holy Trinity*, called *Knights of the Bath*, six Earls, and as many Barons. The Names of the *Knights of the Bath* (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation of a King or a Queen, or at a creation of a Prince of *Wales*, or Duke of *York*) were,

1. *Edward* Lord *Clinton*, afterwards Earl of *Lincoln.*
2. *John* Viscount *Brackley.*
3. Sir *Philip Herbert*, second Son to the Earl of *Pembroke.*
4. Sir *William Egerton*, second Son to the Earl of *Bridgwater.*
5. Sir *Vere Fane*, second Son to the Earl of *Westmerland.*
6. Sir *Charles Berkley*, eldest Son to the Lord *Berkley.*
7. Sir *Henry Bellasis*, eldest Son to the Lord *Bellasis.*
8. Sir *Henry Hide*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellour.
9. Sir *Rowland Bellasis*, Brother to the Viscount *Faulconbridg.*
10. Sir *Henry Capel*, Son of the late Lord *Capel.*
11. Sir *John Vaughan*, second Son to the Lord *Vaughan*, Earl of *Carbury.*
12. Sir *Charles Stanley*, Grandchild to the Earl of *Derby.*
13. Sir *Francis Fane*, } Grand-Children to the
14. Sir *Henry Fane*, } Earl of *Westmerland.*
15. Sir *William Portman*, Baronet.
16. Sir *Richard Temple*, Baronet.
17. Sir *William Ducy*, Baronet. *
18. Sir *Thomas Trevon*, Baronet.
19. Sir *John Scudamore*, Baronet.
20. Sir *William Gardiner*, Baronet.
21. Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, eldest Son to Sir *Frederick Cornwallis.*
22. Sir *John Nicholas*, Son to Sir *Edw. Nicholas* Principal Secretary of State.
23. Sir *John Monson.*
24. Sir *Bourchier Wray.*
25. Sir *John Coventry.*
26. Sir *Edward Hungerford.*
27. Sir *John Knevet.*
28. Sir *Philip Butler.*
29. Sir *Adrian Scroop.*
30. Sir *Richard Knightley.*
31. Sir *Henry Heron.*
32. Sir *John Lewkener.*
33. Sir *George Brown.*
34. Sir *William Terringham.*
35. Sir *Francis Godolphin.*
36. Sir *Edward Boynton.*
37. Sir *Grevill Verney.*
38. Sir *Edward Harley.*
39. Sir *Edward Walpole.*
40. Sir *Francis Popham.*
41. Sir *Edward Wise.*
42. Sir *Christopher Calthrop.*
43. Sir *Richard Edgcombe.*
44. Sir *William Bromley.*
45. Sir *Thomas Bridges.*
46. Sir *Thomas Fanshaw.*
47. Sir *John Denham.*
48. Sir *Nicholas Bacon.*
49. Sir *James Altham.*
50. Sir *Thomas Wendey.*
51. Sir *John Bramston.*
52. Sir *George Freeman.*
53. Sir *Nicholas Slanning.*
54. Sir *Richard Ingoldsby.*
55. Sir *John Bates.*
56. Sir *Edward Heath.*
57. Sir *William Morley.*
58. Sir *John Bennet.*
59. Sir *Hugh Smith.*
60. Sir *Simon Leech.*
61. Sir *Henry Chester.*
62. Sir *Robert Atkins.*
63. Sir *Robert Gayre.*
64. Sir *Richard Pawle.*
65. Sir *Hugh Ducy*, another Son of the foresaid Sir *Robert Ducy.*
66. Sir *Steven Hales.*
67. Sir *Ralph Bash.*
68. Sir *Whitmore.*

Which *Knights of the Bath*, were first dubbed Knights Batchelors, were Knighted by the King with the *Sword of State*, and then every one of them was adorned with the *Red Ribbond* of *Knight-hood* of the *Bath*, with a Medal adjoyning unto it of *Three Crowns*, with an Inscription about it of *Tria juncta in uno*; which words till King *James*'s Coronation were *Tria numina juncta in uno*, from *The Holy Trinity*, but at that time the word *Numina* was left out, which is supposed to be that from that time it might be lookt on to be an order of *Knight-hood* in allusion unto the vnion of the Three Kingdoms of *England*,

* Son of that Sir *Robert Ducy*, who, in the dangerous times of difficulty and tryal, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspir'd him to adjudge God and *Cæsar* their Due.

England, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as *Tria Regna junctа in uno.*

The Commiſſioners appointed for the calling together of theſe perſons to be Knighted, were the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Suffolk*, *Lindſey*, and *Mancheſter.*

The Twelve Perſons Advanc'd unto the Titles of Earls and Barons, were *Edward* Baron *Hide* of *Hindon*, Lord High Chancellour of *England*, created Earl of *Clarendon*. *Arthur* Baron *Capell*, created Earl of *Eſſex*. *Thomas* Baron *Brudenell*, Earl of *Cardigan*. *Arthur* Viſcount *Valentia*, Earl of *Angleſey*. Sir *John Greenvill* Knight, Gentleman of his Majeſtie's Bed-Chamber, Earl of *Bath*. *Charles Howard*, Earl of *Carliſle*. *Denzell Holles* Eſquire, Baron *Holles* of *Ifeld*. Sir *Frederick Cornwallis* Knight and Baronet, Baron *Cornwallis* of *Eye* in *Suffolk*. Sir *George Booth* Baronet, Baron *de la Mere* of *Dunham Maſſey*. Sir *Horatio Townſend* Baronet, Baron *Townſend* of *Lyn Regis*. Sir *Anthony Aſhly-Cooper* Baronet, Baron *Aſhly* of *Winton St. Giles*. *John Crew* Eſq; Baron *Crew* of *Stene*. Who were ſo created Earls and Barons on *Saturday* in the Afternoon, the 20. of *April*, 1661. in the *Banqueting-Room* in *White-Hall*, three dayes before the King's Coronation.

On *Monday* the 22d of *April*, his Majeſty, according to the Ancient Cuſtome, made his *Caval-Cade* from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*, in ſuch a glorious and ſplendid manner, that it ſeem'd to out-vie whatever had been ſeen before of Gallantry and Riches, the gorgeouſneſs of Apparel, the ſparkling of Gems, the luſtre of Gold, in a continued Train ſo dazling the Spectator's ſight, as if both the *Indies* had been ſummon'd over to attend at that Day's Triumph: In preparation to which, Four very Stately and Magnificent *Triumphal Arches* had been Erected by the City, (according as their *Charter* obligeth them upon ſuch an occaſion) for his *Majeſty* to paſſe through to his *Coronation.*

The firſt in *Leaden-Hall-ſtreet*, near *Lime-ſtreet* End, made after the *Dorick* Order, repreſenting his *Majeſtie's* happy Arrival in *England.*

The ſecond, being a Naval Repreſentation, was near the *Exchange* in *Cornhill.*

The third, conſiſting of the *Corinthian* and compoſite Order, and repreſenting the Temple of *Concord*, was plac'd in *Chapſide*, near *Wood-ſtreet* End.

The fourth, conſiſting of the *Dorick* and *Jonick* Orders, and repreſenting the Garden of Plenty, ſtood in *Fleetſtreet*, near *White-Friars.*

All Four of them being deſcrib'd at large in a *Treatiſe* particularly ſet forth to that purpoſe by Mr. *John Ogilby.*

The Proceeding of his Majeſty from the Tower *to* Weſtminſter, *was in the following Order:*

THE Duke of *York's Horſe-Guard.*
Meſſengers of the Chamber.
Eſquires to the Knights of the *Bath.*
Knight *Harbinger.* Sergeant *Porter.*
Sewers of the Chamber.
Quarter-Waiters.
The ſix Clerks of the *Chancery:*

Clerks { Of the Signet, Privy Seal, Council, } { Parliament. Crown. }

Chaplains having Dignities, Ten in Number. 1661.
The King's *Advocate*, and Remembrancer.
The King's Learned Councel at Law.
Maſters of the *Chancery.*
King's puiſne Serjeants.
King's Attorny, and Sollicitor.
King's Eldeſt Serjeants.
Secretaries of the *French* and *Latine* Tongues.
Gentlemen Uſhers Dayly Waiters.
Sewers, Carvers, and Cup-Bearers in Ordinary.
Eſquires of the Body.
Maſters of ſtanding Offices, being no Councellours, *viz.* Of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armory, Wardrobe, Ordnance.
Maſters of the Requeſts.
Chamberlains of the *Exchequer.*
Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges of the Law, according to their Dignities.
Lord Chief Baron:
And Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas.*
Maſter of the Rolls.
Chief Juſtice.
Trumpets.
Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
Knights of the *Bath.*
Knight-Marſhal.
Treaſurer of the Chamber.
Maſter of the Jewel-houſe.
Barons younger Sons.
Viſcounts younger Sons.
Knights of the Privy-Councel.
Barons eldeſt Sons.
Earls youngeſt Sons.
Viſcounts eldeſt Sons.
The Trumpets and Serjeant Trumpets.
Two Purſuivants at Arms.
Barons.
Marqueſſes younger Sons.
Earls eldeſt Sons.
Viſcounts.
Dukes younger Sons.
Marqueſſes eldeſt Sons.
Two Heralds.
Earls. Earl Marſhal:
And Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
Dukes eldeſt Sons.
Two Heralds.
Marqueſſes.
Dukes.

Serg. at Arms. { *Clarencieux*, and *Norroy.* / Lord Treaſurer. / Lord Chancellour. / Lord High Steward. / Two Perſons Repreſenting the Dukes of *Normandy* and *Aquitain.* / Gent. Uſher, *Garter*, L. *Mayor.* }

The Duke of *York* alone.
The Lord High-Conſtable of *England.*
The Lord Great Chamberlain of *England.*
The Sword born by the Duke of *Richmond.*
The KING.
Equerries, and Footmen next his Majeſty.
Gentlemen, and Penſioners without them.
The Maſter of the Horſe leading a ſpare Horſe.
The Vice-Chamberlain to the King.
Captain of the Penſioners.
Captain of the Guard.
The Guard.
The King's Horſe-Guard.
The General's Horſe-Guard.

1661. *The Proceedings on the day of his* MAJESTIE'S Coronation, *were as followeth:*

UPon *Tuesday* the 23d of *April* being St. *George*'s day, about half an hour after seven in the morning, the *King* entred into His Rich *Barge*, took Water from the *Privy-Stairs* at *White-Hall*, and landed at the *Parliament-Stairs:* From whence He proceeded up to the Room behind the *Lords-House*, called the *Princes Lodgings*, where, after He had repoſed Himſelf for a while, He was arrayed in His Royal Robes of Crimſon Velvet, furr'd with Ermine: By which time the *Nobility*, being aſſembled, robed themſelves in the *Lords-Houſe*, and *Painted-Chamber*.

The *Judges* alſo, with thoſe of the *Long-Robe*, the *Knights* of the *Bath*, and *Gentlemen* of the *Privy-Chamber*, met in the Court of *Requeſts*.

After ſome ſpace, the *Kings Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*, began to ſet the *Proceeding* in Order, each of them taking his ſhare aſſigned in Chapter, (held at the *Heralds-Office* the evening before) and thence directed all the before-mentioned *Degrees* (except the *Nobility*) down into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, where the reſt of the *Proceeding* attended, and from whence the *March* began.

About half an hour after Nine, the *Nobility* (having been firſt called over in the *Painted-Chamber*) proceeded each according to his Rank, and Dignity, in their Robes, and Coronets, before the *King*, through the Court of *Requeſts*, into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, aſcended up to the *State*, which was raiſed at the *Weſt*-end, and placed themſelves upon each ſide thereof.

His *Majeſty* being ſet in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State: Firſt, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe*, preſented the *Sword of State*, as alſo the *Sword* called *Curtana*, and two other *Swords*, to the Lord High-Conſtable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the laſt) laid them upon the Table before the *King*.

Then the ſaid *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe* delivered likewiſe the *Spurs* to the Lord High-Conſtable; and he again the ſame to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who alſo placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*, (by whom the *Regalia* had been brought in Proceſſion from the *Abbey-Church* unto *Weſtminſter-Hall*) being veſted in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:

The *Serjeant* of the *Veſtry*, in a Scarlet Mantle.
The *Children* of the *King's Chappel*, being twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Quire* of *Weſtminſter* in Surplices.
The *Gentlemen* of the *King's Chappel*, being thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The *Purſuivants*, *Heralds*, and *Provincial* Kings.
The *Dean*, carrying St. *Edward's* Crown.
Doctour *Helyn*, the *Scepter* with the *Croſs*.
Doctour *Heywood*, the *Scepter* with the *Dove*.
Doctour *Nicholas*, the *Orb* with the *Croſs*.
Doctour *Killegrew*, King *Edwards Staff*.
Doctour *Jones*, the *Chalice*, and *Patena*.
Doctour *Dowty*, the *Spoon*.
Doctour *Busby*, the *Ampulla*.

All ſtanding towards the lower end of the *Hall*, ready to proceed, they made their firſt Reverence together; then coming to the middle of the ſaid *Hall*, they there made a ſecond; and thence going a little further, both the *Quires* fell off, and ſtood on either ſide, through which Lane, the *Purſuivants*, *Heraulds*, and *Kings* paſſing, fell likewiſe off on either ſide, the Seniours ſtill placing themſelves uppermoſt towards the Throne: after whom, the *Dean* and *Prebends* proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the Stone-ſteps, aſcending to the *Throne*, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the *Dean* and *Prebends*, with *Garter*, *Principal King of Arms* before them, (he having waited their coming thither) aſcended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the *King*, made their laſt Reverence.

The *Dean* firſt preſented the *Crown*, which was by the Lord High-Conſtable, and Lord Great-Chamberlain, ſet upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the *Prebends* that part of the *Regalia*, which they carried, and laid them alſo by the *Crown:* which done, they retired.

Then, the *Lord Great-Chamberlain* preſenting the *Regalia* ſeverally to the *King*, His *Majeſty* thereupon diſpoſed of them unto the *Noble-men* hereafter named, to be carryed by them in the *Proceeding* to the *Abbey-Church*, viz.

St. *Edward's Staff* to the Earl of *Sandwich*.
The *Spurs* to the Earl of *Penbroke* and *Montgomery*.
The *Scepter* with the *Croſs* to the Earl of *Bedford*.
The *Pointed Sword* (born on the left hand of *Curtana*) to the Earl of *Derby*.
The *Pointed Sword* (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*.
The *Sword* called *Curtana* to the Earl of *Oxford*.
The *Sword* of *State* to the Earl of *Mancheſter*.
The *Scepter* with the *Dove* to the Duke of *Albemarle*.
The *Orb* with the *Croſs* to the Duke of *Buckingham*.
St. *Edward's Crown* to the Duke of *Ormond*.
The *Patena* to the Biſhop of *Exeter:* And laſtly,
The *Chalice* to the Biſhop of *London*.

And becauſe the *Spoon* and *Ampulla* were not to be born in the *Proceeding*, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the *High-Altar*, in the *Abbey-Church*, there to lye in readineſs; they were not preſented to the *King*, but commanded to be ſent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten a clock, the *Proceeding* began from out the ſaid *Hall* into the *Palace-Yard*, through the *Gate-Houſe*, and the end of *King's-ſtreet*, thence along the *Great Sanctuary*, and ſo to the *Weſt end* of the *Abbey-Church*, all upon Blew Cloth, which was ſpread upon the Ground, from the *Throne* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to the great Steps in the *Abbey-Church*, by Sir *George Cateret* Knight, *Vice-Chamberlain*, appointed by the *King* to be his *Almoner* for this Day.

The

1661.

The Proceeding *to the* Coronation, *was in this following Order.*

THE *Drums* four.
The *Trumpets* ſixteen, in four *Claſſis.*
The *Six Clerks* of the *Chancery.*
Ten of the King's Chaplains, having Dignity.
The *Aldermen* of *London.*
The *King's* Learned Councel at Law.
The *King's Solicitour.*
The *King's Attorney.*
The *King's* eldeſt *Serjeant at Law.*
The *Eſquires* of the *Body.*
The *Maſters* of *Requeſt.*
The *Gentlemen* of the *Privy-Chamber.*
The *Knights* of the *Bath.*
The *Barons* of the *Exchequer*, and *Juſtices* of both *Benches*, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coif.
The Lord Chief Baron.
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas.*
The Maſter of the *Rolls.*
The Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Kings-Bench.*
The Serjeant-Porter.
The Serjeant of the *Veſtry.*
The Children of the King's Chappel.
The Gentlemen of the King's Chappel.
The *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter.*
The Maſter of the Jewel-Houſe, who now had Precedency of the *Judges*, in regard he brought the Sword, and Spurs into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the *Ring* to the Church.
The Knights of the Privy-Council.
Port-cullis, Purſuivant at Arms.
The *Barons* in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimſon Velvet, turn'd up with Miniver, in their Hands.
The *Biſhops*, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Conſecrations.
Rouge-Croix, *Blew-mantle*, Purſuivants.
The *Viſcounts*, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.
Somerſet, *Cheſter*, Heralds.
The *Earls*, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their Hands.
Richmond, *Windſor*, Heralds.
The Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.
Lancaſter, *York*, Heralds.
Norroy, *Clarenceux*, Provincial Kings, carrying their Crowns in their hands.
The *Lord High-Treaſurer.*
The *Lord High-Chancellour.*
St. *Edward's Staff*, born by the Earl of *Sandwich.*
The *Spurs*, born by the Earl of *Penbroke*, and *Montgomery.*
St. *Edwards Scepter*, born by the Earl of *Bedford.*
The third *Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Derby.*
The *Sword* called *Curtana*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Oxford.*
The *Pointed Sword*, drawn and born by the Earl of *Shrewsbury.*
The Lord Mayor of *London.*
Garter, Principal King of Arms.
The Gentleman Uſher of the *Black Rod.*
The Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord Great-Chamberlain of *England.*

Arms.
- The Earl of *Suffolk*, Earl Mareſhal for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold.
- The Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord High Conſtable of *England* for this preſent occaſion.

His Highneſs the *Duke* of *York.*

Serjeans at
- The *Scepter*, with the *Dove*, born by the Duke of *Albemarle.*
- St. *Edwards Crown*, born by the Duke of *Ormond*, High Steward for this preſent occaſion.
- The *Orb*, born by the Duke of *Buckingham.*
- The *Patena*, born by the Biſhop of *Exeter* in his Cope.
- The *Regale*, or *Chalice*, born by the Biſhop of *London* in his Cope.

The *Penſioners* with their Pole-Axes. } { *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, carrying the Canopy.

The KING
ſupported by the Biſhops of
Bath and *Wells*, and *Dureſme.*

His Train born by the Lords
Mandevil, *Cavendiſh*, *Oſſory*, and *Percy*; and aſſiſted by the Lord *Mansfield*, Maſter of the *Robes.*

The Lord *Lauderdale*,
one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near to the *King.*

Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Seamour.*
both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Captain of the Guard. Captain of the Penſioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

{ *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports*, carrying the Canopy. } { The *Penſioners* with their Pole-Axes.

When the *Proceeding* had entred the Abbey-Church, all paſſed through the *Quire*, and thence went up the Stairs toward the great Stage, and, as they arrived at the top thereof, were diſpoſed

1661. disposed by the Heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That, on the *North*-side, received the Aldermen of *London*, the Judger, and Gentlemen of the *Long-Robe*, the Quire of *Westminster*, the Gentlemen and Children of the *King's* Chappel, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery, raised on the *South*-side of the Upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them:) and, in the Gallery, on the *South*-side, were seated the Knights of the *Bath*, and Gentlemen of the *Privy-Chamber*.

The *King*, being entred the *West*-Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an *Anthem*, begun by the *Quire* of *Westminster*; who, with the *Dean*, and *Prebends*, had before fallen off from the *Proceeding*, a little on the left hand of the middle Isle, and stayed there to attend His coming, where also a *Fald-stool*, and *Cushions* were laid ready for His Majesty to kneel at.

The *Anthem* sung was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth *Verses* of the 122d *Psalm*:

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c.

The *King*, arriving at the *Fald-stool*, kneeled down, and used some private Ejaculations; which being finished, He thence proceeded into, and through the *Quire*, up to the great *Theatre* (erected close to the four high *Pillars*, standing between the *Quire* and the *Altar*) upon which the *Throne* of *Estate* was placed, (being a Square raised on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a *Chair*, *Foot-stool*, and *Cushion*, covered with Cloth of Gold, whereon he reposed himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of *London* (who was appointed to Officiate, in part, that Day, for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, whose age and weakness rendred him uncapable of performing his whole Duty at the *Coronation*) having the *Lord High-Constable*, the *Earl Marshal*, the *Lord Great Chamberlain*, the *Lord High Chancellour*, and *Lord Chamberlain* of the *Houshold* before him, went first to the *South*, next to the *West*, and lastly, to the *North*-side of the *Theatre*; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the *People*, That he presented to them *King* CHARLES, the rightful Inheritour of the *Crown* of this *Realm*; and asked them, If they were willing to do their *Homage*, *Service*, and *Bounden Duty* to Him.

As this was doing, the *King* rose up, and stood by the aforesaid *Chair*, turning His Face still to that side of the *Stage*, where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the *People*; who signified their willingness, by loud Shouts, and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said *Bishop* to all the *Nobility* present.

Immediately after, this following *Anthem* was sung by the *Gentlemen* of the *King's Chappel*:

Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.

In which time, a large *Carpet* was spread by a *Groom* and *Page* of the removing *Wardrobe*, from the *Altar*, down below the *half-Paces* thereof, and over that a *Silk Carpet*, and *Cushion*, laid by the *Gentleman-Usher* of the *Black-Rod*, and Mr. *Kinnersley*: whereupon the *Bishop* of *Londen* went down from the *Stage* towards the *Altar*, and having made his Reverence, placed himself at the *North*-side thereof.

Then the *King* descended from His *Throne*, and proceeded towards the *Altar*; being supported by the *Bishops* of *Duresme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, with the *Four Swords*, the *grand Officers*, the *Noblemen*, and *Bishops*, that carried the *Regalia* before Him, the *Dean* of *Westminster* also attending. Being arrived at the Steps of the *Altar*, He kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for him, having first offered the *Pall*, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of *Sandwich*) as also a Wedge of Gold of a pound weight (presented unto His Hands by the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treasurer of His *Houshold*) both which were received from the *King* by the *Bishop* of *London*, who laid them reverently upon the *Altar*. Immediately after, his Majesty retired to a *Chair* of *State*, set on the *South*-side of the *Altar*, a little below the Traverse of Crimson Taffety.

After this, the *Bishops*, and *Noble-men*, that carried the *Regalia*, drew near to the *Altar*, and presented every particular to the said *Bishop* of *London*, who placed them also upon the *Altar*; and having so done, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the *King* kneeled at a *Fald-stool* (set on the right side of his Chair of State) whil'st the Bishop of *London* said this Prayer.

O God, which dost visit those, that are humble, and dost comfort us by thy Holy Spirit; *send down thy Grace upon this thy* Servant CHARLES, *that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through* Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

This *Prayer* ended, the *Bishop* of *Worcester* went up into the *Pulpit*, placed on the *North*-side of the *Altar*, opposite to the *King*, and began his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, and the second Verse.

From the beginning of the aforesaid *Offering* to this time the KING was bare, but now He put on His Cap, made of Crimson Velvet, turn'd up with Ermines: with which He sate covered all the *Sermon*-time.

On the King's right hand stood the *Bishop* of *Duresme*, and beyond him the *Noble-men*, that carried the *Swords*, who held them naked, and erect. The Duke of *York* sate a little behind Him on His left hand; next to whom stood the *Bishop* of *Bath* and *Wells*, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellour, and Lord High Treasurer, sate on a Form behind the Duke of *York*; and behind them, in a Gallery, sate the Dutchess of *York*.

In the same Gallery also were placed

Baron *Bateville*, Ordinary Ambassadour from *Spain*.

Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Extraordinary Ambassadour from the Elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Monsieur Weyman, the Elector's Chancellour, who was joyned in Commission with him.

The *Count Coningsmark*, Envoy from *Sweden*.

Monsieur Friesendorf, Resident of *Sweden*.

Monsieur

Monſieur Petcom, Reſident of *Denmark*.
Monſieur Pleſſis Bellieure, Envoy from *Monſieur* the Duke of *Orleans*.
Signieur Giavarina, Reſident of *Venice*.
Signieur Bernardi, Reſident of *Genoa*.
Monſieur La-Motte, and *Monſieur Frays*, Envoys from the *Prince Electour*.
Monſieur Gormers, Deputy extraordinary from *Hamburgh*.
An Envoy from the *Cardinal* of *Heſs*.
The Marqueſs *de Montbrun*, with ſeveral other *Gentlemen-ſtrangers*.
But, *Don Franciſco de Mello*, the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, was placed in the Lord Chamberlain's Box.

On the *North*-ſide of the Altar ſate the Biſhop of *London*, directly oppoſite to the *King* in the Arch-Biſhops Chair, covered with Purple Velvet: the reſt of the Biſhops were placed on Forms behind him.

And higher, towards St. *Edward's* Chappel ſtood *Garter*, Principal King of Arms, with the Officers of the ſtanding and moving *Ward-robe*, viz. Mr. *Rumbal*, and Mr. *Townſend*, and Mr. *Kinnerſley*, in Scarlet Gowns, having a Crown embroidered with Gold on their left Sleeves; the *Groom* and *Page* of the Ward-robe having Scarlet Gowns alſo, but not the Badg of the Crown; the *Serjeant* of the *Veſtry* with his gilt Verge, and other Vergers: with them alſo ſtood Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Mr. *Seymour*, Mr. *Elliot*, Mr. *Progers*, and Mr. *Chiffinch*, with ſome other of the *King's* Servants, who attended to do Service.

Oppoſite to them, on the *South*-ſide of the Altar, ſtood the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter*.

St. *Edward's* ancient Chair, (covered all over with Cloth of Gold) was placed upon the *North*-ſide of the Altar, a little lower then that belonging to the Arch-Biſhop, but ſomething nearer the middle of the Iſle, and between the King's Chair of State and the Pulpit.

Near the Pulpit ſtood the *Maſter* of the *Jewel-Houſe*, and the Lord Mayor of *London*.

The *Nobility*, not formerly named, (who were ſeated upon Forms round about the in-ſide of the Stage) when *Sermon* began, drew near to that ſide thereof, which faced the High Altar, and ſtood there.

On the Corners of the Stage, near the High Altar, adjoyning to the two uppermoſt Pillars, were Places railed in for the *Provincial Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*.

The *Serjeants at Arms*, being ſixteen in number, ſtood with their Maces on their Shoulders, within the Rails, on either ſide the Entrance of the Stage from the *Quire*.

Over the Door, and at the *Weſt*-end of the *Quire*, ſtood the Drums, and Trumpets.

Sermon being ended, the *King* uncovered his Head, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* aroſe from his Seat, and drew near to the Kings Chair of *State*, and asked Him His willingneſs to take the uſual *Oath* to confirm the *Laws* to the *People*, and namely the *Franchiſes* granted to the *Clergy* by St. *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, to maintain the *Goſpel* eſtabliſhed in the *Kingdom*, to keep *Peace*, execute *Juſtice*, and grant the *Commons* the rightful *Cuſtoms*: unto every of which Queſtions His Majeſty made particular Anſwers, That *He would*.

Then the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* read the *Biſhop's Petition* to the King; the *Prayer* whereof was, That He would preſerve unto them, and the *Churches* committed to their Charge, all *Canonical Priviledges*, due *Law*, and *Juſtice*, and protect, and defend *Them*, and the *Churches* under their Government: Which his *Majeſty* moſt graciouſly by a large Anſwer (which repeated the words of the *Petition*) granted, and promiſed to perform. 1661.

Afterwards the King, aſſiſted by the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, was led from his *Chair* up to the *Altar* (the *Sword* of *State* being born before Him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where He took an *Oath* to perform, and keep what He had promiſed.

Which *Oath* taken, the King was led in like manner back to His *Chair* of *State*, and immediately the Biſhop of *London* begun the *Hymn*, *Come Holy Ghoſt*, *eternal God*, &c. the *Quires* ſinging the reſt of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the *Fald-ſtool* was ſet again at the King's right Hand; whereat (as ſoon as the *Hymn* was finiſhed) He kneeled, the Biſhop of *London* ſtanding before him, and ſaying the following *Prayer*.

We beſeech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, and everlaſting God, for This thy Servant Charles, *&c.*

The *Prayer* ended, the Biſhop of *London* went to the *North*-ſide of the Altar, the King ſtill kneeling, and forthwith the Biſhops of *Peterborough*, and *Glouceſter*, went, and kneeled on the upper hault-pace of the Altar, where they began the *Letany*, the *Quires* ſinging the *Reſponſes*; the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* kneeling all the while at the King's left Hand.

After the *Letany* followed three *Prayers*, ſaid by the Biſhop of *London* at the *North*-ſide of the *Altar*: and, a little before the laſt of them was ended, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came out at the *North*-door of *St. Edward's* Chappel, veſted in a rich antient Cope.

At the ending of the third *Prayer*, the ſaid Arch-Biſhop ſtanding before the *Altar*, began the *Verſicle*,

Lift up your Hearts.
Reſp.
We lift them up to the Lord.
Arch-Biſhop.
Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.
Reſp.
It is meet and right ſo to do.
Arch-Biſhop.
It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we ſhould at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finiſh'd, the *King* aroſe from before the *Fald-ſtool*, and went to the *Altar*, ſupported by the aforeſaid Biſhops of *Dureſme*, and *Bath* and *Wells*: where He was diſrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of His *Royal Robes*, which were immediately carried thence into the Traverſe erected in St. *Edward's* Chappel.

Whil'ſt this was in doing, the *Chair*, that was before placed at the entrance of the *Stage*,

was

1660. was removed, and set on the *North*-side of the *Altar*, betwixt it, and St. *Edward's Chair*, whereunto the *King* came, sate down, and was *anointed* by the said Arch-Bishop, (while the *Dean* of *Westminster* held the *Ampulla*, and poured the Oyl out into the *Spoon*) first in the Palms of both his hands, in manner of a Cross, the Arch-Bishop as he anointed Him, pronouncing these words,

Let these Hands be anointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been anointed, and as Samuel *did anoint* David *to be King; that Thou mayst be blessed, and established* KING, *in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord Thy God hath given Thee to rule over: which he vouchsafe to grant, who, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, Three in Person, and One in Unity, be blessed, and praised, now, and for evermore.* Amen.

After which the *Quire* sung this *Anthem*,

Sadoc *the Priest, and* Nathan *the Prophet anointed* Solomon *King, and all the People rejoyced, and said, God save the* KING.

At the end of which *Anthem*, the Arch-Bishop said this *Prayer*,

Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable countenance upon this Glorious KING, *&c.*

And then proceeded with his anointing the *King's* Breast, between His Shoulders, on both His Shoulders, the two bowings of His Arms, and on the Crown of His Head, in manner aforesaid.

Which being done, the *Anointing* was dried up with fine Linen, and the Loops of His Shirt closed up by the *Dean* of *Westminster*, and then the Arch-Bishop said these two *Prayers*,

God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus *our Lord, who is anointed of his Father with the oyl of Gladness above his fellows,* &c. *God, which art the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners,* &c.

During the time of *Unction*, a rich *Pall* of Cloth of Gold (brought from the great *Wardrobe* by Mr. *Rumball*) was held over the *King's* Head by the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Albemarle*, the Earls of *Berks* and *Sandwich*, as *Knights* of the most Noble Order of the *Garter*.

After these Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the *Coif* to the Arch-Bishop, who put it on the *King's* Head, and immediately after, the *Dean* of *Westminster* put the *Coif*, with the *Colobium Sindonis*, or *Surplice* upon the *King*: whereupon the Arch-Bishop said this short *Prayer*.

O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do reign, and Lawgivers do make good Laws, vouchsafe, we beseech thee, in thy favour, to bless this Kingly Ornament, and Grant, that thy Servant Charles, *our* King, *who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the Ornament of a good Life, and holy Actions; and, after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life, and Glory, which hath no end, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

This said, the *Dean* of *Westminster* having likewise fetched the *Tissue-Hose* and *Sandals* from the *Altar*, he arrayed the *King* therewith; as also with the *Super-tunica*, or *close Pall* of Cloth of Gold, and girded the same about Him.

But the *Taffety red Shirt* was not made use of at all.

After all this, the said *Dean* took the Spurs from off the *Altar*, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the *King's* Heels therewith, and forthwith sent them back to the *Altar*.

Then the Arch-Bishop received the *Sword* of *State* in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, and laid it upon the *Altar*, saying this *Prayer*,

Hear our Prayers, we beseech thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Majesty, to bless, and sanctifie this Sword, *wherewith thy Servant* Charles *desireth to be girt, that it may be a Defence and Protection of Churches, Widows and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, against the savage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels; and that it may be a Fear and Terrour to all those that lie in wait to do mischief, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

This *Prayer* finished, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops assisting, delivered the *Sword* back to the *King*, saying, *Accipe gladium per manus Episcoporum.*

Whereupon the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the *King*, and the Arch-Bishop said,

Receive this Kingly Sword, which is hallowed for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto Thee by the hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet consecrated by the authority of the holy Apostles, &c.

After this, the *Dean* of *Westminster* took the **Armil*, made of Cloth of Tissue, (brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal*, on the behalf of the Earl of *Sandwich*, Master of the great *Ward-robe*) and put it about the *King's* Neck, and tyed it to the bowings of His Arms, the Arch-Bishop standing before the *King*, with the Bishop of *London*, on his right Hand, and saying,

Receive the Armil of sincerity, and wisdom, as a Token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works may be defended against thine Enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Christ *our Lord.*

**Armillæ sunt in modum Stolæ, & ab utraque scapula usque ad Compages Brachiorum erunt dependentes, in ipsis Compagibus laqueis fericis connexa.*

Next the *Mantle* or open *Pall*, being made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon him by the said *Dean*; the *Arch-Bishop* likewise using the words of Signification, *viz.*

Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let Thee understand, that the four Corners of the World are subject to the Power of God; and that no Man can happily reign upon the Earth, who hath not received his authority from Heaven.

In the next place, the *Arch-Bishop* took Saint *Edwards* Crown, and blessed it, saying,

God, the Crown of the Faithful, &c. *bless, and sanctifie this Crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious Stones, so This thy Servant, that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Vertues, through the King eternal, thy Son our Lord.* Amen.

In

In the mean time, St. *Edward's Chair* was removed into the middle of the *Isle*, and set right over against the *Altar*, whither the King went, and sate down in it, and then the *Arch-Bishop* brought St. *Edward's Crown* from the *Altar*, and put it upon his Head.

Whereupon, all the *People*, with loud and repeated shouts, cryed *God save the* KING; and, by a Signal then given, the great *Ordinance* from the *Tower* were also shot off.

At the ceasing of these Acclamations, the Arch-Bishop went on, saying,

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory, and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that thou by thy Ministrie, having a Right Faith and manifold fruit of good Works, mayst obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of him, whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

Adding thereunto this *Prayer*,

* At which words the *King* bowed His Head.

*O God of Eternity, &c. Bless this thy Servant, who *boweth his Head unto thy Majesty,* &c.

After the *Prayer*, the *Arch-Bishop* read the *Confortare*,

Be strong, and of a good courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.

In the mean while, the *Quires* sung this *Anthem.*

The King shall rejoyce in thy strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall he be of thy Salvation, &c.

Upon this, the Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, and Vicounts put on their *Coronets*; the Barons their *Caps*: and divers of them came and stood about the KING, who still sate in S. *Edward's Chair.*

Mr *Garter* and the *Provincial Kings* put on their *Crowns* also.

Then the *Master* of the *Jewel-House* delivered to the Arch-Bishop the *Ring*, who consecrated it, after this manner, saying,

Bless, O Lord, and sanctifie this Ring, that thy Servant, wearing it, may be sealed with the Ring of Faith, and by the Power of the Highest be preserved from sin, and let all the Blessings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he shall sanctifie, may be holy; and whatsoever he blesseth, may be blessed. Amen.

After which, he put it upon the fourth Finger of the King's right Hand, and said,

Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith, that as this Day thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom, and People, so thou mayst preserve as the Author, and Establisher of Christianity, *and the* Christian *Faith; that, being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayst reign with him, that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour, and Glory, for ever and ever.* Amen.

And then began this *Prayer*, 1661.

O God, to whom belongeth all Power, and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles *the Fruit of his Dignity, wherein grant he may long continue, and fear thee always, and always labour to please thee, through* Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

When this Prayer was finished, the *linen Gloves* were delivered to the KING by the Lord Great Chamberlain: who, going to the *Altar*, ungirt his *Sword*, and offered it at the *Altar* in the Scabbard; which being redeemed by the Lord Chamberlain of the Houshold, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the following part of the Solemnity.

Then the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter, with the Cross, from off the *Altar*, and delivered it into the King's right Hand, saying,

Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power, the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Vertue, that thou govern thy Self aright, and defend the Holy Church, and Christian *People committed by God unto thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Just, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom thou mayst be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom, by his Goodness whose Kingdom is everlasting.* Amen.

Whil'st this was pronounced by the Arch-Bishop, Mr. *Henry Howard* delivered to the King a rich *Glove*, which he put on his right hand, and then received the *Scepter*. And after that, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer,

O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. *Grant, we beseech thee, to this thy Servant* Charles, *that he may order aright the Dignity, which he hath obtained,* &c.

During which time, the said Mr. *Howard* performed the service of supporting the King's right *Arm*, according it was adjudged to him by the Court of *Claims*, by vertue of holding the *Manor* of *Worksop* in the County of *Nottingham.*

Next of all, the Arch-Bishop took the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, and gave it into the King's Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Vertue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to terrifie the Wicked, shew the way to those that go astray, offer thy hand to those that fall, repress the proud, lift up the lowly, that our Lord Jesus Christ *may open to thee the Door, who saith of himself,* "I am the Door, by me if any man "enter, he shall be safe. *And let him be thy help, who is the Key of* David, *and the Scepter of the House of* Israel, "who openeth, and no "man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man "openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of "Prison where he sate in darkness, and in the "shadow of death. *That in all things thou mayst follow him, of whom the Prophet* David *saith,* "The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scep-"ter, thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated "Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God "hath anointed thee with the Oyl of gladness "above thy fellows, *even* Jesus Christ *our Lord.* Amen.

1661. After which the KING kneeled, holding both the Scepters in his Hands, whil'ſt the Arch-Biſhop thus bleſſed Him,

The Lord bleſs thee, and keep thee; and as he hath made thee King *over his People, ſo he ſtill proſper thee in this World, and make thee partaker of this eternal Felicity in the World to come.* Amen.

Then the KING aroſe, and ſet himſelf again in St. *Edward's Chair*, whil'ſt the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops preſent, one after another, kneeled before him, and were kiſſed by him.

In the mean time, the *King's* Chair of State, wherein He was anointed, was ſet above the upper Steps at the entrance upon the Theatre, whither the KING went, as ſoon as He had performed the Ceremony of kiſſing the Biſhops, having now four Swords born naked before him, the Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, and Great Officers attending: at his arrival there, the Arch-Biſhop ſaid this *Prayer*, the King kneeling,

Grant, O Lord, that the Clergy, and People, gathered together by thine Ordinance for this ſervice of the KING, *may by the moſt gracious aſſiſtance of thy goodneſs, and the vigilant care of thy Servant Our* KING, *be continually governed, and preſerved in all happineſs.*

Then the King aroſe, and repoſed himſelf in the ſaid Chair, whil'ſt both the *Quires* ſung *Te Deum.*

When *Te Deum* was ended, the King aſcended his Throne placed in the middle of the Theatre, the Swords, and Great Officers ſtanding on either ſide; as alſo the Biſhops, ſome in Copes, others in Rochets, the Arch-Biſhop then ſaying,

Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth that Place, whereof hitherto You have been Heir by the Succeſſion of Your Fore-fathers, &c.

After this, the *Biſhops*, and *Nobility* did their Homage to the King in manner following.

And firſt the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* kneeled down before the King's Knees, and ſaid,

I, William *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *ſhall be Faithful, and True, and Faith, and Truth bear unto You, Our Sovereign Lord and Your Heirs, Kings of* England, *and ſhall do, and truly acknowledg the Service of the Land, which I claim to hold of You, in the right of the Church: So Help me God.*

Which ſaid, he kiſſed the *King's* left Cheek.

The like did all the other *Biſhops*, that were preſent.

Then came up the Duke of *York*, with *Garter*, principal *King* of *Arms*, before him, and his Train born by two Gentlemen, who, being arrived at the Throne, kneeled down before the *King*, put off his Coronet, and did his *Homage*: at which the Drums beat, Trumpets ſounded, and all the *People* ſhouted.

The like did the Dukes of *Buckingham*, and *Albemarle*, for themſelves, and the reſt of the Dukes.

So alſo did the Marqueſſes of *Worceſter*, and *Dorcheſter.*

Next, the Earl of *Oxford* did homage after the ſame manner for himſelf, and all the reſt of the *Earls*, who attended upon him to ſignifie their conſents.

After him, Viſcount *Hereford* did the like for himſelf, and the reſt of the *Viſcounts*; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets ſounded again, and the People ſhouted.

Laſtly, Baron *Audley* in like manner did homage for himſelf, and all the *Baronage*, who alſo accompanied him to the Throne, in teſtification of their Conſents; which being finiſhed, Drums, Trumpets, and Shouts followed.

Note, That the Words of *Homage* were ſaid by every one of the *Nobility*, that kneeled down, *viz.*

I, N. N. do become Your Liege-man of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Worſhip; and Faith, and Truth I ſhall bear unto You, to live, and die, againſt all manner of Folks: So God me help.

Afterwards the Duke of *York*, and all the *Nobility* ſingly aſcended the Throne, and touched the *King's Crown*, promiſing by that Ceremony to be ever ready to ſupport it with all their power.

During the performing of this Solemn Ceremony, the Lord High Chancellour went to the South, Weſt, and North-ſides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the *King's General Pardon*, being attended by Mr. *Garter* to the South-ſide, and by a *Gentlemen-Uſher*, and two *Heralds* to the other two Sides.

And at theſe three Sides, at the ſame time, did the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of his Majeſtie's *Houſhold*, fling abroad the *Medals*, both of Gold, and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princely Donation, or Largeſs, among the People.

The *King* being thus enthronized, the *Gentlemen* of his *Chappel* began this following *Anthem.*

Behold, O Lord, our Defender, and look upon the Face of thine Anointed.

The Violins, and other Inſtrumental Muſick, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and placed in a Gallery erected over againſt them, on the North-ſide of the Altar) anſwering alternately: at the ending of which *Anthem*, the Trumpets ſounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the *King* took off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold; the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Henry Howard*, and that with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle.*

The *Epiſtle* (taken out of the Firſt Epiſtle of St. *Peter*, the ſecond *Chapter*, and beginning at the eleventh *Verſe*) was read by the Biſhop of *Chicheſter.*

The *Goſpel* (being part of the twenty ſecond *Chapter* of St. *Matthew*, beginning at the 15th *Verſe*) by the [illegible] *Ely*

After

After which, the *Nicene Creed* was began by the Biſhop of *London*, and ſung by the *Gentlemen* of the Chappel, with *Verſe*, and *Chorus*, (that, and the reſt of the ſpecial *Muſick*, for the Solemnity, being ſet by Captain *Cook*, Maſter of the Children of his Majeſtie's ſaid Chappel) The *Violins*, and other *Inſtrumental Muſick* placed in the Gallery over againſt them, alternately playing.

All which time the *King* ſtood by His *Throne*.

But towards the end of the *Creed* He took again his *Crown* from the Lord Great Chamberlain, and put it on his Head; as alſo the *Scepter* with the *Croſs* from Mr. *Howard*, and that with the *Dove* from the Duke of *Albemarle*, and prepared for His Deſcent from his *Throne* towards the *Altar*, to receive the Communion.

And, as ſoon as the ſinging of the *Creed* was fully ended, the *King* deſcended with the *Crown* on his Head, and *Scepters* in both Hands, (the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, and *Bath* and *Wells*, ſupporting him) with the four *Swords* naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this *Proceeding*, the *Quire* ſung.

Let my Prayer come up into thy preſence as the Incenſe, and the lifting up of my hand be as an Evening-Sacrifice.

Here the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Canterbury* retired from the Ceremonies into St. *Edward's* Chappel, and thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be performed by the Biſhop of *London*.

At the King's approach to the *Altar*, the Biſhop of *Ely* delivered unto Him Bread, and Wine, which He there offered, and then returned to the *Fald-ſtool*, on the *South*-ſide of the *Altar*, near His Chair of State, before which He kneeled down, and laid His *Crown* upon the *Cuſhion* before Him, towards his right Hand; and the *Scepter* with the *Dove*, on his left; and gave again to Mr. *Howard* the *Scepter* with the *Croſs*, who held it, kneeling on the Kings right Hand: the Grand Officers, and the *Noble-men*, with the four *Swords* naked, and erect, ſtanding about Him.

Then the Biſhop of *London* ſaid this *Prayer*.

Bleſs, O Lord, we beſeech thee, theſe thy Gifts, and ſanctifie them unto This holy Uſe, &c.

At the end of which, the Lord *Cornwallis*, Treaſurer of the Houſhold, preſented the *King* with another *Wedg* of *Gold*; which goeth under the name of the *Mark* of *Gold*. This the *King* offered into the *Baſon*, kneeling ſtill at his *Fald-ſtool*, whil'ſt the Biſhop of *London* ſaid the following *Prayer*,

Almighty God give Thee the dew of Heaven, and the fatneſs of the Earth, and abundance of Corn and Wine, &c.

And next pronounced this Bleſſing,

Bleſs, O Lord, the virtuous carriage of This King, *and accept the Work of His Hands: repleniſh the Realm with the Bleſſings of Heaven, of the Dew, of the Water, and of the Deeps.*

Then the Biſhop proceeded to the Conſecration of the *Sacrament*: which being finiſhed, he firſt of all received; next, the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*; then the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*; and laſtly, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*.

Theſe four *Prelates* having communicated, Preparation was made for the *King's* Receiving, who kneeled all this while before His *Fald-ſtool*.

The *Towel* was brought thither by Mr. *Rumbal* on the behalf of the *Maſter* of the *Ward-robe*, and preſented to the Biſhops of *Hereford*, and *Carliſle*, who held it before the *King*, while He received.

The *Biſhop* of *London* gave the *King* the *Bread*, and the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* the *Cup*.

As ſoon as the *King* had received, this *Anthem* was begun by the upper *Quire*,

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my King, and my God, &c.

In the mean while, the *King* returned to His Throne upon the Theatre, with the Crown on his Head, and bearing the Scepters in his Hands.

When he came thither, he put off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Scepter with the Croſs to Mr. *Howard*, and that other with the Dove to the Duke of *Albemarle*.

And then the Biſhop of *London* went on with the Communion, which being finiſhed, the *King* (attended as before) deſcended from his Throne crowned, with both the Scepters in his Hand.

The reſt of the *Regalia* (which lay all this while on the *Altar*, being delivered to the *Noble-men*, that brought them in the *Proceeding* to the Church) were carried before him, and thence the *King* proceeded into St. *Edward's* Chappel, the *Organs* playing all the while.

Where being arrived, he took off St. *Edward's* Crown, and delivered it to the Biſhop of *London*, who immediately laid it upon St. *Edward's* *Altar*; all the reſt of the *Regalia* were given into the hands of the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter*, and laid there alſo.

Afterwards the *King* entred into the Traverſe erected in the middle of the Wall, on the back-ſide of the *High-Altar*, and there retired, whil'ſt he was diſrobed of St. *Edward's* Robes by Mr. *Seymor*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, Grooms of the *Bed-Chamber*, on the behalf of the Lord High-Chamberlain, Mr. *Eliot*, Mr. *Progers*, Colonel *Philips*, and Mr. *Chiffinch* aſſiſting.

Theſe Robes were laid on St. *Edward's Altar*, by the Biſhop of *Dureſm*; and afterwards delivered to the *Dean* of *Weſtminſter* to lay up with the *Regalia*.

After this, the *King* was arrayed in his Purple *Robes*, and then came near to St. *Edward's* *Altar*, where the Biſhop of *London* ſtood ready with the *Imperial Crown* in his hands, and ſet that upon the *King's* Head; thereupon the *King* took the Scepter with the Croſs in his right Hand, with the Globe in his left; and immediately the *Proceeding* (ordered alſo by the *Heralds*) began thence into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the ſame way that he came, and attended after the ſame manner, ſaving that the *Noble-men*, and *Biſhops*, which brought the *Regalia* to the *Abbey-Church*, went not now immediately before the *King*, as

1661. they did then, but were ranked in places according to their Degrees, and Conſecrations: all the *Noble-men*, with their *Coronets*, and *Caps* on their Heads. The *Kings* of *Arms* marched likewiſe with their *Crowns* on.

The *Proceeding* being entred into *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the *Nobility*, and others, who had Tables aſſigned them, went, and placed themſelves thereat; but the *King*, (attended with the *Great Officers*) withdrew into the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, for half an hour.

In the mean time, all the *Tables* in the *Hall* were ſerved, *viz.* before the *King's Service* came up; and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the King's *Throne*, below in the *Hall*, were ſet two *Tables*, one beneath the other: at the upper end of the firſt next the *State*, (which had two *Side-Tables* to ſerve it) ſate the *Biſhops*, and below them the *Judges*, with the reſt of the *Long-Robe*.

At the ſecond *Table*, (which had two *Side-Board Tables* likewiſe to ſerve it) ſate the *Maſters* of the *Chancery*, and the *Six Clerks*.

And here, at this *Table*, were the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* neceſſitated to ſit, although the upper end of the firſt *Table* was appointed for them.

The Occaſion this: No ſooner had the aforeſaid *Barons* brought up the *King* to the foot of the Stairs in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, aſcending to His *Throne*, and turned on the left hand (towards their own *Table*) out of the way, but the King's *Foot-men* moſt inſolently, and violently ſeized upon the *Canopy*, which the *Barons* endeavouring to keep, and defend, were by their number, and ſtrength drag'd down to the lower end of the *Hall*, nevertheleſs ſtill keeping their hold: and, had not Mr. *Owen* YORK-*Herald* been accidentally near the *Hall*-Door, and ſeeing the Conteſt, cauſed the ſame to be ſhut, the *Foot-men* had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim alſo, (ſpeedy notice hereof having been given the *King*) one of *Querries* were ſent from Him, with Command, to impriſon the *Foot-men*, and diſmiſs them out of His Service, which put an end to the preſent Diſturbance.

Theſe *Foot-men* were alſo commanded to make their ſubmiſſion to the *Court* of *Claims*, (which was accordingly done by them, the 30th of *April* following, and the *Canopy* then delivered back to the ſaid *Barons*.

Whil'ſt this Diſturbance happened, the upper end of the aforeſaid *Table* was taken up by the *Biſhops*, *Judges*, &c. and hereupon it came to paſs, that the *Barons* of the *Cinque-Ports* loſt their Places, and were neceſſitated to ſit down at the ſaid ſecond *Table*, with the *Maſters* of *Chancery*, &c. where there was Room left by ſome of the *Long-Robe*, that ſate at the Upper-*Table*.

Upon the left hand of the King's *Throne*, below, on the other ſide of the *Hall*, was placed likewiſe a long *Table*, which reached down near to the *Common-Pleas-Court*, whereat the *Nobility* dined; and this *Table* had four *Side-Board-Tables* to ſerve it.

And behind this, cloſe to the Wall, at a ſhorter Table, ſate the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and twelve chief Citizens of *London*, who had alſo two Side-Tables to ſerve them.

Laſtly, within the Court of *Common-Pleas* was a Table with one Side-Table to ſerve it, ſet for the Officers of *Arms*, whereat they alſo dined. Each Table was furniſhed with three *Courſes* anſwerable to that of the King's, beſides the *Banquet*.

A little before the *King* returned to Dinner, two *Eſquires* of the *Body*, viz. *Ferdinando Marſham*, and *Henry Norwood*, took their Seats upon two little Foot-ſtools, on either ſide of the foot of the *King's Chair*, (placed in the middle of the Table) and there ſate until the *King* came in to Dinner; when riſing, and performing their Duty in placing the *King's Robes* for His better conveniency of ſitting, they ſate down again at the King's Feet a good part of Dinner time, and untill the King gave them leave to riſe; He accepting that time of Seſſion in full performance of their Service.

On the right Side of the *Throne* was erected a *Gallery*, for the *Kings* of *Arms*, *Heralds*, and *Purſuivants*; and oppoſite to that, on the other ſide, another for the *Muſick*: and below, on the old Scaffolds, next the *Court* of *Common-Pleas*, ſtood the King's *Trumpeters*.

The

1661.

The Proceeding at carrying up of the First Course *to the* KING's Table.

SIr *George Barker*, Sir *William Boreman*,

Clerks Comptrollers:

Mr. *Stephen Fox*, Sir *Henry Wood*,

Clerks of the Green Cloth:

All four in Black Velvet Gowns, trimm'd with Black Silk, and Gold Lace, with Velvet Caps raised in the Head.

William Ashburnham Esquire, Cofferer.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

The *Earl Marshal* on the left Hand. The *Lord High-Steward.* The *Lord High-Constable* on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horse-back in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads: having their Horses richly trapped.

Six *Serjeants at Arms*, two and two.

Comptroller of the *Houshold*, *Treasurer* of the *Houshold*,

with their White Staves.

Earl of *Dorset*, Sewer.
Earl of *Chesterfield*, his Assistant.
The *Knights* of the *Bath*,

who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of *Lincoln* Carver, assisted by the *Earl*-Sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchin, *viz.* Mr. *Leonard Pinkney*, Mr. *John Clements*, and Mr. *Henry Firebrass*, all suted in Black Fugar'd Satin Gowns, and Velvet Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers.

Dinner being set on the Table, the *King* came forth from the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, in his *Royal Robes*, with the Crown on His Head, and *Scepter* in his Hand, having the three *Swords* born naked before Him, and went directly to his *Chair* at the Table, wherein He sate down to Dinner, the Bishop of *London* saying Grace. The Bason and Ewer were brought up and presented by the Earl of *Penbroke* and *Montgomery*, assisted by the Lord *Paget*, and the *Serjeant* of the *Ewery*.

On the *King's* right Hand, the *Noble-men*, that carried the three *Swords*, stood, holding them naked, and erected, all the Dinner-while; at His left Hand stood the Lord High Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the *Scepter* to hold. And at the Table's end, on the King's left Hand, sate the Duke of *York* in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord *Allington* carried to the King His first Draught of Drink in a Silver Gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of *Penbroke* and *Montgomery*, Viscount *Montague*, and the Lord *Paget*, his Assistants.

The Office of Cup-Bearer, as also the Fee, having been by the Court of *Claims* adjudged to him, as being seized of the *Manner* of *Wymmundeley* in the County of *Hertford*; and when the King had drank, the said Lord *Allington* received the Cup for his Fee.

Next, *Thomas Leigh* Esquire was brought up to the Table with a Mess of Pottage, called *Dillegrout*, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of *Claims* in right of the *Manner* of *Addington*, in the County of *Surrey*; whereupon the Lord High Chamberlain presented him to the King, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir *Edward Dymock* (to whom the Court of *Claims* had adjudged the Office of the *King's Champion*, as being seized of the *Manner Scrivelsby*, in the County of *Lincoln*) entred the *Hall* on a goodly White Courser, and armed at all Points in Rich Armour, having a Plume of Blew Feathers in his Helm, he there made a stand for some time, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the *Knight-Marshal*.

First, Two *Trumpets*.
The *Serjeant-Trumpeter*.
The *Serjeant* at *Arms*.
An *Esquire* carrying a *Target*, having the *Champion's* own *Arms* depicted thereon.
An *Esquire*, carrying the *Champion's Lance* upright.
Mr. *Owen* YORK-Herald.
The *Earl-Marshal* on his left Hand.
The *Champion*,
The *Lord High-Constable* on his right Hand.
Both likewise on Horse-back.

At

1661. At the lower end of the *Hall*, YORK-*Herald* proclaimed the *Challenge*, in these words following,

The Form of the *Challenge* however omitted in Mr. *Ashmole*'s Original, being in all the rest more Compleat and Correct, we have supply'd out of the other *Narrative* which was since done and extracted out of his.

IF *any Person of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny, or gain-say Our* Sovereign *Lord* King CHARLES the Second, *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, Defender of the Faith, *Son and next Heir to Our* Sovereign *Lord* CHARLES the First, *the last King deceased, to be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of* England; *or that He ought not to enjoy the same: here is His* Champion, *who saith, That he lyeth, and is a false* Traytor, *being ready in Person to Combate with him, and in this* Quarrel *will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.*

Thereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet*, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by *York*-Herald. Then all advanced forward untill the *Champion* came to the middle of the *Hall*, where *York*-Herald made the like Proclamation, and the *Gantlet* was again thrown down, taken up, and returned to the *Champion*; who advanced to the foot of the ascending Steps to the *State*, and at the top of the said Steps, the said *Herald* proclaimed the said *Challenge* the third time, whereupon the *Champion* threw down his *Gantlet* again, which no body taking up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the Earl of *Penbroke* and *Montgomery*, (assisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the *King* a Gilt Cup with a Cover, full of Wine, who drank to his *Champion*, and by the said Earl sent him the Cup; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and so departed out of the *Hall*; taking the said Cup for his *Fee*, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of Claims.

When this Solemnity was finished, the *Kings Heralds*, and *Pursuivants* descended from their Gallery, and went into the *Hall* to the lower end of the *Noble-mens* Table, and there all together made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the Steps ascending to the *State*. Where all standing still, *Garter*, Principal *King* of *Arms*, cryed *Largess* thrice, and proclaimed the *King's Style* in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, making Reverence betwixt every *Style*. At the finishing of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the *Hall*, and there, after crying *Largess* again thrice, he proclaimed the *King's Style* as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said *Noble-mens* Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the *Common-Pleas-Court*, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Course was brought up by the *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, with the former Solemnity.

And the last Dish being carryed by *Erasmus Smith* Esquire, he, having delivered the same to the Table, presented the *King* with three *Maple Cups*, on the behalf of *Robert Bernham* Esquire, who was seized of the *Manner* of *Nether-Bilsington* in the County of *Kent*.

Lastly, the Lord Mayor of *London* presented the *King* with Wine in a Golden Cup having a Cover: of which the *King* having drank, the said Lord Mayor receive it for his *Fee*.

By this time the day being far spent, the *King* (having Water brought him by the Earl of *Penbroke*, and his assistants) washed, and rose from Dinner before the third Course was brought in; and, retiring into the *Inner-Court* of *Wards*, he there disrobed himself: and from thence he went privately to his *Barge*, which waited for him at the *Parliament-Stairs*, and so to the *Privy-Stairs* at *White-Hall*, were he landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that, towards the end of *Dinner*-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceeding day, in which the King made his *Cavalcade* through *London*, were the only fair days, that we enjoyed of many both before, and after) it began to *Thunder* and *Lighten* very smartly: which, however some sort of People weer apt to interpret as *ominous*, and *ill-boding*, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, though happily they might astonish, and amaze the common Drove of men, were by the most Prudent, and Sagacious, look'd upon as a *prosperous*, and *happy presage*. And of this, *Virgil* gives us a very pertinent Example (in the Eight Book of his *Æneids*) where *Evander*, having addressed himself in a Speech to *Æneas* for aid against the *Hetrurians*, and he being sollicitous how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven,

Namque improviso vibratus ab Æthere fulgor
Cum sonitu venit, &c.

For suddenly from Heav'n a brandish'd Flash
With Thunder came, *&c.*

And presently after the *Poet* adds,

Obstupuere animis alti, sed Troius *Heros*
Agnovit sonitum, & Divæ promissa Parentis.

While other stood amaz'd, the *Hero* knew
His Mother's Promise by the Sound that flew.

The same *Author*, in another place *, mentions the same thing, as a Testimony of *Prayers* heard, and answered; as when Old *Anchises*, seeing the *lambent flame* upon his Grand-child *Julus* his head, lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed to *Jove* for help, and direction, he was thus answered, * *Lib.* 2.

Vix ea fatus erat Senior, subitoque fragore
Intonuit lævum, &c.

Scarce had the grave Sire spoke, when suddenly
It thundered prosperous, &c.

For so *Intonuit lævum* is interpreted by *Servius*, according to the Maxim of the Ancient *Augurs*, who interpret *Thunder* from the *North*, that is, (as they, contrary to the common *Astronomers*, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous *Omen*.

But, in reference to our present Purpose, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and conclude,

clude, That the Heavens, with the Vollies of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a *Plaudite*, and Acclamation, to this Grand and Sacred *Solemnity*; in like manner as we Mortals use to close our greater Triumphs with Fire-Works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our great Ordnance: this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator, and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And so I observe it expounded by *Claudian* in these Verses,*

* Claud. *de Conſ.* Probini & Olybrii *verſ.* 205.

Ut ſceptrum geſſere manu, membriſque rigentes
Aptavere togas, Signum dat ſummus hiulca
Nube Pater, gratamque facem per inane rotantes
Proſpera vibrati ſonuerunt Omnia Nimbi.

As soon as rob'd, and scepter'd, *Jove* aloud
His Signal Favour thunders from a Cloud,
Successful Lightning through Heav'n's Arches shines;
Both at His Coronation happy Signs.

Thus having travail'd through a *HISTORY* fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Intestine Warr, succeeded by a long time of Usurpation and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of Settlement and Right restor'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, We glad to have found such a Convenient Haven, shall here choose to cast our Anchor; And though several Things have hapned from the *Coronation* to this present time (as the King's Marriage with the Daughter of *Portugal*, the Transactions of the present *Parliament*, with other matters sufficiently Memorable; yet in regard we cannot Close at a more happy Period, We shall reserve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation, as likewise the observation of that Method which our *Historian* ever observes at the end of every King's Reign, that time only admitting of the said Method. And if the last Part of our HISTORY somewhat exceed in Bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, It will no doubt be in a great measure excus'd by the Consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth, an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and Capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallell'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the Course and Stream of the *History* will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and Prosperous) of His present *Majestie's* Reign; Than whom, never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious President to those that after him shall Sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of His Innumerable other Vertues and Regal Endowments, and particularly of His Admirable Skill and Understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the Improvement whereof so mainly Imports His own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reputation and Enrichment of His Subjects; a thing wherein He hath ever shew'd Himself to be most Zealously Concern'd.

1661.

Mayors

1661.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London, *to the* 21th *Year of his Reign.*

In his First Year, 1649.
Thomas Foot, was Mayor.
Chriſtopher Pack, *Rowland Wilſon*, died in the year. *John Dethick*, } Sheriffs.

In his 2d year, 1650.
Thomas Andrews, was Mayor.
Robert Tichborn, *Richard Chiverton*, } Sheriffs.

In his 3d year, 1651.
John Kendrick, was Mayor.
Andrew Richards, *John Ireton*, } Sheriffs.

In his 4th year, 1652.
John Fowke, was Mayor.
Stephen Eaſtwick, *William Underwood*, } Sheriffs.

In his 5th year, 1653.
Thomas Vyner, was Mayor.
James Phillips, *Walter Bigge*, } Sheriffs.

In his 6th year, 1654.
Chriſtopher Pack, was Mayor.
Edmund Sleigh, *Thomas Aleyn*. } Sheriffs.

In his 7th year, 1655.
John Dethick, was Mayor.
William Thompſon, *John Frederick*, } Sheriffs.

In his 8th year, 1656.
Robert Tichborn, was Mayor.
Tempeſt Milner, *Nathaniel Temms*, } Sheriffs.

In his 9th year, 1657.
Richard Chiverton, was Mayor.
John Robinſon, *Thomas Chandler*, died in the year. *Richard King*, } Sheriffs.

In his 10th year, 1658.
John Ireton, was Mayor.
Anthony Bateman, *John Lawrence*, } Sheriffs.

In his 11th year, and part of the 12th, 1659.
Sir *Thomas Aleyn*, Baronet, was Mayor.
Francis Warner, *William Love*, } Sheriffs.

In his 12th year, and part of the 13th, 1660.
Sir *Richard Brown*, Baronet, was Mayor.
Sir *William Boulton*, Sir *William Peake*, } Sheriffs.

In his 13th year, and part of the 14th, 1661.
Sir *John Frederick*, was Mayor.
Francis Menill, *Samuel Starling*, } Sheriffs.

In his 14th year, and part of the 15th, 1662.
Sir *John Robinſon*, was Mayor.
Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, Sir *William Turner*, } Sheriffs.

In his 15th year, and part of the 16th, 1663.
Sir *Anthony Bateman*, was Mayor.
Sir *Richard Ford*, Sir *Richard Rives*, } Sheriffs.

In his 16th year, and part of the 17th, 1664.
Sir *John Lawrence*, was Mayor.
Sir *George Waterman*, Sir *Charles Doe*, } Sheriffs.

In his 17th year, and part of the 18th, 1665.
Sir *Thomas Bludworth*, was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Hanſon*, Sir *William Hooker*, } Sheriffs.

In his 18th year, and part of the 19th, 1666.
Sir *William Boulton*, was Mayor.
Sir *Robert Vinor*, Sir *Joſeph Sheldon*, } Sheriffs.

In his 19th year, and part of the 20th, 1667.
Sir *William Peake*, was Mayor.
Sir *Dennis Gauden*, Sir *Thomas Davis*, } Sheriffs.

In his 20th year, and part of the 21th, 1668.
Sir *William Turner*, was Mayor.
Sir *John Forth*, Sir *Francis Chaplaine*, } Sheriffs.

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Captain *Winter* takes possession of the Citradel of St. *Johnstons* for General *Monk*, 723.

Woden and *Frya*, the Idols of the *Saxons*, of whom Wednesday and Fryday take their names, 3.

Woad forbidden to be sowed within four miles of any of the Queens houses, 416.

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Thomas Woolsey's first employment by King *Henry* the seventh, which got him his special credit, 248. Is made Bishop of *Lincoln*, 261. His parentage, education, and rising, *ibid.* Is made a Cardinal and Lord Chancellour of *England*, 262, 263, 264. His pride in making Earls and Duks to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Bason at the Lavatory, 265. 269. He plots revenge upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, and upon certain accusations hath him arraigned, condemned, and beheaded, 267. Going Embassadour into *France*, he carries the Great Seal with him, *ibid.* He sends Dr. *Pace* to *Rome*, to sollicite for him to be elected Pope, but he came too late, 268. Blamed by the King, for making a false Report to the House of Commons, & his excuse, 270. By his power Legantine, he dissolves the Convocation at *Pauls*, convoked by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *ibid.* He obtains License of the Pope to suppress forty small Monasteries, for erecting a Colledge at *Oxford*, and another at *Ipswich*, 273. He takes a spleen against the Emperour *Charles*, for denying him the Bishoprick of *Toledo* in *Spain*, 275. He is sent Embassadour into *France*, and passeth over with twelve hundred Horse in his Train, *ibid.* He is charged in Parliament with points of Treason, but defended by his Servant *Thomas Cromwell*, is acquitted, 277. He hath a *Præmunire* sued out against him, all his goods are seized on, and himself commanded to live at *Asher* in *Surrey*, *ibid.* Where for three weeks he lived in great penury, *ibid.* By the Kings Favour is allowed to keep his Bishoprick of *York* and *Winchester*, *ibid.* Preparing to be installed at *York*, he sends to the King to lend him the Miter and Pall, which he used at any great solemnity; at which Insolence the King wondred, 279. Is arrested by Sir *Walter Welch*, and in what manner, *ibid.* In his Journey up to *London*, he falls sick and dies, and in what manner, 280. The Places of Dignity which he held all at once, *ibid.* His works of piety, 316.

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Sir *Edward Wootton* sent into *France*, and why, 390. Is made Baron of *Marley*, 452.

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The Earl of *Worcester* beheaded, 166.

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John Wraw a Priest, Captain of the Rebels in *Suffolk*, 143.

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Sir *Thomas Wriothsley*, the Kings Secretary, is made Lord *Wriothsley* of *Tichfield*, 292. Is made Lord Chancellour, after *Thomas Audley*, and Knight of the Garter, *ibid.* Is made Earl of *Southampton*, 300. Is removed from his place of Chancellour, and from the Council, *ibid.*

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Writ of *Ne exeat Regnum*, whence began, 34.

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A Yard ordained to be a measure by King *Henry* the first, the length of his own arm, 38.

Sir *Henry Yelverton* the Kings Attorney, put from his place, and why, 437. Is made a puny Judge of the Common Pleas, *ibid.*

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York Minster built by *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, 27. The Town burnt, 59. The Minster burnt, 217.

Richard Duke of *York*, by descent from whom he claimed the Crown, 173.

Edward Duke of *York*, and the Earl of *Suffolk* slain at the Battel of *Agincourt*, 175. Duke of *York* made Regent of *France*, 185. Displaced, *ibid.* Restored, 186. Again displaced, and the Duke of *Somerset* in his stead, 187. He begins to set forth his Right to the Crown, 188. 190. Complains against the Duke of *Somerset*, and raiseth an Army, 192. Made Protector of the Kings person and Realm, 194. Convict of Treason, 196. He comes out of *Ireland*, calls a Parliament, and opens his Title to the Crown, 196. Declared Heir apparent to the Crown by Parliament, *ibid.* Slain at the Battel at *Wakefield*, 197.

James Duke of *York*, escapes in a disguise out of *England*, 588. He implores aid of the *French* King, in behalf of his Brother, *ibid.* He is presented with a rich Present by the Cardinal, *ibid.* He is warned out of *France*, 645. He goes into *Flanders* to his Brother, *ibid.*

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FINIS.